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THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

JULY, 1889.

ART. I.—THE TAKING OF THE BASTILLE.

Translated from the 'Moniteur' newspaper of July 20-23, 23 and 24, 1789.

[The taking of the Bastille upon July 14, 1789, has always been regarded by common consent as the typical act of the Great French Revolution. It is for this reason that the anniversary of the day was selected for the festival of Federation in the following year; that July 14th has been made the annual national holiday under the present Republic; and that this year itself is now being celebrated as the Centenary of the Revolution. The number of the *Moniteur* for July 13-15, 1789, contains an account of the arrival of the news at Versailles, but no description of the event itself; nor is any such contained in the next number, viz., that for July 15-16. But the number for July 17-20 commences with the first part of a long article entitled '*Details of the circumstances which led to the capture of the Bastille and an account of that event.*' The same article is continued in the numbers for July 20-23, July 23, and July 24, and concluded in that of July 25; but the actual description of the events of the day is contained in the numbers of July 20-23, July 23, and July 24; and it is this portion which is here translated literally and at full length.]

DAY dawned. The regiments which were encamped in the Champs-Élysées had retired under cover of night; but the true motive of their withdrawal, and the place to which they had gone, were both unknown. An attack was expected at every moment, and there were incessant rumours of troops marching against the capital. The National Guard, though formed only the day before, already numbered nearly a hundred and fifty thousand men, but the majority of them were without arms, those which had been taken from the armourers' shops having proved

to be but an insignificant supply for such an immense multitude.

For the last twenty-four hours, anvils had been ringing beneath the ceaseless blows of the hammer. All the iron that could be found had been forged into instruments of slaughter, all the lead that could be laid hands upon had been cast into the smelting-pot, to be shaped into bullets. Batteries had been constructed at every point which seemed open to attack, or favourable for defence. Ponderous axes and massive clubs were wielded by powerful arms. In the streets, in the promenades, in the public squares, armed men of every age, deadly weapons of every kind, were to be seen. Impetuous youths helped to swell the crowds of citizens who, craving for news, hurried to and fro, with threatening cries, from the wards to the Town Hall, and from the Town Hall back again to the various wards. Wherever a meeting was gathered, excitement, suspicion, tumult reigned supreme. At the Palais Royal the most violent proposals were succeeding each other with fearful rapidity. Speakers in a frenzy of excitement, with tables for their platforms, were inflaming the imagination of their hearers, who, after listening to their harangues, spread themselves through the city like the burning lava of a volcano. Afflicted wives, sorrowing mothers, and weeping children filled the houses with their lamentations. Above all this confusion, the alarm bell pealing without intermission from the cathedral, from the Palais-Royal, and from every parish and steeple, drums beating to arms in every district. False alarms, repeated cries of: 'To arms! to arms!' warlike preparations and distress, and a crowd swaying and heaving convulsively, but animated by the gloomy courage of despair—such was the frightful picture which Paris everywhere presented on the morning of the 14th of July.

The committee of electors sat night and day at the Town-Hall, and worked at the organization of the army of patriots, whilst, on their side, the various wards were toiling themselves to provide it with the means of defence. The Duke d'Aumont having refused the office, M. de la Salle was named as commander. The green cockades were discarded, out of hatred for the Comte D'Artois, whose household wore this colour, and who was looked upon as one of the leaders of the conspiracy. Pink and

blue, the colours of the city, were adopted for the distinctive badge of the citizen soldiers.

Captains and officers were chosen. Meetings were held in the public squares and gardens for the formation of battalions, which took the name of Volunteers of the Palais Royal, of the Tuileries, of the Bazoche, of the Arquebuse. But muskets and ammunition were still wanting.

At every moment deputations were arriving, and demanding that the arms stored in the public depots should be distributed. The Dean of Guild (*prévôt des marchands*) was profuse in promises which he failed to fulfil, and thereby further embittered the minds of men who were already violently hostile towards him. But the crisis admitted of no further delay. It was resolved that arms should be got at any cost, and more than thirty thousand men proceeded to the Invalides with M. Ethis de Corny, whom the committee had deputed to call upon the Governor to supply them.

As early as the Sunday, this officer had got orders to hold himself in readiness, and he had kept his soldiers under arms the whole of the Monday. But, having received no further instructions, he allowed them to take a few hours rest on the Tuesday morning.

It was precisely at this moment that the Royal Procurator appeared, and informed the Governor of the object of his mission. M. de Sombreuil replied that he had no arms, and accompanied M. de Corny back to the gate, talking with him the while. Scarcely was it opened when the crowd tumultuously rushed into the Hospital and began its search for a store more precious at that moment than the richest treasures. But, a few days previously, the arms had been carefully hidden under the dome and in other secret places. A fortunate chance, however, discovered a part of them to the crowd, whose active search soon succeeded in bringing to light the remainder, upon which it pounced more fiercely than famished tigers seizing their prey.

A furious rush was made into the dark cellar in which the greater part of the arms had been concealed; muskets, sabres, bayonets and pistols were carried off in a moment. All the guard-houses were likewise searched by the crowd, and the arms found in them carried off. Twenty-eight thousand muskets and

twenty pieces of ordnance were the result of this expedition. Successful as it was, however, it proved fatal to several citizens, who were either crushed to death in the crowd, or killed in the fierce struggle which took place for the possession of the arms.

The Governor had both soldiers and artillery. He might, before yielding, have laid thousands of citizens low ; but he must himself have succumbed in the end. He therefore wisely resolved to spare the lives of the citizens and of his brave veterans, and consequently made no attempt to offer a useless resistance to overwhelming numbers. He must have congratulated himself on his prudence when he beheld the mighty rush that was made through all the courts and galleries of the building. What dyke could he have opposed to the waves of such a flood ? What victims would the stream have borne upon its torrent if he had striven to stem it ? Nevertheless, M. de Sombreuil had the courage to refuse the keys, saying that his honour and his duty as Governor of the place forbade his giving them up. This firmness on his part won him the admiration of the citizens. They spared both him and his veterans. Not only did they refrain from causing any damage within the precincts of the building committed to his custody, but they even posted a strong guard to prevent any havoc on the part of the ever increasing crowd.

The cannon were at once distributed amongst the various batteries. Several of them were taken to the Town Hall where they were left under the charge of sentinels. At the same moment, legions of armed men filled the Champ des Invalides, the boulevard and the neighbouring streets, or advanced in serried ranks towards the centre of the city, whilst another powerful detachment took up its position in line of battle opposite the troops encamped in the Champ de Mars. The bearing of these improvised warriors and the satisfaction which beamed from their sweat-and-dust-begrimed-faces bid patriots know that this seizure of arms was a victory which was going to decide all others.

From the ramparts of the Bastille, despotism still scowled down threateningly upon the city. The custody of these hideous towers had been entrusted to de Launay, the minister of the deeds of vengeance there enacted. Shuddering at the mere name of liberty, and trembling lest, if the tears of his victims were dried, he should

be deprived of the gold which was the object of his lust and the price paid for the tortures which his cruelty inflicted, the grasping and cowardly satellite of tyranny had, for days past, been providing himself with arms and cannon.

Ever since the riot in the faubourg Saint-Antoine he had been ceaselessly engaged in preparing for defence. Fifteen pieces of artillery surmounted his towers, whilst three field-guns stationed in the principal court-yard, opposite the main entrance, threatened certain death to any who should be rash enough to attack it. The ammunition consisted of 400 *biscaiens*,* fourteen cases of cannon-balls with sabots attached to them, fifteen hundred cartridges, a supply of shot of the same calibre as the guns, and two hundred and fifty barrels of powder, each weighing a hundred and twenty-five pounds. This powder had been brought from the Arsenal to the Bastille by the Swiss of Salis-Samade's regiment in the night between the 12th and 13th of July. Since the 10th de Launay had brought up to the top of the towers six cart-loads of paving-stones, old iron, and loose cannon-balls, for the purpose of defending the approach to the bridge if the ammunition happened to run short, or if the assailants got as near as to be out of reach of the guns. A few nights before he had also taken the precaution of getting the embrasures widened by a foot and a half, of cutting loop-holes, of repairing all the draw-bridges, and of removing all the railings along which it might have been possible to clamber over the moat when the bridges were drawn up. He had blocked a window of his own dwelling with oaken planks mortised together and provided with six holes of sufficient size to admit the barrel of a gun. This was hidden from sight by a blind which bore the appearance of having been carelessly drawn down. He had taken from the armoury twelve wall-pieces, called *amusettes du comte de Saxe*, carrying balls of one pound and a half each, and had got six of them ready for his own defence. His garrison consisted of

* *Biscaiens*, a shot the size of a billiard ball. A foot-note explains *boulet saboté* to mean a ball with cartridge attached to it. This, however, is incorrect. A sabot is a thick, circular wooden disk attached to a projectile for the purpose of keeping it in proper position in the bore of the gun. Tr.

eighty-two pensioners, of whom two were gunners from Monsigny's company, and thirty-two Swiss from Salis-Samadé's regiment, under the command of M. Louis de Flue, lieutenant of grenadiers. Such were the forces at his disposal on Tuesday, July 14th. But, in his anxiety for ammunition he had given no thought to provisions. His whole stock consisted of two sacks of flour and a little rice. There was plenty of wood, but only one small oven, intended for baking pastry. Nor was there any water except that conveyed by pipes from a reservoir outside the walls, a weak supply which it was easy to cut off.

Here, it is necessary, for the proper understanding of the details which are to follow, to give an idea of the fortress itself.

The castle of the Bastille consisted of eight large round towers, of which the walls were about six feet thick. They were joined together by massive stone curtain-walls nine feet thick. The entrance was situated to the right of the extremity of the Rue Saint-Antoine. Above the first gate there was a magazine usually containing a considerable quantity of arms which had, however, been removed to the Invalides a short time before, with the exception of six hundred muskets which the Governor had taken into the interior of the citadel, and of a few suits of ancient armour which were carried off by the people. Close to the entrance was a guard-room where two sentries were placed at night, for the purpose of giving admission to such as might present themselves. This gate led into the first outer enclosure where barracks for the garrison, stables and coach-houses for the Governor were situated. Access to this court-yard could also be gained through the Arsenal, whilst a gate—by the side of which was another guard-room—a moat and a drawbridge, called *le pont de l'Avancé* separated it from a second enclosure, in which the Governor's house stood. Opposite this building was a walk forty-two feet long, to the right of which was another block containing a kitchen and a bath-room, built upon a platform erected over the great moat. This platform furnished the outer resting-place for the inner drawbridge. Beyond this drawbridge there was yet another guard-room; it was at the entrance of the main court of the castle, to which access was got by passing through an iron

grating, which served as a screen for the sentry, whose orders were not to allow any prisoner to approach within three paces of him. This inner court-yard was 102 feet long by 72 broad, and surrounded by the towers called *la Liberté*, *de la Bertaudière*, *de la Bazinière*, *de la Comté*, *du Trésor*, and *de la Chapelle*, all of which were connected by curtain-walls which rose to a height of seventy-three feet three inches on the inside.

At the further extremity of this court-yard there was a building, which an inscription in gold letters on black marble stated to have been built under the reign of Louis XV. and during the ministry of M. de Saint-Florentin, by M. de Sartine, at that time lieutenant of police, for the accommodation of the officers of the staff. It separated the main court-yard from the Well Court (*Cour du Puits*), which was seventy-two feet long and forty-two feet broad, and contained, besides offices, two other towers,—*du Puits* and *du Coin*,—with corresponding curtain-walls. This was the backyard of the fortress. A bastion formerly used for the exercise of the prisoners, but now turned into a kitchen-garden for the Governor, was connected with the fortress by a kind of gallery which communicated with the wooden passage called the *chemin de ronde*.

The whole fortress was surrounded by a broad moat which was always dry, except in rainy weather or when the river was high, and the further side of which was faced, to a height of thirty-six feet, with solid masonry. Along the whole of this kind of counterscarp a gallery, three feet and a half broad, had been built out. It could be reached either by narrow steps rising from the moat, or by staircases to the right and left of the bridge. It was called *chemin de ronde*, because officers and sergeants made frequent rounds along it, particularly at night, to make sure that the four sentries stationed on it were keeping proper watch.

The platforms on the top of the towers and of the curtain-walls formed a continuous rampart walk, protected by parapets.

Such was the famous castle of the Bastille, of which Saint-Foix said that, though not very strong, it was one of the most formidable in Europe.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 13th of July, M. de

Launay ordered the garrison to take their arms and to retire into the interior of the fortress. The barracks were closed, but all the men's kits were left in them. Two pensioners without arms were left to act as porters at the gates leading respectively to the Arsenal and to the Rue Saint-Antoine. Sentries were stationed at every post, and twelve men placed on the towers to watch what was going on outside.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock on the next night seven shots were fired at the watchmen on the towers, but with no effect beyond producing a momentary alarm.

During the morning of the 14th, several deputations came to the Governor to ask him to supply arms, or to beg him to maintain a peaceful attitude. He assured them of his good intentions, and received them into his own house, after giving the people hostages for their safety.

A great many of the staff were of opinion that no hostile measures should be taken. But, under the perfidious advice of M. Louis de Flue, commander of the Swiss, by the orders of M. de Bezenval, and through the promises of M. de Flesselles, the Governor resolved to use force. An oath had been exacted from the Swiss that they would fire on the pensioners if the latter refused to obey the Governor. And, in order to stifle the voice of their mother-country which was bidding our brave veterans remember that they were Frenchmen, they had been so freely supplied with liquor that a good many of them were drunk.

At noon, information was brought to the district of Saint-Louis-de-la-Culture, that the direction of the guns mounted on the towers caused general alarm in the city. It was also stated that the siege of the fortress had been resolved upon, and was about to begin.

Monsieur Thuriot de la Rosière, having been deputed by the district to communicate with the Governor, went to him under escort of two citizen soldiers, who stopped at the *pont de l'Avancé*, the second drawbridge. Having entered alone, he said to the Governor: 'I have come in the name of the nation, and of our common country, to represent to you that the cannons pointed from the towers of the Bastille are causing great uneasiness, and spreading alarm throughout all Paris. I beseech you to have

them taken down, and I hope that you will be so good as to comply with the request which I have been commissioned to convey to you.'

The Governor answered: 'It is not in my power. Those guns have always been on the towers, and I cannot have them removed without orders from the King. I have already heard of the alarm which they are causing in Paris, and as I am not able to have them dismounted from their carriages, I have had them drawn back from the port-holes.'

The envoy having, with difficulty, and at the entreaty of M. Losme, Major of the fortress, obtained permission to enter the inner court, summoned the officers and soldiers, in the name of honour and of their country, to change the direction of the guns, and to surrender. At the suggestion of the Governor himself, they all swore to make no use of their arms unless they were attacked. M. Thuriot then mounted to the towers with M. de Launay. Having reached the top of that which overlooked the Arsenal, they saw immense crowds of people hastening up from all sides, and the people of the faubourg Saint-Antoine, advancing in one compact mass. The Governor grew pale at the sight, seized M. Thuriot by the arm, and said: 'What are you doing, Sir? Are you abusing a sacred title in order to betray me?' The envoy answered: 'And as for you, Sir, if you go on speaking in that way I can tell you that one or the other of us will go down into that ditch.' De Launay was silent.

At this moment the sentry posted on this same tower came and told them that preparations were being made for an attack on the house, and that there was no time to lose; and he conjured M. Thuriot to show himself. The latter advanced to the parapet, and was greeted by loud applause from the garden of the Arsenal. He then cast a glance at the guns, and noticed that they had been drawn back some four feet from the port-holes, and masked, but that they were still levelled in the same direction.

Having come down from the tower with the Governor, he again exhorted him and his men to comply with the wishes of the country.

The soldiers were on the point of yielding; but their commander, beside himself at what he had just seen and heard,

at one moment prevented them from doing so, and the next seemed wholly uncertain what to do.

Seeing no hope of overcoming his resistance, and fearing to lose further precious time, M. Thuriot de la Rosière determined to retire, first to his own district, and then to the Town Hall.

A considerable number of citizens then presented themselves before the Bastille, for the purpose of asking arms and ammunition. As most of them carried no weapons and showed no hostile intention, M. de Launay consented to receive them, and ordered the first drawbridge to be lowered for the purpose. The most determined of them went forward to communicate to him the object of their mission. But, scarcely had they entered into the first court when the bridge was raised and a rolling fire of musketry and artillery stretched to the ground a number of these unfortunate men, who could neither flee nor defend themselves. Those who were waiting for them on the other side, horrified at such cowardly treachery, immediately ran to the Town Hall, to give information of what had taken place, and to demand vengeance for such barbarity.

But soon a vast multitude, armed with muskets, swords, and axes, rushed into the outer courts, shouting at the sentries on the towers with cries of 'The Bastille! the Bastille! Down with the soldiers!' At the same time, two men, of whom one was M. Louis Tournay, an old soldier of the Dauphin's regiment, clambered, in spite of the cries and threats of the garrison, on to the roof of the guard-house, which was situated near the smaller drawbridge. The brave Tournay jumped alone into the Governor's court, and went to the guard-house to get the keys of the drawbridge. As he did not find them, he called for an axe, and set to work to break the bolts and locks, while others were working with equal ardour to burst open the gates. The defences of the *Avancé* yielded to their efforts, and the two drawbridges fell. At this moment, two pensioners, who had gone out to fetch provisions which their wives had brought them, returned, and tried to raise the bridges again. But the intrepid Tournay and Aubin Bonnemère, an old soldier of the infantry regiment Royal-Comtois, who had courageously helped him to break in the gates, rushed at them and drove them away. The

enormous mass fell back with a crash, killing one man and wounding another.

At the first news of the attack on the Bastille, the name of which awakens ideas of lettres-de-cachet, of shame and oppression, men's minds became suddenly inflamed with fury, and their courage rose in proportion to the terror which the dreaded fortress had so long inspired. At every moment the multitude of assailants increased, swelled by crowds of citizens of every age, of both sexes, and of every condition, officers, soldiers, firemen, women, clergy, artisans and labourers, most of them unarmed and marching in confused masses. Moved by a common impulse, they ran from all sides of the city, and flew by a hundred different roads towards the Bastille. The faubourg Saint-Antoine, which was immediately covered by the ordnance of the fort, and on this account more violently excited, advanced like one man. Peasants, strangers, and soldiers recently arrived from abroad, could also be seen hastening in the same direction. A young Greek, a subject of the Grand Seignior, was there, and at the sight of our enthusiasm declared himself a Frenchman. Various motives animated some of those who made for the Bastille on hearing of the attack upon it. In the case of a few it was the hope of pillage, but on these summary punishment was inflicted. Others were intent on bringing help to the wounded, or on protecting relatives, friends, and perhaps those from whom they had received secret help and comfort during their own captivity, from the fury of the besiegers, and were not deterred from performing these acts of humanity, of gratitude, or of filial piety even by the danger to which their lives were exposed.

In the meantime a fierce struggle, which cost many lives, was going on near the drawbridge. Women, who had come to bring help to their husbands, were themselves wounded. But amongst them there was one also who had come to fight and to conquer, and whose name was, later, inscribed on the list of the conquerors of the Bastille.

In the meantime a crowd of people rushed into the court-yard where the Governor's house stood, and, discharging their muskets as they advanced, dashed forward in the hope of securing posses-

sion of the second bridge. The soldiers replied by so sharp and well-sustained a fire that the assailants were obliged to fall back in disorder, some sheltering themselves under the arch of the wooden gate in the Cour de l'Orme, others under that of the grille. From these covers both parties kept up an incessant fire towards the terrace, without, however, daring to renew their attack on the second bridge.

This skirmishing had lasted an hour when a noise of drums, accompanied with loud cries, was heard approaching from the direction of the Arsenal. Almost at the same moment a flag, escorted by a great number of armed citizens, was seen crossing the court-yard known as the *Cour des poudres et salpêtres* and entering the Cour de l'Orme. A large body then advanced towards the courtyard in front of the Governor's house calling on the troops to cease firing, as a deputation from the Town Hall had come to hold parley with the commander. Thereupon a white flag was hoisted on the terrace, whilst a truce was further indicated by the waving of hats.

At this friendly manifestation, M. de Corny, accompanied by MM. Francotay, La Fleurie, Milly, Beaubourg, Piquot de Sainte-Honorine, Boucheron, Coutans, Six, and Joannot, who was carrying the flag, and preceded by a drummer, advanced towards the archway leading to the *pont de l'Avancé*. A man of the people called their attention to the fact that in a port-hole of one of the towers a gun was being run forward and pointed down upon the Cour de l'Orme, whilst on all sides cries arose warning them not to trust the faithless promises which the signals of the garrison seemed to imply.

Then M. Francotay advanced with the drummer and the flag-bearer to the edge of the moat, whilst M. de Corny and his colleagues remained under the archway. Several of the assailants pressed round him, earnestly beseeching him not to expose himself to the enemy's fire. But the intrepid patriot urged them no less earnestly to retire themselves; he pointed out to them that they were utterly powerless against the fortress, which could annihilate them with its ordnance; and added that he did not think he had anything to fear if he remained alone. 'No,' answered one of those who were present, 'we will not abandon

you ; we will either perish or be the death of everyone of those
b . . . là.*

At this moment the besieged fired a volley at him. Two men were killed at his side, and he himself was obliged to retire to his colleagues amidst a hail of bullets which hissed about his ears and pattered against the wall of the archway under which they stood. Filled with horror and indignation, the deputation then made its way back to the Town Hall, accompanied only by a very small number of those who had gone out with it.

The populace, now quite furious, rushed with loud cries towards the bridge, but was again repulsed by the firing from the fortress. A part of the assailants then retired a little, and whilst those who had muskets kept on discharging them at the sergeants who were stationed on the ramparts, others with axes burst open the doors of the barracks, which were immediately given over to pillage.

A second deputation from the town then came up, intending to communicate to the Governor the decision of the Committee, and, if possible, to prevent a further effusion of blood. They brought the decree which summoned the Governor to surrender the fortress without bloodshed, and to hand it over to the keeping of the municipality. The abbé Fauchet was at their head, and came forward under the fire of the artillery. He was received with fresh volleys. Three times did the deputation advance with undaunted courage; three times the only answer given to its peaceful summons was delivered by the roar of fire-arms. Yet another deputation, to make the signal more intelligible, if that were possible, approached with its flag trailed, but met with no better success.

The Envoys, finding it impossible to get a hearing from the enemy amidst the din of battle, read the following decree to the armed citizens :—

‘The Permanent Committee of the Parisian militia considering that no military force independent of the municipal authority should exist in Paris, commissions the deputation which

it now sends to M. le Marquis de Launay, Commander of the Bastille, to ask him whether he be ready to admit a detachment of the Parisian militia, which shall garrison the fortress in concert with the troops now within it, and shall be under the orders of the Municipality.

'Done at the Town Hall, this 14th July, 1789. Signed: de Flesselles, Dean of Guild and President of the Committee; de la Vigne, President of the Electors.'

The abbé Fauchet then retired with MM. de la Vigne, Chignard, and Bottidout, his colleagues, and proceeded to the Town Hall, to give an account of the result of his mission.

The infuriated assailants then dragged up three cartloads of straw and set fire to the advanced guard-house, to the Governor's quarters, and to the kitchens. At this moment the besieged fired a gun loaded with grape, the only one, if they are to be believed, that was discharged from the Bastille during the five hours' fighting. The roar of musketry resounded from the battlements of the towers and from the terrace which connected them, and even the officers of the staff joined in the firing.

The Swiss who had remained in the court-yard had managed to make a loop-hole in the floor of the larger drawbridge, and through it they kept on firing upon the besiegers with a wall-gun which alone did more execution than all the ordnance and all the musketry together.

The conflagration was still raging when a detachment of French Guards was seen entering the court-yard. It was chiefly composed of Ruffeville's grenadiers and fusiliers from Lubersac's company. They were commanded by M. Wagnier and M. Labarthe, the former a sergeant-major, the latter a sergeant of grenadiers. There was also a large force of citizens under the orders of M. Hullin, who had been unanimously chosen for this honourable post. It was by him that the French Guards, who, for an hour had been considering how they might best attack the Bastille, were finally induced to march. 'My friends,' he said to them, 'are you citizens? Let us march to the Bastille; our friends, our brothers are being massacred there. We have traitors to punish and our country to avenge, how then can we be doubtful of victory?'

At these words the brave soldiers followed him with enthusiasm, and marched with three guns towards the fortress. To these they added two more which they found near the Arsenal. They were joined by a few of the pensioners who had surrendered their arms in the morning, and thus entered the Cour de l'Orme. Here a battery was set up, consisting of two four-pounders, a mortar, and a cannon plated with silver which had been taken from the store-room. These were pointed towards the battlements to prevent the garrison working the guns. Two others were placed respectively near the pump and near the passage Lesdiguières. Before long, however, they were removed to the gate communicating with the garden of the Arsenal, and access was gained to the last court-yard in spite of a continuous fire from the besieged.

The thick smoke which rose from the burning buildings and from the straw had for a while proved favourable to the Parisians, whom it hid from the enemy. But the carts, of which we have spoken, happening to be at the entrance to the second court, opposite the inner draw-bridge, completely blocked it up and left the besiegers no means of approach. M. Elie, an officer in the Queen's Infantry Regiment, accompanied by three or four citizens, boldly advanced in the midst of the fire and succeeded in dragging one cart away. The other resisted all their efforts. But, the stalwart and intrepid Réole, a haberdasher near St. Paul's, pulled the burning wagon away by himself, after having seen two of his brave comrades fall dead at his side. Two guns were immediately brought to bear opposite the main bridge, and the attack was renewed with fresh fury.

While this was going on, a crowd of people broke into the magazine (*Hôtel de la régie des poudres et salpêtres*), forced open the cases of ammunition, and were bringing it to the besiegers. M. Clouet, the manager of the establishment, being mistaken for M. de Launay, owing to his uniform, was on the point of being put to death on the spot, when a brave citizen, M. Cholot, intervened and appeased the fury of the people. Clouet was dragged to the Town Hall, where his life was again threatened, and only saved, at the peril of his own, by M. de Saudray, who was himself seriously wounded by a blow on the head from a sabre.

While some of the assailants were under the impression that the Governor had fallen into their hands, others seized a young lady, interesting alike for her beauty and her innocence, whom they discovered in one of the courts of the Bastille. Having brought her near the first bridge, they wildly exclaimed, 'It is M. de Launay's daughter, let him give up the fortress or he shall see his daughter perish in the flames.' A straw mattress was dragged out to serve as her pyre; fire was set to it, and the unfortunate girl fainted. The father of Mademoiselle de Monsigny—for this was the young lady's name—saw from the top of one of the towers that his daughter was going to be burnt alive. He was rushing towards her when he fell, struck by two bullets. But brave Aubin Bonnemère, indignant at such an outrage, hurried from his post, dashed aside the murderous crowd, seized their victim, and, having handed her over into safe keeping, ran back to continue the fight. These examples show how acts of violence which would have stained the glory of a day so memorable in the history of the Revolution, were the means of calling forth deeds of heroism.

A more terrible scene was about to be enacted at the Arsenal. A wig-maker, either drunk or mad, carrying two flaming torches, was trying to set fire to the saltpetre magazine. Humbert, the brave man who had the glory of being the first to reach the top of the towers of the Bastille, and who was, at that moment, on his way from the Hôtel-des-Invalides, ran up at the screams of a woman, struck the madman in the stomach with the buttend of his musket, and stretched him on the ground. Then courageously seizing hold of a barrel of saltpetre, which was already bursting into flames, he overturned it, and succeeded in putting it out. After driving off some wretches who had forced their way into the Archives and broken open the presses, under pretext of looking for powder, he hurried off to join the brave patriots who were attacking the Bastille.

No trained army ever performed greater prodigies of valour than did this multitude which had no leader to direct it, and which was composed of men of every rank, artisans of every kind, most of them badly equipped, and having no experience in the management of arms. They exposed themselves to the fire from

the ramparts, and seemed to defy the thunderbolts which their enemies hurled at them. Citizens, workmen, soldiers, all animated by the same spirit and taking no counsel but from their own courage, filled the courts of the Bastille in spite of the volleys of the garrison, and approached so near to the foot of the towers that de Launay himself repeatedly made use of the paving-stones and other missiles which he had caused to be heaped on the battlements.

In the midst of the confusion and disorder inseparable from so tumultuous an action, the assailants' musketry fire was so well directed and so effectually seconded by the inhabitants of the street and faubourg of Saint-Antoine, who, from the upper storeys of their houses, kept up a constant fire on the ramparts of the Bastille, that the besieged dared not show their heads above the battlements. The artillery was equally well served. A wine merchant, M. Cholat, who commanded a piece of ordnance stationed in the garden of the Arsenal, was particularly deserving of praise, as was also M. Georget, a gunner in the navy, who had arrived from Brest on the morning of the fourteenth, and who later was wounded in the thigh.

Within the fortress there was general discouragement. The Swiss, it is true, still exhorted the Governor to hold out; but the staff, and the non-commissioned officers, earnestly besought him to surrender, and he himself felt that it was impossible to continue the defence, the absolute want of provisions preventing him from sustaining the siege any longer. The assailants having brought down the first bridge, and got their guns to bear on the second, could not fail to obtain possession of the fort. De Launay might certainly have offered a more energetic resistance to the storming of the first bridge; but, more fitted to be a gaoler than the commander of a military stronghold, he lost his head as soon as he saw himself besieged by the infuriated populace; he hastened to take refuge behind his massive bastions, where he thought he could await in safety the reinforcements which M. de Bezenval and M. de Flesselles had promised to send him in the evening.

Uncertain and fluctuating between hope and fear, he followed the most dangerous of all courses, that which consists in follow-

ing none at all—the resource of weak minds, which, on critical occasions, seem impelled by a resistless force towards the very catastrophe which they are most anxious to avoid. Moreover, such was the position in which de Launay now found himself, that on whatever side he turned, an abyss yawned before him.

Disappointed in his expectation, dismayed at the incredible efforts and the dogged tenacity of the multitude, tormented by remorse, he gave himself up wholly to despair, and at the moment when a turnkey was distributing wine to the soldiers, he seized the linstock of one of the pieces of cannon in the inner court-yard, and made straight for the powder magazine, intending to set fire to it. A sergeant, M. Ferrand, lowered his bayonet at him and drove him back. He then went to the Tour de la Liberté, where some of the powder brought in on the night between the 12th and 13th had been stored. But here, too, another sergeant, M. Béquard, obliged him to retire, and prevented an act of madness which would have destroyed the Bastille, the neighbouring houses, and a part of the faubourg Saint-Antoine, and would have cost the lives of thousands of citizens.

The Governor, beside himself, then begged that a single barrel of powder should in mercy be given to him. Finally, he appealed to the garrison, and asked them whether it would not be better to blow themselves up, than to run the risk of being massacred by the populace, from whose fury they could no longer hope to escape. ‘Let us go back to the battlements,’ he said, ‘and, if we must die, let us make our death fatal to our enemies; let us crush them beneath the ruins of the Bastille!’

But the soldiers answered that they would rather die themselves than cause the death of so many fellow-citizens, and that, further resistance now being impossible, he must send up a drummer to the battlements to beat a parley, hoist a white flag, and capitulate. A parley was consequently beaten and a flag of truce run up on the Tour de la Bazinière. It was too late. The people, indignant at the Governor’s cowardly treachery in firing on the deputation, only looked upon these peaceful demonstrations as a new trap, and continued to advance towards the bridge of the inner court-yard, keeping up a constant fire as they did so.

The officer in command of the Swiss called out to the

assailants from a kind of port-hole near the drawbridge, and asked that the garrison should be allowed to march out with the honours of war. 'No, no,' was shouted in reply. Then, through the same opening, he passed a paper, which was too far off to be read, and shouted that the soldiers were willing to surrender on condition that their lives should be spared.

Thereupon a man went to fetch a plank which was at once run out over the parapet, several persons placing themselves upon it at the near end, to act as a counterpoise. The brave unknown then advanced; he was on the point of seizing the paper when he fell into the moat—struck, some said, by a bullet—and perished, a victim to his zeal. M. Maillard, the son of an usher of the Châtelet, undismayed by his fate, boldly advanced along this long and narrow plank, and snatched the paper which he handed to M. Hullin, who read it aloud. Its contents were as follows: '*We have twenty thousand pounds of gunpowder; we will blow up the garrison and the whole neighbourhood if you do not accept our conditions.*' 'On the word of an officer, we accept them,' replied M. Hullin, '*lower your bridges.*' But the infuriated crowd shouted out in protest at the mere mention of conditions, and brought up three pieces of cannon.

They were about to fire, and the ranks were already opening to make way for the discharge, when the enemy perceiving that it was intended to break down the main bridge, lowered the smaller foot-bridge at the left of the entrance to the fortress. In spite of the new danger which arose from this manœuvre, MM. Elie, Hullin, Maillard, Réole, Humbert, Tournay, François, Louis Morin, and several others sprang on to it at once, and drew the bolts which fixed it down.

The French Guards, who retained all their coolness in the midst of danger, drew up so as to form a barrier along the end of the bridge and to keep back the crowd of assailants, a precaution which saved the lives of thousands of people who must otherwise have been precipitated into the moat.

Some two minutes later a pensioner came and opened the gate situated behind the drawbridge, asking what was wanted. '*The surrender of the Bastille!*' was the reply. Then he gave admission to the people. The conquerors at once caused the main

bridge to be lowered ; before it was quite down Arné, at the risk of getting his legs broken, boldly leaped upon it, so that his weight acting as a counterpoise, might prevent its being pulled up again.

The pensioners were drawn up on the right, and the Swiss on the left ; their arms were piled along the wall. They waved their hats, clapped their hands, and cried *bravo* to the besiegers who were now crowding into the fort. The first who entered approached the vanquished with kindness, embracing the officers of the staff in token of peace and reconciliation, and taking possession of the fortress as one that had capitulated. But those who followed them, breathed only vengeance and slaughter, and treated the place as though it had been taken by storm. Some soldiers who were posted on the battlements and who were ignorant of the surrender, having at this moment fired a few shots, the populace, beside itself with fury, rushed madly at the pensioners and wreaked fearful vengeance. One of them was killed on the spot. The unhappy Béquart, the courageous officer who had deserved so well of Paris by staying the Governor's hand at the moment when he wished to blow up the Bastille, and who had not fired a single shot during the whole of the fight, received two sword-thrusts, and had his hand slashed off by a stroke from a sabre.

This same hand, to which so many citizens owed their lives, was carried in triumph through all the streets of Paris. Béquart himself was dragged from the fortress and hurried to the Place de Gréve.* The multitude in its blind fury mistook him for a gunner, and hanged him on a gibbet, where he died along with one Asselin, who like him fell a victim to this fatal mistake.

All the officers of the staff were taken prisoners. A rush was made for their quarters, where furniture, doors, and windows were broken to pieces. In the general confusion those who were in the court-yard fired upon those who were in the rooms and on the battlements. The courageous Humbert was wounded by a bullet whilst standing on the ramparts, and one of his friends was killed in his arms. Then the brave Arné, fixing his grenadier's

* The ordinary place of execution.—Tr.

cap on his bayonet, came to the parapet, running the risk of being killed himself, in order to put a stop to the firing.

MM. Maillard, Cholat, the grenadier Arné, and several others of the assailants, all claim the honour of having made M. de Launay prisoner. He was not in uniform, but dressed in a grey coat with scarlet ribbon, and held in his hand a sword-stick, with which he wanted to run himself through, but which the intrepid Arné snatched from him. MM. Hullin, Elie, and a few others undertook to serve him as an escort, and succeeded in getting him out of the Bastille, not, however, without rough treatment at the hands of the people that clamoured for his death. They set out for the Town Hall, accompanied by a large crowd. M. Elie, who was in uniform, marched foremost with the capitulation paper on his sword's point. Next to him was M. Legris, an officer of the King's Customs, who on that and the following days, distinguished himself by acts of bravery. Then came M. Maillard, bearing the flag, and behind him the Governor, held by MM. Hullin and Arné. M. de l'Épine, clerk to M. Morin, procurator to the Parliament of Paris, brought up the rear.

Such was M. de Launay's escort. Almost all those who composed it expected to fall victims to the fury of the crowd against the prisoner and to their own zeal in protecting him against the general indignation. Some tore his hair, whilst others struck at him and tried to kill him with their swords.

The wretched man, in an agony of mortal dread, appealed to M. Hullin in a faint voice: '*Oh, Sir, you promised not to leave me; stay with me till we get to the Town Hall.*' At other times he turned to M. Elie: '*Is this what you promised me? Oh! Sir, do not leave me!*'

In the meantime the fury of the crowd was increasing with each moment, and its blind resentment did not spare even M. de Launay's escort. M. de l'Épine was struck on the head with the butt-end of a musket, and obliged to drop behind near the Orme Saint-Gervais. Hullin himself, in spite of his great strength and commanding stature, was unable to hold out against the violence of the multitude. Worn and exhausted by the rough treatment he had received, as well as by his own efforts in defence of the

prisoner, he was forced to leave him near the Place de Grève, intending to take a little rest. Scarcely was he seated when, as he turned round, he beheld M. de Launay's head on the top of a pike. The last words uttered by the wretched man were: '*Oh, my friends, kill me! Kill me straight off. Don't do it by inches!*' The people fearing lest their victim should escape them, had butchered him on the steps of the Town Hall.

M. de Losme, his second in command, a man full of virtue and humanity, whom heaven would seem to have sent as an angel of consolation into these dark caverns, the abode of grief and tears—M. de Losme whom the prisoners loved as much as they hated M. de Launay, shared his unhappy fate. But deeds of heroism and gratitude marked the last moments of a life which a thousand virtuous actions had adorned.

The Governor had just been massacred. The unhappy Major was already on the Place de Grève, and was being hurried along with a fury which might well strike terror into the bravest heart. Suddenly a young man threw himself into his arms: '*Stop,*' he cried, '*Stop! You are about to kill the noblest of men! I was five years in the Bastille; he was my comforter, my friend, my father!*' It was M. de Pelleport, who had himself been a prisoner in the fortress, and whose captivity had been alleviated by the humane and kind treatment of M. de Losme. Struck by the words and the action of the young man, the unhappy officer raised his eyes towards him and said, with a calmness which was truly heroic in the awful position in which he stood: '*Young man, what are you doing? Go back; you are going to sacrifice yourself without saving me.*'

And as a matter of fact the roaring crowd listened to nothing but its own passion, saw nothing but its victim, and breathed of nothing but his death. Forgetting that he was unarmed, M. de Pelleport pushed the crowd aside with his hands: '*Yes!*' he exclaimed, '*yes, I will defend him against you all!*' But, at these words, one of the maddened wretches about him dealt him a blow with an axe, inflicting a deep wound on the neck. He was aiming a second blow at his head, but was knocked down by the Chevalier de Jean, who was with M. de Pelleport. The latter was at once assailed on all sides, struck with swords, and

wounded with bayonets. He succeeded, however, in getting possession of a musket, with which he felled all who approached him, until it was wrested from him; and it was only by prodigies of strength and of valour that he was able to escape from the crowd, and to save his own life. He reached the steps of the Town Hall with the greatest difficulty, and there fell unconscious. In the meantime, M. de Losme had been slaughtered opposite the Arcade St. Jean, his head had been severed from his body, like that of the Governor, and put on the end of a pike; and these bloody trophies were carried about in triumph through all the quarters of the city.

M. de Miray, lieutenant-major, had been killed in the Rue des Tournelles, and M. de Persan, lieutenant in the company of pensioners, near the Port au Blé. In this officer's pocket was found the cross of St. Louis, which was afterwards pinned to the breast of M. Dubois, a fusilier in the regiment of French Guards. But the latter, feeling that true honour lies in noble deeds and not in decorations, was satisfied with having deserved it, and sent it back, on the 3rd of September, to the authorities of his district, who returned it to M. de Lafayette.

Trembling with fear, the remainder of the Bastille garrison were awaiting their fate. The Swiss had escaped the first outburst of popular fury. As they were clad in linen smocks, they were supposed to be prisoners. Moreover, during the struggle they had remained in the court-yard, from which, it is true, they kept up a continual fire, not only through the loop-holes, but also through the holes which they had made in the drawbridge, but they had not gone up to the towers, and had not been seen during the action. This saved them from the anger of the besiegers, which fell exclusively on the unhappy pensioners. They were taken to the Place de Grève. Filled with horror at the sight of their comrades hanging on the fatal gibbet, overwhelmed with insults and subjected to the most humiliating treatment, they appeared before one of the municipal officials. 'You have fired on your fellow-citizens,' he said to them; 'you deserve to be hanged, and you shall be on the spot.'

A universal cry from the multitude signified assent to the doom decreed against all the defenders of the Bastille, and demanded

their instant execution. But the French Guards, as humane in victory as they had been terrible in battle, asked, as a reward for their services, that the lives of the prisoners should be spared. The generous proposal was received with applause. Public and private vengeance were both disarmed by it; everything yielded to the voice of the soldiers of the country, and repeated cries of '*Pardon! pardon!*' filled the Place de Grève.

M. Marqué, a sergeant in the Grenadier Guards, crowned this act of clemency by another deed of generosity. He caused twenty-two pensioners and eleven Swiss of Salis's regiment to be placed in the middle of the detachment under his command, and to protect them from the crowd which still assailed them with insulting cries, he marched them through the Place des Victoires to the barracks de la Nouvelle-France, in spite of those who wanted them to be paraded through the Palais-Royal.

Within the quarters of their conquerors the unfortunate men found food, shelter and rest; and on the following day they were allowed to depart to join their respective regiments. Twelve of the Swiss subsequently enlisted under the national flag.

But popular vengeance was not yet sated; and another victim was about to be sacrificed to it. It was M. de Montbarey, a former Minister of War; he had been taken from the Arsenal to the Town Hall, where he was on the point of being put to death before the eyes of his horror-stricken wife.

Hurried to the end of the hall, where the electors sat, he was there jostled and pressed so that he could scarcely breathe, whilst the vigorous grasp of twenty armed men prevented the least movement on his part. A score of others levelled their bayonets at the breast of M. de la Salle, who held out his arms to him.

In spite of these hostile manifestations, however, the brave commander did not despair of saving him. Appealing in turns to those who pressed round their prisoner and to those who threatened his own life, he at length succeeded in making the former loosen their hold and the latter raise their bayonets. Then seizing a favourable opportunity, he threw a vigorous arm around M. de Montbarey, made a shield for him of his own body, and forcibly dragged him from the crowd. This feat created such a sensation around them that the vengeful cries which filled

the hall but a moment before were changed into loud and repeated applause and acclamations.

On his side, the brave Elie, from the kind of dais on which his companions had placed him, stretched out his hands towards those who, in the midst of pikes and bayonets, implored his help. Perceiving amongst the prisoners some children who had been employed in menial offices within the Bastille, he cried out: 'Mercy! Mercy for the children!' These words were the signal for a general pardon.

Elie swayed the crowd with a sovereign authority, which he used to calm the general excitement. His dishevelled hair, his brow covered with sweat, the sword which he proudly held and which was bent in three places, his disordered garments, gave his whole person a warlike appearance, which inspired the multitude with respect.

All eyes were fixed upon him, not a single word of his was lost. 'Citizens,' he said, 'either refrain from bespattering with blood the laurels with which you have crowned me, or take back your wreaths. Before going to behold the fall of the Bastille,—for tomorrow's sun shall see its battlements laid low,—let us call upon all these prisoners, who are more unfortunate than guilty, to swear fidelity to the Nation.' The oath was at once solemnly taken, amidst the applause of the whole assembly.

After their first ardour had cooled down, the besiegers who had remained within the fortress shared the humane sentiments of their brothers in arms, and scattered themselves through the prison. Anxious to judge for themselves of the truth of what rumour had published concerning the mysteries of these dreadful towers, they threw themselves like vultures upon the guts of their recent prey, probed them to the bottom and searched out all their turns. Some swarmed up the dark stairs and mounted to the battlements; they raised their hands to heaven, they heaped insults on the guns still loaded with the thunderbolts which were to have been hurled at them, and turned them to face any enemies who might dare to approach from the direction of the faubourg. Finally they loosened and threw down enormous stones, which fell with a crash that spread afar the news of the victory.

Others forced their way into the Council-hall, that hall where impious and obsequious favourites, paid servants of tyranny, passed lawless judgments which were executed without remorse. Several found their way into the chapel, where a priest called out: 'This is a holy place, the house of the Lord!' The sacred vessels were respected, and nothing was taken away but a painting which represented Saint Peter in chains, and in which, by a refinement of cruelty, all the attributes of slavery were brought before the eyes of the unfortunate wretches who, finding no pity upon earth, came here to implore the compassion of heaven. As they went they smashed with stones the dial of the clock in the court-yard, where prisoners had been allowed to take exercise. As supporters to this dial there were two figures of slaves bowed down by the weight of their chains. It was under the ministry of M. de Sartine that these ornaments, worthy of the minister and of the fearful place for which they were intended, had been devised.

The greater number passed tumultuously through the prisons, went down into the dungeons, shook loudly the double and triple iron bound doors, strong as the outer gates of a fortress, and broke open with repeated blows the cold vaults which were wrapped in darkness and in the silence of death; for in the intoxication of victory the poor creatures who were imprisoned in the fortress had been forgotten and the keys of the bolts behind which they groaned had been carried away in triumph.

Then everything, from the cells to the roof, was set in a blaze, whilst the archives, and all the gold and silver that could be found were pillaged. Everything was ravaged and devastated. Heaps of documents, manuscripts, registers, were cast from the towers into the moats and the court-yards, scattered, torn, trampled under foot, or taken possession of by any who chose to pick them up.

Old weapons of strange and murderous shape, and even chains were carried away. Some of these horrible fetters, worn by constant friction, caused a shudder of indignation as they recalled the multitude of unfortunate wretches to whom they had been a cause of daily suffering. There was discovered an old iron corselet devised for the purpose of preventing the play of the

joints of the body, and of thus keeping a man in a state of constant and absolute immobility. Other instruments of torture displaying the same cruel and destructive ingenuity were also brought to light, but nobody could guess either their name or the special purpose for which they were intended. This was the secret of the Phalaris' of Versailles, the secret of the executioners and of those who paid them. Following the example of the first of the conquerors who had left the Bastille after capturing it, and who all bore with them some token of their victory, those who remained after them as well as those who subsequently flocked to it from every side, all went away carrying some of the spoils of the monster they had laid low. But none of them thought of appropriating this infamous booty.

Seven prisoners were found, and carried in triumph to the Palais-Royal. These unfortunate men were in a kind of daze, and could scarcely believe that they were not in a dream from which they would soon awaken to stern reality. But they soon saw the bloody head of their gaoler surmounting the fatal pike to which the following inscription, in large characters, was affixed: '*De Launay, Governor of the Bastille, a false traitor to the people.*' They turned their eyes away at the sight, and bathed in tears of gratitude, raised their hands to heaven invoking its blessings on their liberators and upon the first moments of their own freedom.

The keys of the fortress were handed over to M. Brissot who, a few years before had himself been thrown into these caverns of despotism; and three thousand men were sent to guard the hateful towers until a decree of the municipality should give effect to the popular wish that they should be destroyed.

We shall not here record all the deeds of bravery which, on this day, astonished even the bravest soldiers. It is not astonishing that men should give proof of heroism when they are fighting for the two objects dearest to them, their country and their liberty; and love for these was the sentiment which filled all hearts. We shall limit ourselves to recording a few incidents which prove that mere animal courage was not the characteristic of the plebeian warriors who won the victory; and that there were to be found amongst them that loftiness and that delicacy

of sentiment which even education so seldom gives to men who call themselves their superiors. In proof we may quote the modesty of grenadier Arné, of Dôle in Franche-Comté, who having been forgotten when commissions in the paid militia were given out, made no complaint and was not astonished at again finding himself a mere private after having performed deeds which the son of a Duke and Peer would have thought all existing military honours insufficient to reward. And to this we may add that filial piety which enabled him to find, in his modest pay, the means of comforting the old age of his father and his mother. Here, too, we may mention the answer made by his fellow-townsmen, M. Delaurière, who having had the glory of capturing the flag of the Bastille, took it to the Town Hall, and asked a receipt for it, and who, being asked in whose name it should be made out, said : ' Make it out in the name of the Grenadiers of the third battalion.'

A citizen who had been brought in from the siege, covered with blood and with his left hand shattered, was getting his name entered on the list of the ' Conquerors of the Bastille ' and record taken of his wounds. But he made no mention of his right arm which he carried in a sling, and surprise was expressed at this. Hearing it he replied : ' It is nothing, it is only a flesh wound from a bullet, and I can move my fingers. I do not intend to let that arm figure in your minutes.' He who spoke thus was a pauper.

At the Bastille, a young girl of eighteen, dressed in man's clothing, was seen fighting by the side of her lover, from whom she would let nothing separate her. After the siege the wife of a coal-heaver went amongst the dead, and turned over the bodies to see whether her son was one of the number. In reply to the remarks which her conduct called forth, she said : ' What ! In what more glorious place could I look for him ? Is he not fortunate if he has been able to give his life for his country ?'

The taking of the Bastille cost the lives of ninety-eight of the besiegers. Eighty-three of them fell on the spot, and fifteen died of their wounds. Seventy-three were either maimed or wounded. The besieged lost but one man during the fighting. Four officers and four soldiers were hanged or massacred after the action.

The seven prisoners who were found within the Bastille when it was taken were : MM. Pujade, Béchade, la Roche, and la Caurège, who were accused of having forged bills of exchange accepted by MM. Touston, Ravel, and Galet de Santerre, bankers. If they were innocent, their imprisonment was an act of tyranny ; if they were guilty, it was an abuse ; they ought not to have been withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunal. Besides these there was M. de Solages, who had been arrested in 1782, at the request of his father, for dissipation. He had first been sent to Vincennes, and thence transferred to the Bastille. During the seven years he had been in prison, he had not received a single letter from his family or his friends, although he himself often wrote. He did not know that his father was dead, that M. Lenoir was no longer lieutenant of police, that there had been an assembly of Notables, and that the States-General were then sitting at Versailles. Having asked his turnkey the cause of the firing which he heard from his room, he was told there was a riot amongst the people on account of the price of bread. The district of the Oratoire, to which he was taken, received him under its protection, and made itself answerable for him. Another prisoner was M. Tavernier, natural son of M. Pâris Duverney, and brother to Pâris Montmartel. He had been in the Bastille since the 4th of August 1759, and was beginning to think that there were no human beings upon earth but his gaolers. The last was M. Whyte, who was taken to the Bastille when the prison of Vincennes was closed. How long he had been a prisoner and who he really was could not be accurately ascertained. It was this prisoner who was carried about the streets of Paris. Like the former he was deranged in his mind, and the Electors were obliged to send them both to Charenton a few days after their liberation.

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[The King visited Paris upon July 17, the third day after the fall of the Bastille. The following is the official notice of his visit as given in the *Moniteur* for July 17-20. The number for July 29, contains a later and more detailed account of the same event].

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

M. Lefranc de Pompignan, Archbishop of Vienne, in the Chair.

MORNING SITTING OF FRIDAY, JULY 17TH.

The President, requested the Members of the Assembly to be present at the passage of the King who, in deference to the wishes of the citizens of Paris, would that day pay a visit to the capital.

All the Members accordingly left the House; and the King passed through their midst, and through an innumerable crowd, accompanied by a body of armed citizens, and greeted on all sides by the cheers of all the people.

The Assembly having returned, various letters and addresses, which had been received from the municipalities of Nancy, Chatellherault, Saint-Remi in Provence, and Landernau were read. All these communications expressed unconditional adhesion to the resolutions passed by the Assembly.

The President then stated that he had written to the First President of the Parliament of Paris informing him that, in the opinion of the Assembly, a deputation, and not a mere letter, would have been the suitable and proper form in which to communicate to it the decision arrived at by the Court.

M. Rabaud de Saint-Etienne then read the draft of a form of procedure prepared by the commission. It was moved and carried that copies of it should be printed and sent to the various committees.

The sitting was then adjourned till half-past seven in the evening.

EVENING SITTING OF FRIDAY, JULY 17TH.

Resolutions passed by the towns of Besançon and Romans were read. They gave expression to the general satisfaction which the union of the Deputies of the three Estates had caused.

On the King's return, the Assembly went out to meet His Majesty, who was escorted in the same way as he had been when he set out for Paris, in the morning.

M. Sallé de Choux, a member of the deputation which had accompanied the King to Paris, gave an account of the tokens of love which His Majesty had received in the capital.

The King, he said, had reached Paris about three o'clock, and traversed it in his carriage, without his guards, but surrounded

by the deputation from the National Assembly, and between two lines formed by the municipal militia, of which detachments, both horse and foot, also preceded and followed him. At the entrance to the city, His Majesty was received by the Corporation, and M. Bailly, who filled the functions of *Prévôt des Marchands*, delivered the following address to him:—

‘Sire; I bring your Majesty the keys of your good city of Paris. They are the same that were presented to Henry IV. He had made the conquest of his people; but, on this occasion, it is the people which has made the conquest of its King.

‘Your Majesty has come to behold and to rejoice at the peace which you have restored to your capital; to rejoice in the love of your faithful subjects. It is for their happiness that your Majesty has called together the representatives of the nation, and is now going, with their co-operation, to lay the foundations on which liberty and public prosperity are to arise. How memorable is this day on which your Majesty has come to take your place as a father in the midst of this assembled family; on which you have been accompanied to your palace by the whole National Assembly, guarded by the representatives of the nation, and surrounded by an immense concourse of people! Your Majesty’s august features bore the marks of sensibility and happiness whilst around you nothing could be heard but shouts of joy, and nothing seen but tears of tenderness and love. Sire; neither your people nor your Majesty will forget this great day. It is the happiest in the annals of the Monarchy; it marks a solemn and eternal alliance between the monarch and the people. Such an event stands alone, and will immortalise your Majesty. I have beheld this great day; and, as though there were to be no limits to my happiness, the first duty required of me, in the position to which my fellow-citizens have raised me, is that of laying before you the expression of their respect and of their love.’

At twenty minutes past four the King, accompanied by the Duke de Villeroy, Marshall Beauvau, the Duke de Villequier, and the Comte d’Estaing, entered the Grand Hall of the Municipal Buildings. In the cries of ‘Long live the King!’ which filled the Hall, and which did not cease until His Majesty had

taken his seat on the throne, there was a ring of happiness and enthusiasm to which no words could do justice. M. Bailly then presented to the King a cockade similar to that adopted by the citizens. His Majesty accepted it and kept it fastened to his hat the whole time. The feelings by which His Majesty was agitated found expression in his countenance and in all his movements, and still further increased the emotion of the assembly.

When the enthusiasm had calmed down and silence had been obtained, M. M^oreau de Saint M^éry, President of the Assembly of Electors, addressed His Majesty in a speech in which he pointed out that the loyalty so spontaneously and so universally manifested by the people proved how utterly undeserved and calumnious was the interpretation which some people had dared to put upon their intentions towards the King. 'Sire,' he said, 'you may now fittingly recall that great and touching truth, "*The throne of a King can never be more firmly established than when it has for its foundation the love and the fidelity of the people.*" And, if this be the case, yours will remain unshaken.'

M. Ethis de Corny then spoke in his capacity as Royal Procurator for the City of Paris, and proposed that, in commemoration of the events of that great day a monument should be raised '*To Louis XVI., the Regenerator of Public Liberty, the Restorer of National Prosperity, the Father of the French People.*'

The King endeavoured to reply, but the emotion under which he laboured was too strong to allow of his delivering a speech. M. Bailly having approached His Majesty and received his orders said that the King had come to allay any anxiety which might still exist with regard to the resolutions which he had made known to the nation, as well as to gladden his heart by the sight of his people and the manifestation of their love; that His Majesty desired the restoration of peace, quietness, and order throughout his capital; and that it was his wish, in the event of any infringement of the laws, that the guilty parties should be handed over to justice.

M. Bailly having further announced that His Majesty was willing that other speakers should be heard, the Comte de Lally-Tolendal rose and said:—

'Well! citizens, are you satisfied now? Behold the King, for

whose presence you clamoured, and the mere mention of whose name excited your enthusiasm, when we uttered it in your midst, two days ago. Rejoice at his presence and in the benefits which he is conferring upon you. Behold him who has restored your national assemblies to you, and is willing to continue them. Behold him who has resolved to establish your liberty and your property on a firm and permanent basis. Behold him who has, so to speak, offered you to share his authority, reserving to himself no more of it than is necessary for your happiness, than it is his duty to retain, and than you yourselves should beseech him never to alienate. Let some consolation at length be his! Let his noble and pure heart bear away from here that peace of which it is so worthy. And eclipsing all the virtues of his predecessors, he has resolved to make his power and greatness dependent on your love, to be obeyed only through love, and to have love for his only safeguard; let us not, therefore, be less noble and less generous than our King; let us prove to him that even his power and even his greatness have won a thousand times more than they have sacrificed.

‘And you, Sire, allow a subject who is neither more faithful nor more devoted than all those who surround you here, but who is as much so as any of those who obey you, to raise his voice towards you and to say: ‘Behold that people which idolizes you, that people which your mere presence intoxicates, and whose feelings towards your Sacred Person can never be the subject of a doubt. Look at them, Sire; comfort by your look all these citizens of your capital. Look into their eyes, listen to their voices, search their hearts which have gone out towards you. There is not a single man here but is ready to shed for you and for your legitimate authority the very last drop of his blood. No, Sire, the present generation of Frenchmen is not so unhappy as to be destined to give the lie to fourteen centuries of loyalty. Were it necessary, we would all die to defend a throne, which is as sacred to us as it is to you, and to the august dynasty which we placed upon it eight hundred years ago. Be assured, Sire, be assured that we never did anything to grieve your heart, but our own was torn by it; and that in the midst of public calamities it is an additional one that we must afflict you even by words

of complaint, which are intended to warn and to implore, but not to accuse you. But now, at last, all griefs will be soothed, all troubles are about to disappear. A single word from your mouth has calmed everything. Our virtuous King has recalled his virtuous councillors. Perish the public foes who would still endeavour to sow discord between the nation and its chief! Let us all, King, subjects, citizens, unite our hearts, our aspirations, and our efforts, and let the world behold the magnificent spectacle of one of its most glorious nations living free, happy, and triumphant under the rule of a just, revered, and beloved King, who, no longer owing anything to force, shall owe everything to his virtues and to his love.'

All these speeches were interrupted by the applause of the whole assembly at such parts as gave expression to the feelings of the people towards their King.

The King, whose emotion was even deeper than before, could barely utter a few words, which were proclaimed aloud by those about him: 'My people can always depend upon my love.'

The meeting having thus terminated, the King appeared at one of the balconies, and was greeted by universal cries of, 'Long live the King!' by the vast crowds which were assembled in the Place de Grève, which filled all the windows and covered all the roofs of the surrounding houses. His Majesty then left the Municipal Buildings, and was everywhere received upon his return with the same enthusiastic manifestations of love and loyalty.

This narrative was frequently interrupted by the applause and acclamations of the Assembly.

ART. II.—THE RAILWAY RACE TO EDINBURGH.

PUBLIC interest was vividly aroused, in the summer of 1888, by the race to Edinburgh, in which the London and North-Western and the Great Northern Railway companies were competitors. There was, indeed, ample justifi-

cation for some excitement, even apart from that love of racing, in any form, which is so marked an element of the national character. Great speed on railways was in the first instance due to the additional facilities for the construction of powerful locomotives that were afforded by the broad gauge. An addition of nearly fifty per cent. to the width between the wheels—to the gauge, as it is termed—afforded to the mechanic room for the more rapid production of steam, as well as for the easy arrangement of the moving details of the engine. It may be the case that the audacious genius of Isambard Brunel overshot the mark; but it cannot be denied that he evinced a more accurate foresight of the capabilities and of the future of steam transport than did other makers of our railways. In the celebrated trial on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, in 1829, a speed of $29\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour was attained by Stephenson's 'Rocket.' This speed was considerably exceeded by the 'Novelty' of Braithwaite and Ericsson, but the workmanship of the latter was inferior to that of the sturdy Northumbrian engineer; the 'Novelty' failed in staying power, and the Stephensons remained masters of the field. It is probable that a very moderate speed would have become normal in the country, but for the emulation aroused by the energy of Brunel. The London and Birmingham Railway, although a great improvement on the mineral lines on which steam traction was first applied, was but a natural evolution of their structure, due to the teaching of experience. The Great Western Railway, with its 7 foot gauge, was a new conception. For the stone blocks used on the narrow gauge lines in cutting, and for the cross sleepers which were at first regarded as a mere temporary mode of supporting the rails on embankments, Brunel substituted an elaborate structure of carpentry, pinned down to the earth by piles. And this was done with the express purpose of running at a hurricane speed. Practice soon dispensed with the piles, and dispensed, a little later, with the wooden packing that was at first introduced between the rail and the longitudinal timber which supported it. But the ease of running, and the safety, afforded by the mode of laying the Great Western rail,

with its continuous support on wood, gave an advantage to the broad gauge permanent way which was fully utilised in the construction of the engines. Mr. Brunel adopted 18 inch cylinders, 24 inch stroke, and 8 feet driving wheels, for the Great Western Express engines, at a time when nothing on this scale was attempted on the narrow, now the national, gauge. In 1847, over the flat gradients between London and Bristol, the running speed reached the rate of 70 miles an hour. In 1853 a number of large tank engines were made for the Bristol and Exeter Railway, a prolongation of the Great Western, with driving wheels of 9 feet diameter, which had no flanges. The engine, which in this mode of construction is combined with the tender, weighed 42 tons, being supported (in addition to these large driving wheels) on two trucks with four wheels, of 4 feet diameter each. Mr. Zerah Colburn, in his 'History of the Locomotive Engine,' states that he was informed by Mr. Pearson, the designer, that these engines ran at the rate of 80 miles an hour with complete steadiness; and that for a mileage of 80,000 miles the first engine of the series averaged a consumption of only $21\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of coke per train mile.

With the increase of traffic, the necessity of adopting one gauge throughout Great Britain became apparent, and the much greater length of the 4 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., as compared with the 7 foot lines, sealed the fate of the latter. Had Brunel been less bold, had he been content with a six feet gauge, that proportion would probably have been accepted as national, to the great advantage of the railway system. As to that, it is too late to express regret. But the narrow gauge engines, having been enabled by considerable increase of length to hold their own as to speed, have gradually become heavier and more powerful, as the trains they had to draw increased in length and weight with the steady increase of traffic. The chief questions of the general problem of locomotive construction have thus been solved in different methods, by different engineers. So when the East Coast and the West Coast lines contend for the Edinburgh traffic, almost every point of mechanical importance is involved in the rivalry; and the

results of the running of August, 1888, will ever remain memorable in mechanical history.

‘The locomotive engine,’ its early historian declares, ‘owes nothing to mathematical investigations. In its earliest forms it was designed by unlettered men, and it has grown into what it now is solely through the results of practical experience.’ This is in the main true, though it does not altogether do justice to the mathematical teaching of Brunel. But even the creations of his genius underwent great modifications in practice; and the vital breath of the locomotive, the steam blast, may almost be said to have developed itself as an unexpected phenomenon. But it is not a credit to a learned profession to allow theory to lag indefinitely behind practice.

The Marquis of Worcester, in 1641, was aware of the proposals of Solomon de Caus (who was confined as a madman in the Bicêtre, at Paris), for the application of steam power to the propulsion of carriages; and James Watt, in 1759, received a suggestion to the same effect from his friend Robinson. But the first self-moving land carriage was made by a Frenchman, Nicholas Joseph Cugnot, in 1769; and a larger engine, made upon his plans in 1771, is still preserved in the *Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers*, at Paris. This was made by Buzin: the Government having allowed the sum of 20,000 francs for the purpose, in anticipation of the utility of the invention for military purposes. This engine may be regarded as the parent rather of the steam roller than of the railway locomotive, as the driving wheel is single and central, 4 ft. 2 in. in diameter, and 7 inches wide in the tyre, which is grooved across to increase its bite. The ‘bogie frame’ of the Americans was to a certain extent anticipated by Cugnot, as the framing of his engine is in two parts, joined together with a swivelling pin. The weight of the engine and its load was 12 tons, and the speed of $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles an hour was attained. Watt patented a steam carriage in 1784. Richard Trevethick made and worked the first tramway locomotive in 1802. In 1811, Matthew Murray, of Leeds, made for Mr. John Blenkinsop, the proprietor of Middleton Colliery, a locomotive which obtained adhesion by means of a pinion working into a stout rack rail laid on one

side of the railway. Hedley's locomotive 'Puffing Billy,' now in the South Kensington Museum, was built in 1813. It is borne on four wheels of equal diameter, to which the motion of the pistons is communicated by toothed gearing. Two years later Hedley made more powerful engines, in which the weight was distributed on eight wheels, also geared to work together, so as to obtain adhesion from them all. These were beam engines, with vertical cylinders, known to the miners as 'grass-hoppers.' The beams were abandoned by George Stephenson, who used long cross heads, and two vertical cylinders, placed in the centre line of the engine. They worked in the first engines by means of a cranked axle, and later by outside pins fixed on the wheels. In 1827, Hackworth's 'Royal George' had two vertical cylinders, connected with the pins of three pairs of coupled wheels, and drew 32 loaded waggons, weighing about 130 tons, at the rate of five miles an hour, on the level portions of the Stockton and Darlington Railway. The imperfect state of engineering knowledge at this time may be judged by the fact that Messrs. Rastrick and Walker, in reporting to the directors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in March, 1829, on this engine, asserted that its tractive force was inversely as its speed. This curious blunder is to the present day allowed to vitiate many statistical accounts of railways, especially in the United States, under the fantastic name of the unit of 'the speed-ton.'

The basis of our present theory as to the speed attainable by the locomotive, when drawing a train, rests, according to Mr. Colburn, on a series of observations made in 1847 on the Bristol and Exeter Railway, 7 feet gauge, by Sir Daniel Gooch. The primary results of these valuable experiments were reduced and arranged by Mr. D. K. Clark; and tables, formulæ, and diagrams constructed to illustrate them will be found in the twenty-ninth chapter of Colburn's 'Locomotive Engineering.' The resistance overcome in these experiments consists of two elements, viz., the constant resistance which has to be overcome when the engine or train is first put in motion, and which is unaffected by speed, although it is dependent to a great extent on the condition of the road; and

(2) the resistance due to velocity, which increases as the square of the speed, but is independent of the condition of the road. The total resistance, composed of these two elements, is calculated for the engine and tender alone, for the train alone, and for the engine, tender and train.

In addition to these definite elements of resistance is a third, depending on the gradients of the line, or on the friction of the weight of the train that is lifted by the inclination overcome. In his first calculation for the London and Birmingham Railway, Mr. Stephenson assumed that the resistance due to gravity on a gradient of one in 330 (or 16 feet in the mile), was equal to the general resistance of the train on a level; and that inclination was adopted as the ruling grade of that line in consequence. The great importance of the atmospheric resistance to velocity came later under consideration, as the power and speed of the locomotive increased. In order to arrive at a formula of resistance which could safely be employed in ordinary practice, allowing for sharp curves, and strong side or head winds, Mr. D. K. Clark has increased the theoretic resistance by some 50 per cent.; and it is to a formula thus calculated that we shall refer. On that basis, the resistance to a train running at the speed of ten miles an hour, up a gradient of one in 330, is fifty per cent. more than on the level, and is equal to that of the same train on the level at the speed of 30 miles an hour. At 40 miles an hour on the level, the resistance is equal to that at 10 miles an hour up a gradient of one in 180. But the resistance due to velocity becomes more dominant at higher speeds. That encountered at 45 miles an hour is equal, according to the formula, to the force of gravity on an incline of one in 75; a gradient that has to be overcome by every train leaving Euston before it reaches Camden town, though for a short distance only. At 80 miles an hour the tabulated resistance on the level is equal to that of the ascent of a grade of one in 40, at ten miles an hour. At 100 miles an hour an engine must be of more power than any that are now built to propel, on the level, its own weight, including that of the tender, without drawing a single carriage.

As the friction or internal resistance of the engine is nearly double that of the train, calculated per ton, it is clear that if our present formulæ of resistance are correct, the economical limit to speed has been nearly, if not altogether, reached at 60 miles per hour. A powerful Great Northern locomotive, weighing with its tender 65 tons, is rated to draw 160 tons of carriages on the level at 50 miles an hour. Raise the speed to 60 miles an hour, and the engine will only draw 115 tons, or, if we allow for gradients of one in 200, only 73 tons of train. Add ten miles an hour more to her speed, and the possible train of carriages sinks to a little under 50 tons. At 80 miles an hour 32 tons would be all that this engine of 678 horse power could draw, at 100 miles an hour it could not draw a single carriage. This is assuming the accuracy of the corrected formula. On the other hand if the correction of about 50 per cent. be not necessarily introduced into the original formula, there is no mechanical impossibility of building an engine that would draw a train of 100 tons at 100 miles an hour.

The economical limit in the descending scale is determined by somewhat different considerations. The entire running cost, per ton of train per mile, at fifteen miles an hour is almost exactly the same as that at fifty, the cost of labour increasing as the cost of fuel decreases. At the lower speed the engine in question would draw 240 tons of loaded train, against 160 at 50 miles an hour. The net load of 185 tons of coal would earn a gross revenue not exceeding 7s. 8d. per mile. The working cost, at the average of the English lines in 1879, would be 5s. 9d. per mile, but then the back carriage of the empty vehicles has to be provided for. But the 105 tons of carriages taken at the 50 mile speed could accommodate upwards of 300 passengers, earning 25 shillings a mile each way, at about the same working cost. As the English railways only earn on an average 46 or 47 per cent. net of their total income (which only yields 4 per cent. on their capital), it is undeniable that much of the cost of the train that earns 7s. 8d. per mile must be paid out of the receipts of the train that earns, or can earn, 25 shillings per mile. And so we account for the decline of the 10 per cent. dividends of 1884 to the 4 per cent. dividends of 1887.

But this is not all. Supposing a railway worked to its full capacity of traffic, it might carry an equal number of trains per day, whether the running speed were fifteen or fifty miles an hour, so that the speed were uniform. More engines and more plant would be required in the former case than in the latter, and also very much more station room; but the main lines of way would be equally available at either speed. But introduce two rates of running, and the capacity of the line itself is immediately diminished, and that in the ratio of the difference between the two rates of travel.

The authors and founders of the railway system, George and Robert Stephenson, Isambard Brunel, and their pupils and assistants, had no leisure for the systematic study of these important questions. With the opening of the earliest lines of railway a struggle for the management not unfrequently took place between the Engineer and the Secretary. The victory generally remained with the latter, and the result was that the control of the working of our lines was committed to men of high organising capacity, but untrained in the laws of mechanics. One Engineer for the locomotive department, and another for the maintenance of way and works, with a General Manager for the traffic, to whom these specialists were in practice subordinate, was the arrangement almost universally adopted. It is very possible that an Engineer might rarely have been so successful in the collection and distribution of goods as a man whose education had more directly fitted him for that duty. But a railway is in the first place a complicated system of mechanism; and as such it can not be expected that the mechanical problems constantly arising can be so well solved as by the committal of the control to one engineer. Had Robert Stephenson and his school retained the control of the working of our railways, it would have been inconceivable that now, after they have been running for two thirds of a century, the question of what each distinct kind of traffic really earns, after deduction of what it costs, should remain, as is actually the case, absolutely without reply.

The great need that existed for what may be called scientific legislation—we do not mean by the House of Commons—

for the new mode of inland transport, after railways had been for more than twenty years in operation, is illustrated by two important debates that took place at the Institution of Civil Engineers in May 1846, and in April 1848. The occasion of the first of these was the reading of a paper 'on the resistances to railway trains at different velocities,' by Mr. Wyndham Harding. So far was this question, the very A B C of railway theory, from being understood at this time even by the leaders of the profession, that Sir John Rennie, the president of the Institution, summed up the debate by stating that there was an actual difference of opinion whether the resistance to a train at the velocity of sixty miles an hour was 18lb. or 72lb. a ton. Even more amazing is the fact that the line indicated by Mr. Daniel Gooch, as graphically defining the increase of resistance with speed, which was supported, to some extent, by the great authority of Mr. Brunel, was shown in a diagram exhibited at the Institution as straight; although nothing is more certain, or indeed more elementary, than that the graphic representations of series of observations into which the motion of fluids, or of bodies through fluids, enter, must necessarily be curved. Mr. Harding's paper is a valuable record of the imperfect state of technical knowledge at the time. It was subject of regret that, as some of the experiments recorded had been made on broad, and others on narrow, guage lines, it proved impossible to avoid allusion to a controversy that was actively going on at the time. In the second debate, which took place on a paper by Mr. Gooch, Mr. Stephenson, Mr. Brunel, Mr. Bidder, Mr. Locke, and Mr. Scott Russell took part; and Mr. Gooch supported the statement that the resistance at 60 miles an hour was 30·5 pounds per ton. It will be shewn that some of the main elements of useful comparison were neglected in these debates, which, unfortunately, took the form of advocacy of conflicting theories, rather than of patient search for truth.

Mr. Locke, remarking that the discussion proved the impossibility of any satisfactory conclusion from results derived partly from experiment and partly from calculation, stated that all experience on the narrow guage had proved that the

uniform velocity finally attained by a train allowed to run freely down an incline of 1 in 100, impelled by gravity alone, varied from a minimum of 33 to a maximum of 36 miles an hour. The pull due to gravity in this case is 22·4 lb. per ton. In the tables of Mr. Clark, now generally adopted, the resistance to movement on the level at 35 miles an hour is given as 22·5 pounds per ton; a determination, arrived at by the formula, in very close harmony with Mr. Locke's observation. But at the very time of this debate the ordinary express trains on the Great Western, weighing 84 tons, constantly ran the 33 miles to Didcot, without stopping, in from 40 to 50 minutes; the consumption of water being 1500 to 1550 gallons, and the rise 118 feet. In one trip made with Captain Simmons, R.E., an average speed of 67 miles an hour was attained with an expenditure of 1550 gallons of water, which, allowing one-sixth for back pressure, would give 30 pounds per ton as the resistance to the engine and train weighing 115 tons on the level, while Mr. Clark's formula gives 51·3 pounds.

Thus, while we frankly accept the testimony of Mr. Locke, and other narrow gauge advocates, to the effect that the outcome of their experiments gave a resistance of about 22 pounds per ton at a velocity of 35 miles an hour, with the engines and trains which they were using in 1846, an equal amount of confidence must be accorded to the experiments of Sir D. Gooch, on the Box and Wotton Bassett inclines, with broad gauge engines and trains, which showed resistances ranging from 26·8 pounds per ton at a speed of 52·7 miles per hour, to 30·8 pounds per ton at 60 miles per hour. So wide a difference of results called loudly for further investigation, a fact which was admitted by Mr. Stephenson as well as by Mr. Brunel. Unfortunately the spirit of partisanship prevailed over the desire for scientific truth; and some of the leading points of this important problem remain at the present moment entirely uninvestigated.

It is further remarkable that, in a debate so calculated to call forth the fullest scientific information at the command of the engineer, no reference was made to the fact that specific gravities have to be taken into account in experiments on

inclined planes. The great advantage of this method of investigation, which was originally introduced by Dr. Lardner, in 1838, is that the propelling force is unvarying, at each inclination, and capable of exact determination. On the other hand, as Mr. Brunel stated, the results obtained from the experiments on the inclined planes of the Great Western Railway were so greatly at variance with these previously observed on narrow gauge lines, as to indicate the action of some interfering force, an action which is clearly attributable to the variation, not of the propelling power, but of the resistance. But the resistance of the atmosphere, apart from any disturbance from wind currents, is as mathematically determinable as the force of gravity itself. It follows that the cause of variations must be sought in the moving body. And when that point is gained it is easy to see that a true cause of variation exists in the relation between the specific weight of the train, and that of the atmosphere. To make plain by example a statement which is theoretically indisputable, we have compared, in the following table, some elements which have been hitherto overlooked. It is to be observed that the figures given are not absolute, or inductive, but comparative only, and somewhat rough.

We take the case of three locomotive engines, of the respective weights of 20, 30, and 40 tons, being allowed to run freely down an incline of one in 70, giving a pull of 32 pounds per ton. We assume the superficies of the 20 ton engine at 714 square feet, on which the friction of the atmosphere acts. Then assuming the engines to be of similar build, the superficies of the 30 ton engine will be 961 square feet, and that of the 40 ton engine will be 1167 square feet. We allow, for the sake of argument, at the mean speed of 47 miles per hour, an atmospheric resistance or friction of one pound per square foot of superficies, comprising also the running friction. We then have the following figures:—

Weight of Engine.	Superficies of Engine.	Power of Engine.	Speed.
Tons.	Square feet.	Pounds.	Miles per hour.
20	714	640	43·39
30	961	960	47·00
40	1169	1280	52·44

With the 20 ton engine there will be, on the foregoing data

an excess in retarding force of 74 lbs. With the 30 ton engine the friction and pressure of the atmosphere will be almost exactly balanced by the propulsive force ; and with the 40 ton engine there will be an accelerating force of 111 lbs. The mean speed of 47 miles an hour attained by a force of 32 lbs. per ton is taken from Mr. D. K. Clark's formula, and the resistance of 1 lb. per superficial foot is an arbitrary quantity. But the object of the table is not to give definite information as to the relations of power and speed, but to show how, under any conceivable conditions, the specific gravity of the train is a most important element in the speed of transit, being one which is entirely over-looked by any existing formula. It might be sufficient to refer to the experiments of Sir Isaac Newton to prove that a body of higher specific gravity falls faster than one of lower specific gravity, when exposed to the resistance of the atmosphere. But we have desired to shew, in the simplest way, that the different velocities attributed by Mr. Locke and Sir D. Gooch to trains running down inclined planes may be brought under the same law by the introduction of the important, but neglected element, of the specific gravity of the train.

If we regard the earliest experience obtained of projectile force, we shall be convinced that the form of the projectile, and the internal distribution of its weight, constitute integral elements of its mode of travel. 'Old Double' would never 'have clapped i' the clout at twelve score, and carried you a forehand shaft a fourteen and fourteen and a half, that it would have done a man's heart good to see,' if he had fitted a reed to his bowstring. In a well poised arrow the metal head is only about a twenty-fifth portion of the length, but it weighs as much as a fifth of the whole shaft. The diameter is only one hundredth part of the length. But the shaft itself is required only to steady the aim, and to give mechanical precision to the flying point. When the stock was introduced into the cross bow, the length of the arrow shaft was decreased. With the adoption of explosive powder fired in a directive tube, the shaft was altogether disused, and a spherical ball replaced the flight of arrowy sleet. With further

improvements in artillery the proportion of three and a half diameters for the length of the shot has been generally adopted, but this has been due rather to desire to obtain the most convenient bore of gun to throw a certain weight of shot, than from an exhaustive study of the best form of projectile for traject. For a given weight the resistance opposed by the atmosphere is less for a spherical than for any other form. The cases of the movement of a fish or a torpedo in the water, of a bird, an arrow, or a bullet in the air, are not, however, exactly analogous to that of a railway train. The movement there attained is essentially more like that of a bowl sent from the bowler's hand over the green. The resistance of the earth, over which the moving body has to pass, is so very much greater than that of the atmosphere (at any practical speed), as to change the motion of translation into that of rolling. The upper part of a railway train has thus always a disposition to travel faster than the lower part, although by the rigid articulation of the whole apparatus this disposition is only displayed by the rotation of the wheels. Still in a true mathematical investigation of the laws of motion, this tendency must be taken into account. Rolling motion being required for support, and the resistance due to friction on the earth being diminished to the utmost by a smooth and well laid railway, the question yet remains virgin what proportions of length, of cross section, and of distributed weight in a train will encounter the least resistance from the atmosphere at high velocities. Taking the facts brought before the Institution of Civil Engineers on the two occasions already cited, there is certainly an *a priori* indication that a wider and shorter train encounters less atmospheric resistance than a narrower and longer one of the same bulk and weight. Comparing these experiments with the results of the competition between the Great Northern and the London and North-Western engines and trains, there is further an *a priori* indication that the atmospheric resistance is less the more the weight is concentrated at the head of the train. It is also quite intelligible why this should be the case. Mr. Robert Stephenson (Proc. Inst. C.E. vol. viii. p. 314) said, 'it should be

remembered that the largest portion of the resistance being due to the air, it would be much greater with a bulk of less specific gravity than for a mass of iron.' Now that out of nearly 20,000 miles of railways in the United Kingdom there are not 450 miles of broad gauge left, it is too late for the investigation as to the best form of cross section to have much practical value. But this remark does not apply to the questions of distribution of weight, and of the measure of atmospheric resistance. The end area of a train, of the resistance experienced by which our present formula alone takes account, is from 50 to 100 square feet. But the surface of the top and sides of a train, on which the atmospheric friction is exerted, is often more than 10,000 superficial feet. The present state of our knowledge as to resistance to ships is in favour of the view that this lateral friction is far more serious than the direct endlong resistance; and no formula can be reliable until this important part of the investigation has received due attention.

A very simple, and very luminous set of experiments might be effected, at very small cost, by any company possessing three or four miles of regular incline, favourably situated as to atmospheric conditions. One in a hundred is a very convenient gradient; but more rapid falls may be even more instructive in their action. It would be only necessary to run down, on a calm day, or days, engines of respectively 20, 30, and 40 tons weight, or thereabouts, first singly, then with one, two, and so on up to twenty carriages attached, timing the descents with as much accuracy as was given to the experiments of Sir D. Gooch. The results could not fail to be of great interest and value, and to afford a sounder basis for a formula of railway speed, and for determining the most economical size and composition of railway trains, than we at present possess. While on the subject of desirable experiments it should be added that the effect of substituting something like the prow of a vessel for the present square, flat, end of the locomotive is at least worthy of trial.

Thus we cannot doubt that a true scientific law underlies, and very probably may account for, the anomalous results hitherto obtained by experiments on the resistance to railway

trains. Mr. Brunel was the first to call attention to this law in navigation, although he does not appear distinctly to have done so in railway locomotion. But there can be little doubt, especially to those who have conversed with the great engineer on the subject, that an instinctive appreciation of the fact underlay the original conception of the Great Western Railway, no less than that of the Great Britain steamer. This consideration is purely mathematical; and is to the effect that the resistance from the atmosphere to the motion of a boat or carriage increases with the superficies of the object moved, while the capacity, or possible efficiency, of the vehicle increases with its weight. That is to say, in principle, that while efficiency is trebled by increase in size, resistance is only doubled. We shall presently see that this neglected, but not safely negligible, fact has no little influence on the race to Edinburgh.

The law thus indicated applies with exactitude only in those cases where forms are proportionately similar. If a London and North Western train, for example, could be diminished in size to one tenth, or magnified ten times, with as much accuracy as could be applied by the optician, the law would be exactly followed. It is obvious that there must be better and worse forms for passing through air or water. There must exist some most suitable proportion between the length, breadth, and thickness of the moving form, some distribution of its weight in proportion to its length which is the best adapted to allow celerity of motion. In the water a length of from three to six times the mean diameter is the usual proportion. Where great bulk is connected with enormous propelling power, as in the whale family, the head is bluff and heavy, and the body tapers to the tail, which is the organ of propulsion. In the most rapidly flying birds the head, somewhat heavier in specific gravity than the body, is formed for cleaving the air. In the owl, the proportion is much like that of the whale, but the owl is built rather for noiseless and steady flight than for great rapidity of motion. With the falcon, the swift, and the crane, the most rapid flyers of their orders, sharp beak, comparatively heavy head, and steering apparatus of tail or outstretched legs, are characteristic. It is thus conceivable that a very long

railway train, notwithstanding the proper disposition of the heaviest portion of it, the engine, in the front, will experience more resistance from the atmosphere than a train of equal capacity in which the length is a smaller multiple of the cross section; and this probability, which nature seems to suggest, may to some extent account for the different resistances obtained on the broad and on the narrow gauge. Were Mr. Brunel yet among us, instead of having fallen a premature martyr to his love of work and contempt of needful rest, he would no doubt support this view, although we are not aware that he ever distinctly formulated it.

Mr. Wyndham Harding stated in the debate of May 1848, that the South Western carriages were the largest in use on the narrow gauge, that the average weight of the Great Western trains was 67 tons, consisting of nine carriages, extending for 234 feet; that the Great Western trains were 10 per cent. longer, the bulk 40 per cent. greater, and the weight 50 per cent. more than that of the narrow gauge line. It is idle to attempt numeric comparisons as to the resistances overcome by such differently formed trains, without making proper allowance for the relation between the areas exposed to atmospheric friction and the weight of the moving mass. The conclusion of the debate, by Mr. Scott Russell, was to the effect that new experiments must be made on an extended scale, and that they should set forth the amount of useful weight, as well as that of dead weight, conveyed. On economic grounds this recommendation is unimpeachable, but on scientific grounds it is insufficient. We require, in addition, to know the proportionate area and cross section of the trains, the distinct weights of the elements of which they are composed, and the relation between such weight and the amount of surface opposed to the pressure and friction of the atmosphere.

The gradual evolution of the locomotive presents a striking analogy to the series of anatomical forms afforded by the palæo-logical record. The increase has not been in size and power alone, but also in complexity and perfection of detail. New organs have made their appearance, as the injector. The fire-grate and boiler, in which the motive heat is first liberated,

were hung like a camp kettle behind the frame bearing the vertical cylinder of Cugnot's locomotive of 1771. As late as 1827, Hackworth used a plain cylindrical boiler, with a return flue. Watt, in 1784, entertained the idea of a cylindrical boiler, with a number of tubes through it, although it is not certain whether he intended to pass the heated air through or around these tubes. Stevens put 81 tubes in a boiler 2 feet long, 15 inches wide, and 12 inches high, in 1805, for a steam-boat on the Hudson, but failed to generate much steam, owing to want of draught through the tubes. George Stephenson carried 25 copper tubes of 3 inches diameter through the cylindrical boiler of the 'Rocket,' which was 6 feet long and 3 feet 4 inches in diameter, in 1829. He obtained 20 square feet of heating surface in the firebox, and 118 square feet in the tubes, and drew a gross load of 40 tons, exclusive of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ tons weight of the engine, on a level, at the rate of 13.3 miles per hour. The invention of the steam blast, which is the prime factor in railway velocity, has been claimed by the filial piety of Miss Gurney for her father. But forty years of practice had improved the application of this great source of power before the theory of its action was satisfactorily understood. The steam exhausted from the cylinders passes through a pipe, opening upwards, and concentric with the chimney. The steam, expanding as it escapes, takes the form of a cone, and creates a partial vacuum in the chimney, which the external air rushes through the firebox and boiler tubes to fill. Thus, with sufficient area of fire grate and boiler surface, the supply of steam may be maintained at almost any velocity up to that with which steam expands when relieved from pressure. The question of motive power has been thus transferred from that of the generation of heat to that of the mechanical means of its application.

This application is, in the first place, to the pistons of the cylinders, the alternate movement of which may be compared to the beating of the heart in animals, regulating the application of energy to the exertion of muscular power. Trevethick, in 1803, used a single cylinder. Murray, in 1812, used 2, placed in the centre line of the engine; as did George

Stephenson in 1815. Hackworth, in 1827, used 2, placed side by side at the leading end of the boiler, being the modification of an engine made by Wilson of Newcastle, which had 4 cylinders, 2 to each pair of wheels. In 1846, Stephenson and Howe patented a three cylinder engine. The cylinders were horizontal; the outer pair being $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with a 22 inch stroke; the central one $16\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, with an 18 inch stroke. The plan, which was adopted with a view of obviating the rocking motion which is due to the absence of counter weights, was not perpetuated. The twelve wheeled engine of Mr. Petiet, in 1863, worked by 4 cylinders, and the 'Little Wonder' double steam bogie engine of Fairlie's system, on the Festiniog Railway, are essentially two engines built together, end to end. A third cylinder has recently been introduced by Mr. Webb, on the London and North Western Railway, on the compound principle. The steam, having done its work in two high pressure cylinders of 13 inches diameter, enters a low pressure cylinder of 30 inches diameter, placed in the centre line of the engine. The former drive one pair of 6 feet driving wheels by outside pins; the latter drives another pair by a cranked axle. Seventy-four of these engines were at work in January 1889; and the saving of fuel realised by their adoption is said by Mr. Finlay, the general manager of the railway, to be very considerable. It may be considered that by this mode of construction the great loss of power due to the coupling of 4 or 6 wheels, and to the strain of the engine working against itself, has been to a great extent avoided. The blue ribbon of the locomotive engineer may be said to be at the present time in dispute between this powerful compound engine, and the 8 foot 'single' express engines of Mr. Stirling, on the Great Northern Railway.

When the motive power has been afforded by the boiler, and converted into propelling power by the cylinders and driving wheels, there remains the question of adhesion, or of the efficiency of the fulcrum on which the leverage of the wheels has to depend. In Cugnot's engine, adhesion was obtained by a single central wheel running on the ground.

Rack rails were adopted by Murray and Bleukinsop, in 1812, for this purpose; and Sellers, in 1847, adopted a pair of gripping wheels, to act on a central rail; a plan applied, with some modification, by Mr. Fell, on the Mont Cenis Railway, before the construction of the tunnel. Trevethick, in 1802, pointed out that the adhesion of the periphery of a wheel to the smooth surface of a rail might vary with the condition of the weather; and with the comparatively light weights of the early engines the difficulty was no doubt serious. On a clean dry rail an adhesion of three tenths, or even of one fourth, of the insistent weight may be attained, but one sixth is more usually allowed. With the adoption of steel rails, of section suited to the great weight now attained by the locomotives, as much as 15 tons is now thrown on a pair of driving wheels. Sand is employed to increase the bite, when the rails are slippery, but the more modern application of a jet of steam or of water to the rail just in advance of the wheel seems likely to remove any serious difficulty as to adhesion. With one fifth adhesion, a single pair of wheels, as in the Great Northern engines, with an insistent weight of 15 tons, would overcome the resistance of a train of the gross weight of 164 tons, on an incline of one in 200, running at the rate of 45 miles an hour, rising to 57 miles an hour on the level. In point of fact, the Great Northern engines take from 16 to 20 coaches up the hill for the first ten miles from London at 40 miles an hour, and then run the remaining 95 miles to Grantham, without a stop, at nearly 60 miles an hour; showing an adhesion more than that above calculated by upwards of 50 per cent., if the resistances be correctly estimated. But this difference in speed is in accordance, not with the usual formula, but with the *data* of Sir D. Gooch.

Thus the evolution of the steam engine, from the time of the Rainhill competition, in October, 1829, may be summarised by the following comparison. The weight of the engine and tender has increased from under eight to over 80 tons. The speed of the train has increased from a maximum of 14 to one of 76 miles an hour, and is often maintained for long distances at the rate of 60 miles an hour. The goods trains have

increased from an ordinary weight of 92 tons to 636 tons for a slow mineral train, and from 40, to 268, tons for a passenger train. For the 138 square feet of heating surface in the boiler of the 'Rocket,' we have 1,401 feet in that of the 'Dreadnought,' the three cylinder compound engine of Mr. Webb. And for less than four tons on the driving wheels of the former engine, we have 30 tons on the two pairs of the latter, coupled only by the elastic medium of steam. Roundly speaking, the power of the locomotive, as well as its weight, has been increased ten-fold, although the speed has not yet come up to that anticipated by Mr. Brunel in 1836, and little, if at all, exceeds that attained by him on the broad guage forty-five years ago.

This question of adhesion has given rise to a most interesting debate among engineers as to the relative advantages of single (as they are called), and of coupled driving wheels. It is evident that with the size and weight that the locomotive has now attained, there is the possibility that the adhesion due to a single pair of wheels may be less than that required for the utilisation of the full tractive power of the engines. Thus in the case of an engine weighing 45 tons, which is the weight of the new express engines of the London and South-Western Railway, thirty tons, which might otherwise be available for producing adhesion, are only acting as dead-weight, that is to say, are resisting, instead of aiding, the tractive power. But if pairs of wheels are coupled, so that the revolution of the first pair involves the corresponding revolution of a second, or even of a third, pair, the adhesive power may be doubled or tripled. Accordingly in two types of locomotive in use on the London and North-Western Railway, 21 and 22½ tons are thrown on four coupled wheels, in the first instance of five feet six inches, and in the second instance of six feet six inches diameter; and in three other classes of engines in use on that great line, 29½, 31, and 34 tons are thrown on six coupled wheels. It is evident that if one of these engines were attached to one of equal weight and power with a single pair of driving wheels, and they were engaged in a struggle such as that of the well-known game of French and English, and if nothing gave way, the six wheeled engine—speaking of driving wheels—would

pull back the two wheeled engine, the latter slipping over the rails in spite of the revolution of its wheels. On this basis, therefore, the utilisation of the whole weight of the engine to produce adhesion has been intelligently advocated.

On the other hand, it is contended that experience shows that the tractive efficiency of independent driving axles is much greater per ton than that of two axles coupled through their four wheels, and that four wheels coupled give a greater tractive result per ton than six wheels coupled. Again, experience has proved that the shorter the rigid wheel base of an engine, or the parallelogram defined by the points on the rails rigidly connected together, the greater the freedom in passing round curves, and the smaller the frictional resistance. In the case of wheel bases of from 15 to 16 feet long, it is calculated by Mr. Ed. Slaughter (Proc. Inst. C.E., vol. xxxvii. p. 32), that the relative tractive efficiency per ton upon the driving axles is approximately as under :—

Independent driving axle,	-	-	-	-	-	1.00
Two coupled axles,	-	-	-	-	-	0.88
Three coupled axles,	-	-	-	-	-	0.73

But that means that in the first case 12, and in the second 27 per cent. of the power of the engine is consumed in resisting the internal strain.

Mr. Stirling stated on the same occasion that he had constructed two classes of engines for passenger trains; one class with 4 wheels, of 6 feet 6 inches diameter, coupled; the other with a pair of 7 feet driving wheels. Both engines had similar boilers; 17 inch cylinders with 24 inch stroke, and 140 lb. pressure of steam in the boiler. He found that with a similar train in both cases the single engine had the best of it; and that in the 13 miles from King's Cross to Potter's Bar, 1½ miles of which has a gradient of 1 in 105, and the remainder of the distance one of 1 in 200, it generally beat the coupled engine in time. The tractive power of the single engine he made 15 per cent. more than that of the coupled one, and in practice it performed proportionately more work. It conveyed trains of from 16 to 26 carriages from King's Cross with ease, and on

several occasions 28 had been taken, and time kept; so that the pulling power of the engine was established. No doubt existed as to its running powers, a distance of 15 miles having been accomplished, with a train of 16 carriages, in 12 minutes, which gives a speed of 75 miles per hour.

The race to Edinburgh, in 1888, was a severe test of the respective merits of the contending systems. On the 7th of August the London and North-Western train which left Euston at 10 a.m., to make the run of 400 miles to Edinburgh in eight hours, arrived at the northern terminus eight minutes before time, the journey having been accomplished with ease. On the run to Crewe, the first stopping place, 150 miles from London, 95 miles were covered in 100 minutes. The 51 miles from Crewe to Preston was run in 56 minutes; a speed of 74 miles an hour being attained on part of this course. The 90 miles from Preston to Carlisle occupied 98 minutes. From Carlisle, one of the new Caledonian engines covered $100\frac{1}{2}$ miles in 104 minutes, ten of these miles being up a gradient of 1 in 80. On the following day, the 90 miles from Preston to Carlisle, over Shap Fells, were run in 90 minutes, with 6 coaches; and the 51 miles, from Crewe to Preston in 50 minutes. On the 13th of August, the West Coast Line covered the 400 miles in 427 minutes of running time, or at the rate of 56.2 miles per hour throughout. And on August 31, the East Coast train ran over the 392.75 miles between the English and the Scottish metropolis in 412 minutes; being a speed of more than 57 miles an hour for the whole way. But this well-contested race can hardly be considered as determinative of the respective merits of the competing systems of engines.

There is, however, another method of investigation, which we can only propose to sketch, one by means of which the managers of the two companies can no doubt, if they will, obtain very instructive results. The London and North Western earns 20 per cent. more revenue per mile than the Great Northern, and its co-efficient of working charges is accordingly 8 per cent. lower than that of the latter. Its income per train mile is 15 per cent. higher than that of its rival. But if we regard the locomotive as the active bread-winner of

the railway proprietor, and compare the earnings per engine on the two lines, we find that each Great Northern locomotive in the year 1887 earned £4,335, and cost £413; while each London and North Western locomotive earned only £4,030, and cost £497. There are, of course, many considerations to be borne in mind before drawing positive inferences from such a comparison. It is a subject well worth the attention of the respective managers and engineers. But as a *prima facie* fact, it seems rather to point to the conclusion that the single engine will perform an equal amount of duty at a lower cost than the coupled engine. It does not, however, follow that it has an equal, if any, advantage over the compound engine, and it is as to this that the most important issue of that important trial may perhaps be hereafter chiefly confined.

As it is, the advantage as to speed is slightly in favour of the East Coast line, which, moreover, is seven miles shorter than its rival. The point which is probably the most unexpected that has been proved during the competition is the large amount of adhesion obtained by uncoupled driving wheels. In the discussion on Modern Locomotives at the Institution of Civil Engineers on Nov. 11, 1873, already referred to, Mr. John Robinson stated that the 38 ton express engine of the Great Northern Railway, of which he gave particulars, was capable of drawing a weight of 356 tons on a level at the speed of 45 miles an hour, which is equivalent to a tabulated resistance of 10,680 lb. Mr. Price Williams, taking the pressure of steam in the boiler at 140 lb., calculated that the tractive force on the rail was 10,662 lb., or a trifle less than the amount of total train resistance. Assuming the larger figure, he pointed out that it represented nearly one-third of the total weight on the driving wheels, and required a like amount of adhesion. Such an amount he regarded as rarely attainable under the most favourable circumstances. An adhesion of one fourth even was not, he said, to be relied on in this country, except in very dry weather. He was therefore of opinion that the tractive power of the engine was so far in excess of its practical adhesive power, which must limit the useful application of the former, as to be extravagant.

The engine compared with the Great Northern express engine on this occasion was a London and North-Western passenger engine, weighing 29 tons 4 cwt., with 4 coupled driving wheels, each 6 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. This engine was rated to draw 293 tons on the level at a speed of 45 miles an hour with a pressure of 120 lb. of steam. The equivalent tabular resistance is 8790 lb.; which if the boiler pressure were the same as that on the Great Northern engine would be raised to 10,255 lb. against 10,680 lb. on the former engine. But the weight on the 4 coupled wheels of this engine is $19\frac{1}{4}$ tons, one fifth of which would give an adhesion of 8,848 lb., being rather more than that required in order to exert the full power of the engine at 120 lb. pressure.

The reply to this criticism of Mr. Price Williams, unimpeachable as it may seem from a theoretic point of view, is a case of *solvitur ambulando*. Mr. Stirling stated that the single engine had taken 28 carriages from King's Cross to Potter's Bar without losing time. This gives a total weight of train of more than 350 tons, to take which up an incline of 1 in 200 at 40 miles an hour is to overcome a tabulated resistance of 12,000 lb. If these figures are correct, it follows that the adhesion to be obtained by a pair of wheels of large size weighted to 15 tons is fully proportionate to the great power of the engine. And as to the superior economy and efficiency of a single pair of driving wheels, if adhesion can be obtained, over two pairs coupled, all authorities are pretty much in accord.

For the reasons, however, previously given, it may be doubted whether the resistance actually overcome by the Great Northern express engines is equal to that calculated from the table in ordinary use. Assuming the same numbers and weight of carriages in both instances, there is so material a difference in the proportionate weight of engine and tender, compared with that of the train, as to throw much doubt on any hasty comparison. The express passenger trains on the London and North Western Railway were formerly worked with single engines of the 'Lady of the Lake' class, which weighed $27\frac{1}{4}$ tons, with 11 tons 10 cwt. on the driving wheels. These were replaced by four-wheel-coupled engines, weighing $32\frac{1}{2}$ tons,

with $21\frac{1}{2}$ tons on the four driving wheels. At present the three cylinder engines have taken the duty; their weight is 42 tons, 30 tons of which is on the 4 non-coupled driving wheels. The Great Northern express engines described by Mr. Robinson weighed 30 tons, with a tender of 27 tons. The 8 foot 'single' engine now in use weighs, with its tender, 80 tons; the total weight of train, including engine and tender, varying from 120 to 140 tons. In August, 1888, the London and North-Western engines that took the express train from London to Crewe weighed 27 tons, and those taking it from Crewe to Carlisle thirty-four tons; the tender in each case weighing twenty-five tons, and the carriages seventy-six tons. It can not be assumed with any propriety that the resistances overcome by trains propelled by such essentially differing machines can be accurately represented by means of the same formula. An engine of 45 tons weight may have 50 per cent. more power than one of 30 tons, but it will, *ceteris paribus*, only meet with 33 per cent. more resistance from the atmosphere. That these engines, one and all, behave admirably, and reflect the highest credit on their constructors, there is not the shadow of a doubt. But as to the actual resistance overcome in any special instance, we must speak with more hesitation. Doubt, however, there is none, as to the trains that they take to Edinburgh, and the time within which this splendid service is performed. We have before us a tabular statement of the running of the down special express 10 A.M. from King's Cross during August, 1888. We doubt whether such a document has been before produced. It resembles rather a series of astronomical observations, than a faithful record of the performance of mechanical duty by human skill. The uniformity of motion is far greater than that of the moon in her orbit. The varying pressure of the wind has been equilibrated by the watchful skill of the engine driver and fireman. The running time was at the average rate of 55·7 miles an hour from London to Grantham, and of 55·8 miles per hour from Grantham to York. The slowest running was 53·1 miles an hour; and that was on the first day, when the train arrived at Grantham to the minute, and at York two minutes

before time. The most rapid, on the 25th August, was at the rate of 60·2 miles per hour to Grantham, on which day the arrival at York was to the minute. The average train was composed of 8 vehicles, but 10 were taken on one occasion at 54 miles per hour; and 7 gave the best result, viz., 56·9 miles per hour. On only one of the twenty-seven trips did the train arrive late at Grantham. It had then been delayed for 7 minutes, and arrived 3 minutes late. On one occasion it arrived one minute late at York, having been delayed 3 minutes; and on a second occasion it arrived 3 minutes late, having been delayed for 2 minutes. On only two occasions did the West Coast Express arrive late at Edinburgh, viz., 4 minutes late on the first day, and 37 minutes late on the 9th August, owing to the failure of a tube. On the 13th August the arrival at Edinburgh was 22 minutes before time; or 7 hours 38 minutes after leaving Euston. The record is one of which the Civil and the Mechanical Engineers of Great Britain may be justly proud, and it is moreover of no little value as affording data for that reconsideration of the question of atmospheric resistance for which we hope not to appeal in vain to the practical science of the day.

The compound engine of Mr. Webb introduces yet another element of complication into the problem that we have attempted thus far to simplify. When more than one pair of driving wheels is used, it is essential that the diameters of all should be exactly equal, and that the revolutions should be perfectly synchronous. With the coned wheels in general use the former condition cannot be satisfactorily maintained, and a certain amount of the power of the engine (which cannot be taken at less than 15 per cent.), is thus continually absorbed in internal strain and friction. If four cylinders are used, the strain will not be diminished, as there will be a constant variation, however slight, between the trajective speed proper to each pair of cylinders. But by the compound engines an elastic coupling is provided. Adhesion is doubled, without the exertion of any corresponding strain. A cylinderful of steam from each of the high pressure cylinders must pass through the low pressure cylinder in time to admit of a fresh

supply entering the former. Thus a close synchronism in the revolution of the two distinct driving axles is secured, without any of that hard and fast connection of the working parts which is the cause of strain and of reduced efficiency. The problem of the proportion of capacity of trains and velocity of travel has thus to be solved under a new case; and it would be premature to attempt to anticipate what may be the result as a matter of locomotive transport.

With regard to speed, although we are far from having heard the last word, we do not think that it is the feature of railway travel in which there is most room for improvement. The limits to speed are of two kinds, mechanical and financial. The former is fixed by the resistance of the atmosphere, which increases as the square of velocity. Two elements enter into the determination of the second. The running cost per mile comprises the two factors of fuel and of wages, of which the increase is in the inverse direction. The faster we go, the more fuel is consumed; the slower we travel, the greater is the expenditure in wages. On this view of the case, it costs almost exactly the same, per ton mile of train, to travel at 15 or at 50 miles per hour. But with increased demand for the rapidity with which steam has to be raised, the proportion between the weight of the locomotive and that of the train which it draws is continually altered. A train of a gross weight of 210 tons is propelled at the rate of 15 miles an hour by a force and at a cost which will only draw 90 tons at 50, or 70½ tons at 60 miles an hour. Out of this total the engine and tender weigh 50 tons, so that the difference in the weight of useful train alone is that between 150 and 40, or 20½, tons of carriages. At 70 miles an hour, this engine would not run up an incline of 1 in 200, without even a single carriage attached. The like proportions apply to more powerful engines and heavier trains, so that we can see a good reason why the 60 to 70 miles an hour of speed, attained so long ago by the broad guage engines, has not been more generally maintained, assuming, that is to say, (which has yet to be proved) the truth of the present formula.

For the run from London to Edinburgh, as it has been shown

that a running speed of 60 miles an hour is attainable over the most difficult parts of the course, it is not probable that either the public or the railway companies will be contented with much less. The question next arises as to the time consumed in stoppages. Five minutes delay for a station, when the engine is changed, is not more than is demanded for the convenience of the passengers, although the change has been effected at Grantham in three minutes. A stoppage of twenty minutes for dinner is more questionable. If thirty-five minutes for stoppages be allowed to four hundred minutes of running time we have a total of seven hours and fifteen minutes; a period within which we shall not be surprised to find the journey made. And if, either by reverting to the old plan of booking places, or by the steady growth of custom, either company can reckon on filling every seat that they provide in such a lightning express, there is little doubt that the result would be a success. One of the most unsatisfactory features of the railway system is the number of unoccupied seats in the trains, which are—or were a little time back—as many as three out of four. But this may be perhaps regarded as a transitory evil; natural enough as long as a company has to solicit or compete for traffic—doomed to vanish as soon as the demands of the travelling public press upon the carrying capabilities of the companies.

There is, however, a reserve of power on which the Great Northern may probably hereafter draw. The London and North-Western Railway Company, on some eight places on their line, have laid down the water troughs invented by Mr. Ramsbottom, by the use of which the tender is replenished with water without any stop for that purpose. Thus the 158 miles to Crewe are accomplished without a stop, by engines with only some 1800 gallons of water in their tenders. The Great Northern engines require about 3000 gallons of water to reach Grantham, at a distance of 105 miles 26 chains from King's Cross; and the tenders which are constructed for this purpose weigh when full as much as 35 tons. That is also the weight of the tender of the new 46½ ton engine on the London and South-Western Railway, containing 2,800 gallons, or 12½ tons

of water. An economy of 8 or 10 tons in the weight of the Great Northern trains could thus be readily obtained by the adoption of the Ramsbottom troughs on that line; an economy, in the run to Edinburgh, of from 3,200 to 4000 ton-miles of load transported, which is equivalent to adding another coach to the train, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour to the speed. Admirable as are the results already obtained by Mr. Stirling, an additional resource of this kind is one that the company can hardly long neglect.

The changing of engines after a run of 100 or 150 miles need hardly occupy much more time than the 28 seconds which were taken to change horses for the flying Shrewsbury coaches in 1836. But the passengers have to be regarded; and imprisonment in a train for hours is occasionally unendurable. The five minutes allowed at these express stations are thus as little as convenience demands; and it would be a boon highly appreciated by the travellers if it were understood that that delay might be always counted on, even if the trains were behind time. The only alternative is to provide the carriages with lavatories, a luxury which is usually allowed to one or two first class compartments on the principal lines. But its extension to the whole train would require a diminution in the number of available seats, which the companies can ill afford. Our island is small. The 541 miles run to Aberdeen, which hitherto has been accomplished in $17\frac{1}{2}$ hours, and is now to be run in 13 hours up, and $12\frac{1}{2}$ hours down, is one of the longest courses open to the British railway traveller; and these long stages and rapid movements have only been arrived at bit by bit, as line was linked to line, and speed rivalled speed. In the long unbroken railway journeys of the United States the comfort and convenience of the travellers, without occasion to leave the train for any purpose whatever, have been provided for. But the structure of the carriages and the arrangements of the trains of the American railways are unsuited to British tastes; and the attempt of the late Midland manager to Americanise the classification of our trains does not seem likely to find imitators. For its own convenience, therefore, the public must not only accept but insist upon

occasional five minute stoppages—to say nothing of the needs of the guards. But, that much admitted, it can hardly be denied that a great improvement is desirable in the way of feeding *en route*. The tyranny of the refreshment contractors is not a grateful tyranny—we doubt if it is a wise one. The way in which the glass of ale—for which the exorbitant price of 3d. is now exacted—is shrinking to the dimensions of a wine glass demands something more than expostulation. The old devotion to evil of those that have ‘the least pint stoup’ is called to mind by the diminution in the contents of what is called a glass south of Berwick. We have found the baskets supplied to those travellers who wish to consume their contents in the train, unreliable as to the condition of their contents, and extravagant in price. We might with much advantage take lessons from some of the great French lines in this respect. Travellers will not pay high prices for their pigs in pokes, unless they have better assurance than at present exists that the pigs are eatable. The want of enterprise on the part of the contractors is as remarkable as their want of care to maintain a tempting character for their wares. Glasses of milk, indeed, are handed to the trains in some few stations. But a bright, apt, rapid service, offering ale, sandwiches, soda water, and the like at the doors of the carriages on the brief stoppages of the trains, would be welcome to many a timid, nervous, and hungry and thirsty traveller, and would be a lucrative bit of business for the salesman.

A distinct reason for thinking that the resistances actually overcome by the locomotive at high speed are very imperfectly ascertainable from the usual formula ($R = 12 + \frac{v^2}{114}$) is found in a comparison of the duty performed by various engines, thus ascertained, not only with each other, but with the best descriptions of stationary engines. It has been long taken for granted that the efficiency of the locomotive, for a given consumption of fuel, is less than that of a stationary engine, and that its internal resistance, which is taken at nearly double that of the train, per ton, is far greater than that of a fixed engine. The best result of the combustion of a given weight of fuel that is cited by Mr. D. K. Clark in his

very valuable *Manual of Rates, Tables, and Data, for Mechanical Engineers* (p. 948), is the duty performed by a pair of compound rotation beam pumping engines, erected at the St. Lawrence Water Works, Mass., U.S. Cumberland coal was consumed, and the duty per 100 lb. of coal was 96,200,000 foot pounds; the water evaporated being 8.27 lbs. per lb. of coal, and the steam raised being 14 lb. per indicator horse-power. This is equal to a duty of 429 foot-tons per lb. of coal. The theoretic effect, according to Dr. Joules's formula, due to the combustion of 1 lb. of carbon is 4825 foot tons.

But the duty performed by the 'Dreadnought,' according to Mr. Finlay, (Lecture at the School of Military Engineering at Chatham, 8 March, 1888, p. 15), amounts to 504 foot tons per lb. of coal at 24 miles, and to 528 foot tons at 44 miles per hour, and this, moreover, without making any allowance for inclines, as none is mentioned by the lecturer. The duty of a London and North Western Railway express engine, weighing 29 tons 4 cwt., described and figured by Mr. John Robinson in vol. xxxvii. of the proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers, is 787 foot tons per lb. of coal, and that of a Great Northern Railway express engine comes to no less than 934 foot tons per lb. It is very much more probable that the resistance is over estimated by the formula than that an efficiency double that of a good stationary engine should have been attained by this powerful locomotive.

It is to the observation of apparent anomalies that some of the most important discoveries attained by human science have been primarily due. The secret of the chemical order of nature, the number, measure and weight by which the operations of her 'own sweet and cunning hand' are inflexibly regulated, lay hidden in the *caput mortuum* of the 'ashes' which were thrown aside by the earlier chemists. It was the subtle grasp of the fact that a candle burned brighter in 'a species of air' than in the atmosphere, that led Priestley to the discovery of oxygen. The question of the speed attainable by mechanical means is one which, although more than half a century old, has not hitherto been even definitively posed. We have attained, no doubt, surprising results. But we have

not so co-ordinated these results as to yield the true test of adequate knowledge of natural law—the power of prediction. We have, however, a goodly crop of anomalies, and it will be little to the credit of the chemists and mechanists of the day if we fail to extract their hidden teaching. It is an anomaly that Mr. Locke should find that ‘the maximum velocity ever attained on an incline of 1 in 100 was 36 miles an hour,’ and that, at the same time, Sir D. Gooch should ascertain that it was 60 miles an hour, even rising, on three occasions, to 64 miles an hour. It does not follow that, in the language of the former engineer, ‘the results obtained by the latter were in opposition to the laws of nature.’ That hasty conclusion has about as much relation to the true scientific spirit as the attribution of every ill understood phenomenon to the direct agency of the devil. It is a revival of the thought and language of the times of almost absolute ignorance as to what a law of nature actually is. Mr. Robert Stephenson’s remark, during the same debate, that ‘it would result from these experiments that with an ordinary train there would be an acceleration of speed on descending an incline of 1 in 100 at an initial velocity of 50 miles an hour, whilst it was already proved that there would be no acceleration when the initial velocity was 36 miles an hour,’ was not a more accurate account of ‘the state of that part of the question.’ That under one set of conditions a resistance of 17lbs. a ton should be said to be experienced at a speed of 60 miles an hour, when a second experiment measured the same resistance at 30lbs., and a third investigator calculated it at 43.5lbs. per ton, was a controversy that should not have been allowed to slumber for 40 years. It is not to the spirit of scientific search for truth, but to the desire to present attractions to the travelling public, that we are now likely to owe the observation of the facts that so imperatively demand accurate co-ordination. When this is done, the truth will assert itself.

It is the more remarkable that this question as to what the true amount of atmospheric resistance to trains of given size, proportion, and weight, actually is, remains open, because the leading principles of the construction of the locomotive may be said to have been settled forty years ago. There was the same

fire-box, the same tubular boiler, the same arrangements of the cylinders, and the same mode of driving the wheels; the existing difference being matters of detail rather than of principle. The principal features, Mr. Edward Woods remarked, in the debate on Mr. Robinson's Paper on Modern Locomotives at the Institution of Civil Engineers, in November 1873, which distinguished the newer from the older forms, were found to consist in a general enlargement of the several parts, augmenting the power of the engine by increased area of fire-grate and heating surfaces, and enlarged cylinder capacity to correspond, while the consequent additional weight imposed on the driving wheels contributed to afford the required degree of adhesion. It was, indeed, to be remarked that little variation had been made in the relative proportions, which were now substantially the same as they were twenty years ago. Thus from a comparison of the working of the best engines at that time, Mr. Woods found that, on an average, 1 square foot of fire-grate would burn from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. of coke or coal per minute, and that 65 feet of heating surface per foot of grate would effectually and economically absorb the heat generated by its combustion—a proportion which was exactly the average of that of the 6 new and powerful engines described by Mr. Robinson. In Mr. Webb's compound passenger engine, the heating surface is rather less than 70 times the grate area, while in the express engine for the same line in 1873, it was 73 times that area.

Finality is not a word to be used in reference to railway progress. We are not in a position to deduce from the experience of the last thirty-three years any definite anticipations for the future. In 1854, the first year for which the statistics of the railways of the United Kingdom were published by the Board of Trade, the number of passengers conveyed over our lines, exclusive of season ticket holders, amounted to about 13,800 per mile. In 1864 the account had grown to 18,000 per mile, in 1874 to 29,000 a mile, in 1884 to nearly 37,000 a mile, which latter figure was but little exceeded in 1887. During that period the length of line opened had increased 2·4 fold, and the total number of passengers had been multiplied 6·5 fold; the number of passenger journeys on the railways of

the United Kingdom in 1887 being equal to nearly twenty for each unit of population. But the cost per mile had, during the same interval, increased from £35,523 to £43,210; and the proportion of net receipts to paid up capital had fallen from 4·19 per cent. in 1860 (the first year for which this item is given in the 'Railway Returns'), to 4·00 per cent. in 1887. It is thus evident that in spite of the wealth, skill, and industry lavished on our railways, and of the great service they are rendering to the cause of modern civilisation, British railway enterprise has not proved highly remunerative to the shareholders, to whom it returns 0·19 per cent. less than it did 27 years ago—to say nothing of the disappearance of the 10 per cent. dividends of 1845. Are we altogether wrong in suspecting that there is some connection between this not very cheering economic fact, and the boast of Zerah Colburn that the system was 'designed by unlettered men,' and 'owes nothing to mathematical investigation?' We have seen, on indisputable evidence, how mathematical investigation of the primary dynamical problem of steam transport was arrested, forty years ago, by the reciprocal jealousies of the advocates of two competing systems, or rather modifications of system. We see how at the present moment the dynamical question of resistance to the movement of train is unsolved. It cannot be denied that the primary economical question of the capacity of the railway for traffic, and of the laws by which it is regulated, is equally neglected. After forty years' experience, we are unable to form a decided opinion as to how near we are at the present time to the practical limit of speed for express passenger traffic. An income of £3,623 a mile in 1887 pays the shareholders no better than did an income of £2,510 a mile in 1854; the growth of capital cost per mile more than eating up the increased profits naturally due to an increase in the volume of traffic by more than 40 per cent. Is it altogether admirable that the proprietors of a system which has cost 846 millions of money should be content to know that questions, the solution of which may so materially affect their future income, should be left to settle themselves; that the rule of railway working should be a glorified rule of thumb, and that, resting on the magnitude of

the services which they are rendering perhaps rather to the nation at large than to their own constituents, the directors and managers of our railways should be content that a system which, as started by 'unlettered men,' has rather grown than been wrought out in accordance with perfectly informed design, should be left without that perfecting of the true theory which is now at least within the easy grasp of science ?

ART. III.—THE GREAT PALACE OF BYZANTIUM.

1. TA BYZANTINA ANAKTORA KAI TA PERIΞ ATTON IDPTMATA, TPO A. Γ. ΠΑΣΠΑΘ. EN AΘHNAIS, EK TOT TTIΠOΓPAΦEIOY TON AΔEΛΦON ΠEPPH. 1885.

THE history of Constantinople has yet to be written. We know, indeed, from personal experience or the descriptions of travellers, its appearance and topography as it is to-day, and as it has been for the last century or more; but we know it only as the capital of the Turkish dominions. Of Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Empire, the mistress of Christendom for a thousand years, we know strangely little. The Byzantine historians took little trouble to record for future generations the external aspect of buildings with which all their readers were familiar, and art was not in a position to hand down to us any representation of them. We are left to reconstruct the information we require from scattered references in the ancient writers, and the topographical researches of modern archæologists. But the work of the latter is hampered by difficulties unusually great. Nearly every trace of the buildings of the Greek city has been swept from the face of the earth. Only a broken capital here and there, an arch or a fragment of a wall, remain to suggest that there has been anything prior to the Turkish dwellings which now occupy the site. Further, the inquiries of the antiquary meet with no assistance from the owners of the ground. The Turkish Government will give no facilities to foreign investigations. The inhabitants of the squalid houses, which cover the sites of some of the most

important Byzantine buildings, look with apprehension and dislike on the visits of the Giaour who wants to pry about their dwellings and dig up their back yards. All access is in most cases refused, and the children in the streets pelt and hustle the stranger who is bold enough to intrude on their domain.

Under these discouraging circumstances, it is not surprising that even the most important questions of Byzantine topography have remained up to the present time undetermined, and that Byzantine history consequently lacks the vividness and interest which comes from a clear knowledge of the localities mentioned. The work named at the head of our article has, however, done much to elucidate one of the most interesting portions of the subject. The history of Constantinople, as we know it from the Byzantine writers, naturally centres much on the imperial residence; yet even the exact site of the Palace, and much more the details of its arrangement, have remained doubtful up to quite recent years. Dr. Paspates has, however, devoted himself to the subject with a patience and perseverance which cannot be too highly commended. He has braved the dangers and inconvenience of personal exploration in the lower quarters of the Turkish town. He has noted every chance discovery of ancient remains which could throw light on the investigation he had in hand. He has gathered together the local allusions which occur in the Byzantine writers, especially Constantine Porphyrogenitus, whose descriptions of the Court ceremonies are peculiarly useful in this respect; and out of the whole material he has put together a clear, and in most cases convincing, account of the Great Palace of the emperors of Constantinople, and of the most important buildings which surrounded it.

For the benefit of those who may be encouraged to refer to the work of Dr. Paspates itself, we may say that it is writ in choicest Greek of the classical period. This deliberate revival of an ancient language is a very curious phenomenon in literary and philological annals. It is as though the writers of the present day in England were to enter into a conspiracy to write as nearly as might be in Chaucerian English, and were to

succeed, to a great extent, in making the public read them. His Excellency Musurus Pacha, formerly Turkish ambassador to London, not many years ago published a translation of Dante's *Inferno*, of which the language, though not the prosody, was classical, and which contained some pretty reading. Dr. Paspates' work belongs to the same literary school. It is true there are many things in it which would make Sir John Cheke and Quintilian 'stare and gasp'; but in general there is nothing which presents any difficulty to the comprehension of the ordinary student of classical Greek.

The general character of the site of Constantinople is known to everybody. The second mistress of the Roman world, like the first, is a city of the Seven Hills; but the beauty of this variety of surface is increased by the fact that hill rises behind hill in even gradation, exposing the whole city to the view of the traveller who approaches it from the sea. The shape is that of an irregular triangle, with a blunt nose pushing out into the sea towards the east, and the base fronting the west and Europe. The winding gulf of the Golden Horn forms the northern boundary of the triangle, separating the main city from its suburb of Galata; while the waters of the sea of Marmora wash its southern shores. It is a commonplace of historians to dilate on the advantages of this position for a capital city. From the time of the early history of Greece, Byzantium had been famous in this respect; and the people of the neighbouring town of Chalcedon, who had neglected the opportunity of securing so splendid a situation, received in consequence the nickname of 'the blind men.' But though always an important town in Greek history, from its command of the trade of the Black Sea, it was not until the foundation of the city of Constantine that it took the position to which its capabilities entitled it. At that period, indeed, it had advantages which in earlier days it could never have had. It stood in the centre of the Roman Empire, or rather at one of the two foci of the ellipse which corresponds more nearly to the shape of that territory. Almost impregnable itself, so long as the command of the sea was maintained, it stood on the borders of Europe and Asia, as the centre of defence against the repeated

waves of attack which rolled in upon the empire from the east. Add to this the beauty of the position, fronting towards sea and sea, a lovely climate and a pleasant land, and it will be seen that Constantinople was no bad place for the eastern capital of the Roman Empire.

At the north-east corner of the blunt head of the triangle of which we have spoken, and at the juncture of the harbour of the Golden Horn with the Bosphorus, stands to-day the Seraglio of the Sultan. The same has been commonly supposed to be, speaking generally, the site of the Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors, their residence in the days when the wealth and splendour of the empire was at its height, before its fall on evil times and evil days compelled them to abandon it for a less extensive and less magnificent abode. The walls which are still standing, and which undoubtedly date from a period before the Turkish conquest, were supposed to be those which had surrounded the palace of the early emperors. But a happy accident, combined with the industrious researches of Dr. Paspates, has led the way to a different conclusion.

When the Sultan, in the year 1870, gave permission for the construction of the Thracian railway, which now sweeps round the sea front of Constantinople, excavations, which never would have been undertaken for archæological purposes, became necessary within the grounds of the Seraglio, and in the district lying to the south of it. In the course of these excavations, considerable portions of the foundations of a very thick and powerful wall were laid bare, running from a point on the coast a little outside (to the east of) Seraglio Point, and well inside the wall which had formerly been supposed to represent the line of the old Byzantine palace, cutting that wall at right angles not far from St. Sophia, and thence running parallel with the length of the At Meidan (the ancient Hippodrome), and bending round to the coast shortly after passing its southern extremity. The whole course of the wall is not a matter of certainty, but sufficient remains have been found in different parts of it to make its main line tolerably clear. The space thus enclosed, and especially the southern portion of it,

which lies outside the present Seraglio walls, gives a site which suits the topographical details gathered from the Byzantine writers far better than that which has hitherto been generally accepted. The walls that are now extant are, in all probability, the work of the emperor Michael Palæologus, at the close of the thirteenth century, and after the Latin rule in Constantinople, a period fatally important, not only to the Great Palace, but to the whole empire of the East. Working on the materials provided by these recent discoveries, and using them to throw light on the facts already in his possession, Dr. Paspates has elaborated an account of the position and topography of the Great Palace which should be of great value to the students (why are they so few ?) of Byzantine history.

It will not be fair to let it be supposed that Dr. Paspates is the first and only person who has undertaken to describe the site of the palace. Not to mention the work of Ducange, in whose time the most valuable witness on the subject, the writings of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, was unknown, M. Labarte, in a monograph published in 1861, attempted very much the same task as that of Dr. Paspates. He too investigated all the passages of the Byzantine writers, and especially Porphyrogenitus, which bear on the topography of the region near the palace and St. Sophia, and the result is a work which may well be compared with that now under review. It affords a proof of the difficulty of extracting an accurate representation of the position of any place from written descriptions alone. The same passages which induce M. Labarte to place some given room or shrine in some particular quarter of the palace, equally justify Dr. Paspates in giving it some wholly different position. Generally speaking, M. Labarte places the palace further to the north than the Greek antiquary. He brings the imperial buildings into immediate contiguity with the east front of St. Sophia, and locates the great Forum, known as the Augusteum, between the south of the cathedral and the northern extremity of the Hippodrome. But these and other more minute details can only be appreciated by a careful study of a vast number of small points of evidence, and would be dry and unintelligible to the ordinary reader. It should be mentioned,

however, that the French writer had not the advantage of the knowledge of the remains of the old walls, the discovery of which did much to fix the opinions of the later archæologist ; nor had he made the same minute exploration of the ground as Dr. Paspates. It is fair, therefore, to give the latter some preference over his predecessor in considering his judgment on a series of problems of the greatest obscurity, which will never, probably, be solved, and certainly will not be so as long as the Turk remains in Constantinople and in his present frame of mind as regards antiquarian research.

A brief description of the results of Dr. Paspates' labours, as regards the principal buildings in and adjoining the palace, may be useful, before proceeding to mention some of the most striking events connected with them. The two fixed points in the topography of the district are the Hippodrome and the Cathedral (now the mosque) of St. Sophia. The latter stands in the same position, and substantially in the same form, as it was left after its final rebuilding by Justinian. The former has lost much of its ancient dimensions, but its position and direction are accurately determined by the survival of two columns which are known to have stood upon its central axis.* From the known position of these two important spots, the site of the other buildings in the neighbourhood must chiefly be determined. The greatest length of the Hippodrome, about 400 yards according to the best authorities, was in the line north and south. Its southern extremity was in the shape of an apse ; the northern a straight line, formed by the chambers in which the chariots and horses were enclosed before the beginning of the race, surmounted by the throne and attendant halls

* It is very remarkable that two such careful inquirers as M. Labarte and Dr. Paspates should differ as to the direction of this axis, and consequently of the Hippodrome as a whole ; but whereas Dr. Paspates represents it as running north and south, M. Labarte, following Kauffer's map, gives it a very strong inclination to the north-east, and similarly M. Labarte shows St. Sophia as fronting east-south-east, while Dr. Paspates makes it vary but very little from the direct east. The difficulties thrown by the Turks in the way of accurate survey may largely account for this divergence.

and chapels, from which the emperor and his household watched the games. Down the centre of the arena, but leaving a wide space at each end round which the chariots might turn, ran the axis or *spina*, as it was called, a low wall adorned with statues and urns and pillars, and forming at once the chief ornament of the arena in the eyes of the spectators, and the chief danger in the eyes of the competitors who had to drive round it. Three of the objects which adorned it in the days of the Byzantine Empire remain to this hour, though in a sadly mutilated condition. These are the Egyptian obelisk which stood in the centre of the Hippodrome; a column which once supported the statue of Constantine the Great, but now, from the condition to which it has been reduced by one of the conflagrations which have devastated Constantinople in the past, is known as 'the Burnt Pillar;' and the celebrated pedestal, in the form of three intertwined serpents, on which stood formerly the tripod dedicated by the Greeks at Delphi after the victory of Plataea. The heads of the serpents have long disappeared—one shattered by the mace of Mahomet II., when he rode as conqueror into Constantinople, the others lost in more ignoble and unknown ways.

The north end of the Hippodrome was occupied, as has been already mentioned, by the imperial apartments and throne. Along the sides were the seats and standing room for the mass of the people, which found in the contests of the Hippodrome the great excitement of their life. The history of the 'factions' which competed in these races is well known. Originally there were but two, distinguished by the colours of white and red. To these two others were added, the green and the dark blue; but presently these two absorbed the old ones, and it is with the struggles of the blue and green parties that we are chiefly familiar; struggles which were not confined to the arena, but extended to the service and ceremonials of State and the intercourse of private life, and were attended very frequently by riot and bloodshed, which culminated in the terrible scenes to be mentioned presently, known as the riots of Nika.

But to return to topography. Parallel with the Hippodrome,

on its eastern side, and stretching along its whole length, and beyond it to the north till it reached the southern side of St. Sophia, lay the great Forum, called the *Augusteum*, in which many of the principal public buildings and statues were placed. There was the senate-house, and there the residence of the Patriarch, and there the great baths of *Zeuxippus*, in which were statues of all the great writers of Greece, collected from cities in Asia Minor and in Greece itself, to adorn the new capital of the world. There was the colossal column of *Justinian*, and the statue of the Empress *Eudoxia*, the enemy and practically the murderess of *John Chrysostom*; and there too was the *Milion*, the resting-place and reception hall of the emperor in many of the State ceremonials, in his passage from the palace to the cathedral. Lying as it did between the Palace, the Hippodrome, and the cathedral, and filled with the spoils of the best art of Greece, the *Augusteum* must have surpassed in splendour, though not in historic interest, its prototype, the Forum of Rome.

East of the *Augusteum*, and separated by it alone from the eastern flank of the Hippodrome, stood the main front of the palace. Not that the Great Palace was one connected building, or that its more splendid apartments faced towards the Forum; but here was the palace wall, and through it were pierced the entrances by which the emperors issued to take part in the numerous ceremonials which were so marked a characteristic of the Byzantine court. The palace itself was the work of several emperors in different ages. It did not reach its full extent till the beginning of the tenth century, in the time of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, to whom we owe most of our knowledge of its position. *Constantine*, *Justinian*, *Justin II.*, *Theophilus*, and *Basil the Macedonian*, were the chief contributors to its beauty. Of the splendour of its adornments we can, unfortunately, form but little idea. No considerable fragment of building remains above ground at the present day, and we have no descriptions or representations of it in the time of its glory. But its chief magnificence appears to have been in the precious stones and metals and marble lavished over its interior, rather than in the forms of its

architecture. Thus we hear much of the Golden Hall, erected by Justin II. in 578, which, with its adjoining chambers, was the principal palace of most of the emperors; an octagonal building, or rather a central hall with eight apsidal chambers opening upon it, one of which was the shrine of St. Theodosius, in which was preserved the rod of Moses. It stood on the side of the palace grounds nearest to the sea, though separated from it by some open ground, and facing out over the waters of the Propontis. Its doors, as they were finally put in by Porphyrogenitus, were of silver; in the centre stood the golden table, at which none but the emperor, the patriarch, and four of the highest ministers ever dined. In one part of the room stood a golden tree, on which sat mechanical singing birds, which imitated the notes of the living animal. In another was the imperial throne, surrounded by seats for lesser princes and dignitaries.

Scarcely less splendid were many other of the halls and reception rooms with which the palace abounded. East of the Golden Hall lay the hall of the Triple Shell, as it was called from its shape, and adjoining that a curved chamber known as the Sigma, underneath which was a whispering gallery. Both of these were the work of the emperor Theophilus (829-842), one of the most magnificent of the line of Byzantine sovereigns, in spite of the somewhat contemptuous way in which he is treated by Gibbon. Apart from the vigour of his wars against the Saracens, an important portion of the duty of the ruler of the East in those days, his great and beautiful additions to the architecture of the city, and especially of the palace, have won him enthusiastic praises from the Byzantine writers. The most splendid of all these works was the Pearl Chamber, which adjoined those already mentioned. Eight rose-coloured pillars of marble supported the roof; the floor was paved with delicate mosaic work and the beautiful marble of Proconnessus; while the walls were adorned with representations of all kinds of animals, executed in mosaic and precious stones. Close to this hall, or perhaps above it, was the chamber usually inhabited by the emperor during the spring and summer months. Here too were pillars of marble supporting the 'gold-embroidered

hemisphere of the roof,' as a Byzantine author describes it. Finally it is impossible to omit mention of the underground chamber known as the Musicus, on account of the perfect artistic harmony of the marbles, Peganusian, Carian, and green Thessalian, with which its walls were adorned. Its roof was set with precious stones, and the author just quoted says of it that 'one who looked on this room would say that it was a meadow teeming with flowers of varied hue.'

It would be tedious to go through the whole list of halls and chambers of which the Byzantine historians make mention; the group of buildings known as the Daphne palace, including the great reception hall of the Consistorium; the two hippodromes, for exercise or races, within the palace walls; the great brazen entrance from the Augusteum; or the splendid banqueting hall of Justinian, of which one of the poets of the Anthology has left a record which may be translated thus :

' Justinian reared my radiant frame on high,
Showing a marvel to the rising sun ;
For in his journey through the lofty sky
Other such beauty he beholdeth none.

It is difficult to convey, or even to form, any adequate idea of the general appearance of the Great Palace. Even supposing the ground-plan of Dr. Paspates, or of M. Labarte, to be approximately correct, it tells us little or nothing of the character of the buildings as they showed themselves above the ground. We have no extant specimens of the palace architecture of the Byzantine age, from which we can derive an analogy. We can only have recourse to the models of ecclesiastical architecture which remain, notably in the instance of St. Sophia, and the church of St. Sergius and St. Bacchus, south of the Hippodrome, commonly known as the lesser St. Sophia. But it is difficult to tell how far this guide is a trustworthy one. A person who tried to reconstruct the appearance of Windsor Castle or Buckingham Palace, with nothing but the ground-plan and the analogy of Westminster Abbey to direct him, would assuredly produce a very strange result. But a few general ideas may perhaps be obtained, the more so

as the number of shrines and chapels included within the palace building may have contributed to give the whole something of an ecclesiastical appearance.

One main feature of Byzantine architecture is the development of the vault and the dome. These are of course variations of the principle of the arch, but variations which lead to a very distinct difference in appearance, as may be perceived by anyone who will compare an English or French cathedral with the pictures of St. Sophia or of St. Mark's at Venice. One result is the adoption of a nearly square ground plan, the dome being the central feature, which the rest of the building surrounds and supports, in place of the long naves and aisles which are the characteristics of Gothic architecture. It also has a tendency to limit the size of buildings, the support of a large dome being an enterprise which architects were unwilling to undertake unnecessarily. As applied to palace buildings, the general result would probably be a collection of a number of rooms and halls, not individually of very great size, surmounted in most cases by domes or barrel vaults or cupolas. As a rule there appears to have been only one story visible above ground, though generally a lofty one, and a large use of underground chambers throughout the greater part of the whole extent. The ornamentation was chiefly in the way of colour and mosaic work. The whole tendency of the Byzantine style was against bold, projecting, architectural ornament, and in favour of shallow designs carved into a flat surface. Hence the general effect is one of flatness, which requires to be relieved, as the Byzantines did relieve it copiously, with gold and precious stones and mosaic work. The eye which is accustomed to the infinite beauties of architectural detail, which are so characteristic of the Gothic style, is apt to be disappointed with the flatness and poverty of Byzantine work, especially as we have not the opportunity of seeing it in all the glory of light and colour which was its peculiar merit and beauty. The stranger who looks from the sea on the mass of common houses which now cumber the site south of the Seraglio walls, should try to picture to himself with the eye of imagination a stretch of pleasant gardens sloping down

to the sea wall, and behind that a group of domed and vaulted buildings and corridors surrounding the great Golden Hall in their midst. Behind that again would stand the throng of rooms which were gathered around the palace of the Triple Shell, chiefly the work of the magnificent Theophilus; while to the right of these, and further back from the shore, are the palace of Daphne, and the great exit to the Augusteum. At the back of the whole range of buildings he might see the lofty columns which stood, here and there, in the Augusteum, and the walls of the Hippodrome, while away to the right would rise the great dome of St. Sophia and its eastern front, uninjured then by Christian plundering and Turkish neglect of the exterior.

One noticeable feature of the Great Palace, and indeed of the whole town of Constantinople, is the very large number of churches and shrines and chapels included within its walls. Within the palace itself we have mention of twenty-eight, besides ten more in the immediate precincts, which were regularly frequented by the Emperors on the occasions of certain festivals; among them being of course the great cathedral of St. Sophia, the centre of the state worship of the empire. The number of churches in the whole city is calculated by Ducange at three hundred and seventy; and from the defective nature of his material it is probable that he has rather under-estimated than exaggerated it. This is a fact characteristic of the city of Constantinople. In its foundation and throughout its history it has a distinctly religious stamp upon it; not indeed so much in the character of the populace, as in the forms and habits of every day life. Its founder was the first Christian emperor, and the choice of the site was said to have been directed by a divinely sent dream. In its infancy it was plunged into the desperate conflict between Arianism, which was for a time the religion of the state, and the faith which is embodied in the creed of Nicaea. The third century of its existence was marked by the strife which arose on the question of the use of images in religious places and worship. Throughout its whole history it was engaged in struggles with the forces arrayed against Christianity by the peoples of the East; and the star

of the Eastern Empire set finally in a sea of blood at the triumph of the Crescent over the Cross.

We have said already that the history of Constantinople has yet to be written. This is not only true of the city, but it is true also of the empire. The vast majority of well educated persons of the present day have no conception of the true position of the Byzantine Empire in the history of the world. Professor Freeman preaches, in season and out of season, the doctrine of the unity of history ; but to most of us it is a mere form of words. We trace the history of the Roman Republic and early Empire, and we know, more or less vaguely, that it fell in the fifth century before Odoacer and his barbarians. Then comes a dark gap. A curtain is let down over history, which does not rise again for us till, at the earliest, the Norman Conquest, or it may be hardly till the Renaissance. Then modern history begins and we trace to our complete satisfaction its even course down to the present day. We do not realise, we hardly even know, that while Rome was dead and barbarism triumphant over the west of Europe, the traditions of civilization and of Hellenism were being maintained in the East against all comers ; maintained not in a blaze of triumph and magnificence, which might ensure an immortality of recognition to the leaders in the work, but in a steady and dogged fashion, through frequent partial failures and inconspicuous partial successes ; often unconsciously, often unworthily, but in fact and deed maintained, till the West had passed through its long regeneration, and emerging with a new youth from the Medea cauldron of the Dark Ages, was able to take once more from the hand of Constantinople the torch which Constantinople had received from Greece and ancient Rome. It was not, as we are accustomed to believe, the monasteries which preserved to us the literature of the ancient world, or at least it was not only and not chiefly the monasteries. Greek literature in particular would have been in imminent danger of total disappearance, had there not been a kingdom in which Greek was still a living language, and in which the great authors of Athens and ancient Hellas were read and studied and treasured.

The office of the Byzantine Empire was, indeed, not a brilliant one. It was not its function to create new types, to discover new provinces, in the world of knowledge or imagination; it was simply to preserve the achievements of a past age from destruction by a cataclysm which threatened to sweep bare the face of the whole earth. It was from Constantinople that the great mass of ancient manuscripts was brought to the Western world, when the zeal for the investigation of the literature of Greece had begun to be kindled again in Italy. It was from Constantinople, after the troubles which the Crusades brought on the decaying Empire, and especially after the circle of Mahomedan conquest began to close round the doomed capital, that the scholars came who handed down to the enthusiastic learners of Italy the traditions of Greek scholarship. When we remember on what a slender thread the continued existence of some of the most precious classics, of *Æschylus*, of *Sophocles*, or of *Plato*, has hung, we may well think with some gratitude of the Empire to which alone we owe their preservation to-day.

Historians have seldom been fair to the character of the Eastern Empire. It might, indeed, be thought that any nation or dynasty should be content which had *Gibbon* for its historian. But the very title of *Gibbon's* work shows the light in which he regarded the Byzantine rule. It is throughout the history of a Decline and Fall. The empire of Constantinople is but the decay of the early empire of Rome. Further, to the great mental and moral force of the period, *Gibbon* is systematically unjust. The victory of Christianity over paganism is to him a cause of unmixed regret. He exhibits only its failings and its uncomely aspects; to its moral beauty he is entirely blind. Indeed all semblance of moral excellence is received by him, except in the case of an opponent of Christianity, such as *Julian*, with a uniform agnosticism and disbelief which goes far to disqualify a writer for a just estimate of any age or period. The march of events over that wide tract of time passes indeed before our eyes in a grand and stately procession; but there is a shadow upon the whole, a

sombreness of colouring and almost a melancholy of despair, until we are at last plunged in the final catastrophe.

The same accusation cannot be brought against Finlay; but Finlay has not made that impression upon popular beliefs and prejudices to which his labour and his learning entitled him. It is, indeed, no easy task to make Byzantine history generally interesting. The work of the Eastern Empire was, as has been said already, essentially prosaic; it was the work of defence, not of conquest.

‘ History shows you men whose master-touch
Not so much modifies as makes anew ;
Minds that transmute nor need restore at all.’

But that was not the character of the Byzantine period; and the function of the mere ‘Saviour of society’ is never so striking in the world’s eye nor rewarded with such an ample recognition. The armies of the Eastern Empire are generally supposed to have been composed of cowards and traitors in equal quantities; ‘their vices,’ says Gibbon, ‘were inherent, their victories accidental.’ Yet these same soldiers kept the most warlike peoples of the East, the Huns, the Saracens, the Slavs, the Turks, at bay for a thousand years, and evolved the only system of scientific strategy which existed in Europe before the sixteenth century. The history of Constantinople is commonly believed to consist of nothing but court intrigues, religious strifes, and plots and murders for the possession of a throne which was merely the hollow and uneasy semblance of a power that had long passed away. Yet that history, if fairly studied, is full of dramatic events and picturesque incidents, and shows on a wide and varied, and to most persons a new, field the play of those passions and emotions which constitute so much of the interest of the records of human life.

We may pass in review a very few of the incidents which mark the history of the localities which we have described at the beginning of this article. Constantinople is perhaps the only conspicuous instance, except St. Petersburg, of a capital made to order. It was dedicated on the 11th of May, A.D. 330, only six years after the siege and capture of the existing

Byzantium by Constantine; and to adorn it in a manner befitting the new capital of the empire, every province of the Eastern world was ransacked and robbed of its treasures. A contemporary author declares that 'Constantinople was dedicated by the stripping of almost every city.' Within a century of its foundation it rivalled Rome, and even earlier than that date the poet Claudian represents the old capital as complaining that a rival Rome has risen in the East and taken away half the resources of the empire from the ancient mistress.* The history of its first fifty years is the history of Arianism, until the final establishment of orthodoxy by Theodosius. But that event did not put an end to religious discords in Constantinople. The opening years of the fifth century saw the conflict between the Empress Eudoxia, assisted by not a few of the clergy, and the great Archbishop Chrysostom, which ended in the banishment of the latter, though only after a bloody riot in the streets of the city, in which the populace, maddened at the ill-treatment of their favourite archbishop, slaughtered the Egyptians and the monks who had been introduced by the empress to support her in her daring enterprise, wherever they could find them; and not only so, but a destructive fire was set on foot, in which the Cathedral and the senate house perished.

The next great epoch in the history of Constantinople is that of the reign of Justinian, the most famous and perhaps the greatest of all the emperors of the East. The second founder of the city, the saviour, through his general Belisarius, of Italy and Africa from the barbarians, the lawgiver to the empire, and through the empire to modern Europe, he well deserves the recognition which posterity has bestowed upon him, almost alone of the rulers of Constantinople. It was in his reign, in the year 532, that the terrible riots occurred, to which we have already alluded, and which were the occasion of a destruction

* 'Cum subiit par Roma mihi, divisaque sumait
Æquales Aurora togas, Ægyptia rura
In partem cessere novam.'

—Claudian *De Bello Gildonico*, ll. 60-62.

of property and a loss of life unparalleled even in the history of Constantinople. The story illustrates the topography of the palace region, as well as the character of the capital, and is worth repeating. It arose out of an apparently insignificant cause, the arrest of some of the leaders in the almost perpetual riots produced by the rivalry of the blue and green factions in the Circus. It illustrates the extent to which that rivalry inflamed the whole populace of Constantinople, that this event drove the passions of both parties beyond all bounds. Some of the arrested persons had been executed, but two, one of each faction, were still in prison awaiting the same fate. Both parties united, for once in their history, attacked the prison and burst it open, releasing all its inmates, in addition to the two of whom they were in search. But having gone so far, there was no restraining the spirit of destruction which had been let loose. The palace of the prefect was stormed and burnt, and many parts of the city were set on fire. Some of the most splendid buildings of the city were burnt to the ground, chief among which was the cathedral of St. Sophia, and the baths of Zeuxippus, which had been adorned with more than sixty statues from every part of Greece and Asia Minor. The Government was paralysed by the suddenness and fury of the insurrection, which received the name by which it is known in history from the watchword of the rioters, 'Nika,' 'Conquer.' Six days the riot had lasted, and the mob had held possession of the town, when, emboldened by the inaction of the Government, the leaders determined to set up a new ruler for themselves. They laid hands on Hypatius, a nephew of Justinian, whether with or without his consent is not certain, and carrying him to the great Hippodrome, proclaimed him emperor. Meanwhile all within the palace was confusion and irresolution. The majority of the courtiers was in favour of taking flight to the opposite shores of Asia. The empress Theodora alone kept her nerve and spirit in the crisis, declaring that, if the worst came to the worst, there was an ancient saying which pleased her, that an empire makes a noble shroud. Under the influence of her exhortations the decision was taken, which should have been taken days before, to use all the available military force, which

was not large, to suppress the disorders. Fortunately the most able general in the empire, Belisarius, was present, as well as another trusty and experienced officer named Mundus. With their own immediate troops they issued from the palace, and marched to the entrance at the north end of the Hippodrome, which led to the imperial apartments which have been mentioned as existing in that position. But this gate was occupied by a body of soldiery who were more than half inclined to the part of Hypatius and the insurgents, and refused admission to Belisarius until he could show that he was on the winning side. Baffled by this check, the imperial officers fell back for a moment on the palace to deliberate on their course. Then, issuing out anew, Belisarius marched with a part of the troops through the smouldering ruins of the Augusteum, round the semi-circular southern end of the Hippodrome, to the entrance in the south-west corner, which was the furthest from the palace, and therefore the one from which any interference was least to be expected by the insurgents within. The walls of the Hippodrome itself concealed this movement from discovery. The entrance was unoccupied, and Belisarius, drawing his sword, rushed with his troops in upon the crowded masses in the arena. His band was quite a small one compared with the throngs of the rioters, but they had the advantage of full armour, discipline, and a knowledge of what they were to do. The panic-stricken mob rushed to the other exits to escape. But in the doorway, fitly named 'the gate of the dead' (from the part played by it in the gladiatorial games in the hippodrome), stood Mundus with the rest of the palace troops, and barred all escape that way. Whether the treacherous men who had held the third gate against Belisarius now held it against the mob, we are not told, but we know that the miserable rioters were penned without hope of escape in the arena, and that in the unsparing slaughter which ensued the dead were counted by tens of thousands. Only once besides in the history of the empire was such another scene enacted, when Theodosius wreaked his vengeance on the guilty town of Thessalonica; and then the population was that of a provincial town, though a large and important one. Now it was the population of the capital. The conflagrations

which had laid half Constantinople in ashes were indeed quenched in blood.

It was this terrible week of destruction that gave Justinian his chance of stamping his mark on the architecture of Constantinople. The cathedral was rebuilt, for the third time, in a position very slightly different from its former one; and it is substantially the cathedral of Justinian which has come down to the present day. The Augusteum and the other ruined buildings were restored, and the region about the palace assumed now the shape in which we know it in the later Byzantine history. In all that concerns that part of the city, it is to Justinian rather than to Constantine that we must look for the founder. No other episode in the history of the town of Constantinople is so striking as that which has just been briefly sketched; and within the limits of a single article it is impossible to trace in detail its varied fortunes. Ten years after the Nika riots the plague broke out which for fifty years, with scarcely an intermission, devastated eastern Europe and the neighbouring parts of Asia and Africa. Constantinople, like almost every other city, suffered heavily; at one time ten thousand people died daily of the plague within its walls. The effects of this awful calamity may be seen in the history of the city, in the less prominent part played by its local quarrels and controversies; in the history of the empire they may be traced in the weakness which for a time threatened the fall of the Roman dominion in the East. But that weakness does not reach its extreme for another century. It is in the reigns of the descendants of Heraclius that the Eastern Empire was in the greatest peril. The power of the Saracens seemed to be growing daily, and to be gradually closing its grip on the dying empire of Constantinople, just as the power of the Ottomans closed in on it seven centuries later. At the opening of the eighth century after Christ, men might well be excused for thinking that the last hour had come for Christianity in the East.

From this fate the Empire was saved by a change in the occupancy of the throne, which at first sight promised no better than any other of the many similar changes which clothed a

new conspirator or rebel in the imperial purple. But in this case the new emperor was Leo the Isaurian, from whose reign (717-741) dates the regeneration of the government which had its seat at Constantinople, and which from this point assumes more distinctly the title of the Byzantine, instead of the Roman, Empire. The first year of Leo's reign saw the capital besieged by a Saracen fleet and army of apparently overwhelming force. But the steady defence and final victory of Leo were the beginning of a series of successes which broke the power of the Saracen Empire, and gave back to Constantinople the dominion of eastern Europe and Asia Minor. The whole tone of the administration was reformed under Leo and the succession of vigorous emperors who are known as the Isaurian dynasty. The internal history of the empire, and especially of Constantinople, is concentrated in the Iconoclastic controversy; but externally it is a period of steady growth in wealth and prosperity. The eastern trade, conducted by caravans from the coasts of the Black Sea, poured wealth into the capital, which was largely employed in beautifying it. It was in the course of this dynasty that Theophilus (829-842) executed those magnificent works in the Great Palace which we have described above; and the tradition was carried on by the founder of the succeeding house, Basil the Macedonian (867-886), and by his grandson, Constantine Porphyrogenitus (911-919). Meanwhile, the Byzantine armies attained a pitch of excellence unrivalled from the time of the legions of Cæsar until at least the rise of the Swiss, and perhaps much later. Their scientific study of the art of war is proved by the *Tactica* of Leo VI. (886-911), and their success by their frequent victories over every kind of enemy, and by the fact that even the well-armed and warlike Saracens did not venture to meet them except in overwhelming numbers. The beginning of the tenth century may be taken as the climax alike of the prosperity of the Byzantine empire, and of the splendour of the city of Constantinople. At this time the character of the society of Constantinople, though doubtless not free from all reproach, and unquestionably terribly overlaid with forms and ceremonies, may be safely matched with that of the best times of Greece and Rome, and was

immeasurably superior, in moral steadiness and intellectual culture, to the contemporary societies of the Saracens or the Franks. Intellectual originality, indeed, and creative power, were almost wholly wanting; but the Byzantine empire was thoroughly fulfilling its appointed task as the saviour of society, the transmitter of the ancient civilisation to the modern world which was arising in the west.

But we are wandering too far in discussing the character of the Byzantine empire. It is an interesting subject, but one too wide to be treated here. It is necessary to hasten on to the fall of that empire, and, with it, to the destruction and disappearance of those buildings which have been our primary concern. The decline begins with the failure of the dynasty of Basil the Macedonian, after a century and a half of successful rule, and the accession of the house of the Comneni, in the person of Isaac Comnenus, in 1057. Throughout the administration of this dynasty, the wealth and prosperity of the empire were steadily declining, and the way was being prepared for the blow which finally caused its ruin, the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in the year 1204.

There was never a great enterprise which failed more conspicuously in the end it had proposed to itself than the Crusades. Their object was to wrest the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of infidels, and to break the Mahomedan power. All that they achieved was to leave that power stronger than they found it, by the prestige of their defeat, and to strike a blow at the capital of Christendom in the East, which hastened a perhaps inevitable fall. Certainly the city suffered almost more from the Latin capture and the Latin Empire which followed it, than from the final conquest by the Turks. The catastrophe arose out of one of the struggles for the imperial throne which are so common in Byzantine history. Alexius, son of the dethroned Isaac Angelus, applied to the leaders of the Fourth Crusade to restore him to the throne from which his uncle, of the same name as himself, was excluding him. The offers of reward were tempting to the Crusaders themselves and to the Republic of Venice, which had undertaken the convoy of the expedition. The Venetian fleet commanded the sea, and

forced the entrance of the Golden Horn, and an assault, by land and sea, immediately followed. On land the French troops were repulsed; but the Venetians, led by the old Doge Dandolo, stormed the sea wall; and in the course of the night the usurping emperor made his escape from the city. Isaac Angelus was restored, but the Latin army was still detained in and about the city until his power, or that of the young Alexius, should be more firmly established. But the Latin and Greek elements did not mix on friendly terms. Quarrels arose, especially out of the differences between the rival churches; and in one of them a fire was kindled which raged for eight days and nights, and laid waste a belt of the city, from the Propontis to the Golden Horn, two miles and a half in breadth. The flames passed close by St. Sophia, but on this occasion they spared it (Aug. 1203).

At last matters came to a crisis. The Latins demanded the fulfilment of the promises of Alexius. The prince hesitated, but a popular rising of the Greeks settled the question. Another Alexius, named Murtzuphlos, or the shaggy-eyed, seized the prince and his father and put both to death, constituted himself emperor, and closed the gates against the Latins. Then followed a second siege of Constantinople, which lasted for three months. At last a desperate assault on the sea front proved successful and the city was stormed. Then ensued a scene which must eternally disgrace the name of the crusaders of the West. The city was sacked without mercy. A second fire was kindled, which devastated another huge portion of the town. No person, no property, was spared, and the plunder of the richest city in Europe was shared among the victors.

The prosperity of Constantinople, even after a hundred and fifty years of the rule of the Comnenian house, is proved by the fact that after the division of the spoil had taken place, and although we may be sure that no small portion of it never came up to be divided at all, the half which fell to the French amounted to £900,000, or more than twice the value of the taxable property of the whole of England at that time. But the robbery was the least of the harms done by the Latins to

the capital of the East. The two conflagrations they had caused had laid the greater part of the city in ashes. The Palace quarter had indeed escaped the flames, but its fate was only slower, not less sure. The treasures of the Great Palace and of the adjoining buildings found their way rapidly to the West, and especially to Venice. Churches and monasteries were not spared; everything of value was stripped from them by the men whose vow bound them to self-denial and the service of the Church. The Great Palace proved now to be too large for the needs of the Latin emperors, and the plunder of the city had left it bare of most of the splendid adornments which had been its glory. The Latin sovereigns, among whom were the ancestors of the Courtenays of Devon, resided in the smaller palace of Blachernae, which stood on the Golden Horn at the western extremity of the city. The Great Palace was left to fall into decay, and its buildings were probably in many cases pulled down to provide materials for other purposes.

The dominion of the Latin emperors was not, it is true, of long duration. Only fifty-seven years passed away before a successful surprise won the capital from them almost without a blow, and a line of Greek emperors, the last that was to sit on the throne of the Eastern Empire, was established by Michael Palaeologus. But those fifty-seven years had done a fatal work. Neither the city nor the empire ever rallied from the effects of the Latin rule. Constantinople, formerly incomparably the most splendid and powerful city in Europe, was now inferior to Venice, if not to Genoa, and others of the Italian republics. A large part of its area was encumbered with the rubbish of the devastating conflagrations which had signalised the Latin entrance. The public buildings had been stripped of their decorations, and had little native architectural beauty to compensate for the loss. Above all the Great Palace, the former glory of the city, was neglected and almost in ruins. Nor did the empire possess sufficient recuperative power to heal these wounds. The spirit of the Byzantine emperors was extinct, and the people was impoverished; and before long the attacks of the Ottomans began to draw in their

direction all the resources and all the remaining energies of the empire. Plague and pestilence added their help to accelerate the already rapid decay, generated, no doubt, by the filth and disorder which made Constantinople resemble a modern Turkish city before its time.

It is a heartless task to dwell on the declining years of a once great empire. The history of Constantinople under the Palaeologi, with one exception, gives us little cause to regret its fall before Mahomet II., were it not for the shock which that fall gave to all Christendom. Only one bright gleam lightens the catastrophe, the courage and energy of the last of the long line of Christian princes who had ruled in Constantinople, when the time came for him to fall, sword in hand, in the breach of his capital. Otherwise we can find little to pity, except as men must grieve 'when e'en the shade of that which once was great is past away.'

The Turk ruled in Constantinople, and from that day a pall of thick darkness has settled down on the ancient Christian city. The relics of Christendom, except where they were capable of being converted into glories of Mahomedanism, as in the case of St. Sophia, were swept from the face of the earth. The Great Palace was already ruined beyond repair, and there was nothing to induce the Turks to show it any special indulgence. Consequently it is hardly surprising that in a short time hardly one stone was left upon another, and the very site of it became a matter of doubt. Perhaps the conquerors did wisely. So completely have they obliterated all trace of the Christian city, that few people, when they hear the name of Constantinople, think of it in any other light than in that of the capital of the Turkish Empire. They forget that, of the fifteen hundred years since the foundation of the city of Constantine, it was for more than a thousand years the capital, or one of the two capitals, of Christendom, and that only for little more than four hundred has it been the home of the Ottomans.

It is natural to ask whether there is any hope that future research may enable us to reconstruct more accurately the details of the ancient city. It is safe to answer that while the

Turk remains in Europe, there is none. It is wholly against the traditional policy of the Turkish Government to allow independent investigation by foreigners, and it is too much to expect that a declining official despotism will become liberal in its old age. But should circumstances force the Turks to abandon their hold upon Constantinople, there is no saying what may or may not be done. Scholars and antiquaries in search of new worlds to conquer have long cast a hungry eye on the city of the Bosphorus. There are legends of lost classics to be discovered in the Sultan's library; there are tales of archaeological treasures hoarded in the cellars of the imperial museum; there are whisperings of the results to be arrived at by excavation in the region of the ancient palaces. It is probable that all these hopes are largely exaggerated. As regards the palace, this much may be said. It is not at all unlikely that in the gardens of many of the Turkish houses south of the Seraglio there are still fragments of Byzantine architecture standing above the soil. In one or two instances Dr. Paspates has himself been fortunate enough to catch a glimpse of such remains, in spite of the difficulties which as a rule accompany such private investigations in Constantinople. It is still more probable that excavations in the region east of the At-Meidan would show extensive traces of the foundations of the Great Palace, which might disperse many of the difficulties with which its topography is at present surrounded. But even of these many would still remain, and it would still be open to different antiquaries to identify the several walls which might be discovered differently. And the greater question, of the general aspect of this splendid specimen of Byzantine work, would receive little or no elucidation from any investigations which might be prosecuted in this manner. They can tell us nothing of the appearance of the architecture of the Byzantine empire as it appeared above ground. We shall still have to reconstruct the walls and roofs from our knowledge of its character derived from other sources. Still less are we likely to gather any fresh information as to the style of decoration which was, after all, the chief attraction of Byzantine art.

Perhaps no other great capital, with the exception of Car-

thage, has been the victim of so cruel a fate as Constantinople. Other cities have fallen from their pride of place, have seen the sceptre depart from them, and their towers and palaces crumble and decay. But either they have been left to stand and witness to all posterity of the glories of an age that is past, to be the Parthenon or the Hall of Karnak to a modern world; or at least the merciful earth has covered them, and the sands of the desert have preserved them, till a time has come when men will re-discover them, and admire and marvel at the wonders of an age that is gone. And meanwhile they rest in peace, undefiled by the hand or the presence of man.

They say the lion and the lizard keep
The courts where Jamsheed gloried and drank deep ;
And Bahram, that great hunter,—the wild ass
Stamps o'er his head, but will not break his sleep.

Constantinople has no such sacredness of solitude as this to surround its past greatness. Trodden under foot by conquerors of alien faith and nation, forgotten almost by those peoples who have profited most by its long stand in former days against barbarism and pagandom, its 'centuries of folly, noise, and sin,' and its centuries, too, of long-enduring and unobtrusive service to civilisation and Christendom, have perished almost as though they had never been. It may rise again, and again be a Christian city and capital. but it can never be again the city of the Byzantine emperors, never be the capital whose image we try in vain to picture and reconstruct.

ART. IV.—THE SALMON IN SCOTLAND.

SALMON in Scotland may be designated fish of property, or to put the matter plainly, the whole of the salmon found in the streams, rivers, and estuaries of the country belong to the Crown, or to those persons or their representatives, to whom fisheries have been gifted or sold by King or Queen or their

ministers, and are not, therefore, as a matter of course, free to the general public.

The Tay, the largest and most productive salmon stream in Scotland, yields to the owners of its fisheries a rental of over twenty thousand pounds sterling per annum. The proprietors of that river do not, however, all share alike, nor do they fish with any regard whatever to the interests of each other. The stretch of water owned by one person may not be worth two hundred pounds per annum, whilst an adjacent fishery may be valued at seven times the sum. No scheme of friendly or business co-operation has ever been entered upon, each man, like 'Hal o' the Wynd' of old, fights for his own hand. It has often, however, been suggested that the proprietors of the various salmon rivers should form themselves into joint-stock companies for carrying on the fishing: were they to do so it would certainly favour the economic working of the different streams. As many perhaps as a hundred proprietors possess each an interest in some given river, and they would undoubtedly profit by banding themselves together as an association for working their fisheries, which, in many instances, could be done at much less than half the cost now incurred. At all events, in such case 'tacksmen' would be dispensed with, and the profits made by them would add largely to the incomes of the 'salmon lairds,' and in time tend to a reduction of the price paid by the public for the salmon consumed.

The commercial fisheries of the river Tay for instance give employment to a working staff of about 800 men during the fishing season; that river, as well as all other salmon streams in the kingdom, by virtue of an Act of Parliament, being closed against both nets and rods for a given period each year, during which time it is illegal to capture fish of the salmon kind. No official statistics are published of the number of fish taken, either in the river Tay or in any other Scottish stream; for obvious reasons indeed, the utmost care is taken by lessees of fisheries to keep the number of salmon captured at their stations secret. No one therefore knows, with any degree of precision, what the fish producing power of any salmon river in Scotland really amounts to. The 'take' from beginning to end of the season, speaking generally, is un-

certain, and the man who leases a fishery and agrees to pay a rent of perhaps a thousand pounds for it, is very much as regards his chance of making a profit from his venture, in the position of a person who purchases a ticket in a lottery, he knows not what may be the result. Many of the Tay fishings are let annually by auction to the highest bidder, and when a tacksman has experienced a productive year he naturally enough desires to retain his fishery, and is in consequence reticent about its salmon yielding power.

Properly to conduct a profitable fishery involves its lessee in an expenditure of nearly as much money as he has contracted to pay in rent: the working fishermen must be paid their wages, the nets must be cast into the water, even if on some days, as often occurs, not a single fish should be taken. It has been calculated by men versed in the figures that, to pay a rent of twenty thousand pounds per annum, provide necessary fishing gear, allow for tear and wear, and settle the wages bill, salmon, to the value of three times the sum involved will require to be captured, which, in the case of such a river as the Tay, means as many as eighty thousand fish—each worth fifteen shillings—and no one will say the Tay is unequal to the task of producing that number of salmon. The stream has a long run with a fine flow of water, fed by tributaries suitable for breeding fish; moreover, it is freer from polluting matter than some others of the Scotch salmon producing rivers.

The market price of salmon in Scotland, and particularly in England, to which a full half of the fish captured are quickly forwarded—London being the chief mart—rules very high, a forty-pound salmon in the early days of the fishing season being worth more money than a good fat sheep weighing eighty-pounds. From three to six shillings per pound weight is the common charge made by retail fishmongers in London for salmon in February, March, and April, but in seasons of scarcity these sums are exceeded, and half-a-sovereign has been paid per pound weight for a choice cut from a fine fish in the shop of a fashionable fish merchant in the west-end of the great city; but, during summer salmon rapidly fall in price, at certain periods the cost being below a shilling per pound; indeed, when a glut occurs in the

market good fish of the smaller kind (grilse) may be purchased as low as sevenpence or eightpence per pound weight, which enables many to place salmon on their table who could not afford to buy at a higher figure. Scottish master fishermen, lessees of fisheries that is to say, must just accept whatever price for their fish they can obtain; the salmon they send to London are sold in the great piscatorial bourse of Billingsgate by public auction, and are knocked down to the highest bidder, no matter whether the sum be big or little immediate sale is imperative: fish do not improve by being kept. When supplies are scarce, high prices may be realized—on the other hand, when fish prove plentiful, quotations are certain to rule at a lower figure.

As has been indicated, the Tay, like other Scotch salmon streams (the Spey excepted) is worked on the competitive system. There are not less than 130 fishing stations on the river—these are divided into 178 ‘shots’ or netting places, and two or three stations are of sufficient importance to require between twenty and thirty men to work them. The more productive fisheries are situated below the bridge of Perth, which may be taken as an imaginative boundary line, marking the lower from the upper waters. On favourable occasions, and often on a moonlight night, from this point of vantage a few fine salmon may often be seen running up the river. There are, or were recently, 38 netting stations above Perth bridge, and 49 lower down, between Perth and the town of Newburgh, as also 45 stations between that town and the mouth of the river. The water about Newburgh contains the chief salmon mines of the Tay: it being in that neighbourhood that most of the productive fisheries are situated, the ‘shots’ there produce the biggest hauls of the ‘venison of the waters.’

Salmon fishing on most rivers is pursued in simple fashion by means of net and coble, a small boat of common construction. The nets are piled on the stern of the coble, and fall into the water as they are rowed out, describing a semi-circle; one end of the net, or rather a rope attached to it, being left on shore, with which to aid in pulling in the fishing gear, the other end being dealt with in like manner on the return of the boat. Mechanical power is sometimes requisitioned to aid the hauling-in process.

The salmon captured being taken to the warehouse of the lessee, there to be weighed and recorded, the next process is to pack them amid a plentiful supply of ice, and then despatch the fish by fast trains to the consuming centres. Fish taken in the river Tay, or even more distant rivers, on any one day make their appearance in Billingsgate (London)—more than five hundred miles from many of the places of capture—at an early hour next morning, consigned to well-known salesmen, whose duty it is to expose and sell them.

The foregoing illustrations of the salmon fishing and salmon commerce of the period have been confined to the river Tay, but for no other reason than that it is the chief salmon producing stream of Scotland; 'Tweed's silvery stream' shall presently be noticed, likewise the river Spey, as well as some of the other salmon rivers of the country.

Loch Tay is usually considered the fountain head of the river, but that picturesque sheet of water being fed by the Dochart, the source of that stream ought to be considered the real well-spring of the Tay, and as the Dochart rises in the extreme west of the county of Perth, that would give the river Tay a run of 150 miles amid a portion of the finest scenery of Scotland. The volume of water of the Tay is, it may be observed, greater than that of any other Scottish stream, and the river and its affluents afford splendid breeding ground to the salmon, not less perhaps, all computed, in the various runs, than four hundred miles in length, so that it is undoubtedly capable of breeding and feeding one hundred thousand fish of the salmon kind per annum; but it has never yet been found possible to take stock of the number of these fish existing in any particular water. A river contains on the same day salmon of all ages, from tiny newly-born fish to specimens that may weigh fifty or sixty pounds, and which must have taken years to attain such size and weight. Taking the date at which fishing begins, there is then, or shortly afterwards—if the winter has proved an open one—to be found in the water tens of thousands of newly hatched fish—these it may be stated are known as *par*; *par* which are twelve months old will also, at the same time be found, as likewise *par* which have attained to nearly the close of their second year; there should also be smolts

aged one and two years respectively. Of fish of maturer ages there may be some grilse, although the grilse is more a summer fish, but of full grown salmon there will be found ascending the river numbers of various ages and of different sizes.

Loch Tay in picturesque Perthshire is a favourite resort of salmon anglers from the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and even from more distant places. That productive sheet of salmon water which is of considerable extent is the property of the Marquis of Breadalbane, the public, on payment of certain fees, being allowed to capture the salmon which it contains. The fishing arrangements require to be made with the various hotel-keepers whose houses are situated in the neighbourhood of the loch—they provide the boats and take payment, which, for a boat carrying two anglers, amounts to five pounds a week; or, if the boat be hired by one person only for one day, a charge is made of 25/; if two persons occupy the boat, an additional 5/ is charged. Two rowers also must be engaged for each boat at a cost of 4/ per man, and these oarsmen must also be supplied with luncheon, so that the expenditure incidental to a week's fishing on Loch Tay may be set down at about £8. The sport obtained on this very fine stretch of water, which on the north side is overshadowed by the mighty Ben Lawers, varies exceedingly. Days have been known on which a really good angler did not catch a single fish, while on other days mediocre fishermen have been known to capture three or four. As a rule, one salmon per day is thought very good fishing, especially if a big fish be caught. That angling on Loch Tay is costly is a matter for the fisherman's own consideration. The salmon which he captures during his day's work may perhaps weigh only a dozen pounds, but fish double that weight and even heavier are captured on some days. Salmon running from twelve pounds to three times that weight are sometimes taken, indeed occasions are known on which unusual good fortune has rewarded the patient angler, and he has hooked and brought to his boat a fifty-pound fish. As a matter of fact the average weight of the salmon captured by Loch Tay anglers during the last eight years has been a little over 20 lbs., but for the thirteen years ending with 1882, for which unofficial statistics have been given, the salmon captured

in the Loch ran as high—taking the average—as 22 lbs. 12 ounces, which is gratifying seeing that about twenty-four years ago the size of those fish throughout Scotland had so decreased all over as to be represented by an average weight of 17 lbs. and a small fraction.

It has been complained that the terms exacted from anglers on Loch Tay are rather oppressive, but it should be borne in mind that the Marquis might, if it so pleased him, convert his loch into a commercial or net fishery, in which case that large sheet of water might yield him a bigger rental than it does at the present time. The sums exacted from anglers, in the period indicated (1870-1882) have varied in their total from £108 in one year to £1360 10s. in another year, and the sum collected per annum does not probably average £750. The largest take of fish by anglers in any one season occurred in the year 1875, when 913 salmon were captured, the average weight being 21 lbs. 14 oz. The number of salmon in the Loch depends much on the state of the weather, the water being often of excessive coldness by reason of great quantities of melted snow.

Having said so much about the salmon as an article of commerce, something must now be said regarding it as an object—and a curious one—of natural history, in which relation it has in years gone past given rise to a wonderful amount of controversy, of which Scotland has undoubtedly been the chief theatre.

The birth (and growth) of the salmon has been carefully observed, especially during the earlier stages of its life, before it leaves the shallow water in which it was cradled, and many curious facts have been ascertained about the progress of this much prized fish. At one time, say sixty years since, both economists and naturalists were profoundly exercised on the subject. Early in the year they found the rivers crowded with tiny fish, which some among them, bolder than others, asserted were young salmon. 'No,' was the reply, 'these are *par*, they never change, we have them with us all the year, the 'smolt' is the young of the salmon, and has been proved to be so by good evidence, the smolt goes to the sea, it has scales upon it and can

live in the salt water, a *par* has no scales and remains a *par* all its life, its name signifies that it has come to 'maturity.'

In time, however, the truth became known, it was discovered that *par* became smolts, having upon them a growth of scales, and were able in consequence to live in the sea, to which in due time they took their departure, returning as grilse (and probably also as salmon) to the streams of their birth. While the most obstinate unbelievers were compelled against their will to receive this 'new fangled' doctrine, another phase of the *par* question came up for discussion, it arose out of the fact that all the *par* hatched at a given date do not depart to the sea at the same time. Two assertions were made and stuck to with great persistency. One of these assertions was that *par* became smolts and were seized with the migratory instinct at the age of one year, another was that the young of the salmon did not assume the scales of the smolt till they were two years old, indeed it was thought by not a few observers that in many instances smolts were three years of age before they sought the salt water. After long years of disputation by advocates of both sides of the *par* question, an authoritative conclusion was arrived at, which, while it proves both parties to be right so to put the case, left for solution in connection with the matter a still more curious problem—a problem indeed that has not yet been solved, and which may be stated as follows from facts ascertained at the Stormontfield Salmon Nursery on the Tay, an institution which opened in the year 1853 for the purpose of aiding the fish supply of that river, but has lately been abandoned, or rather replaced, by the Dupplin Hatchery.

The plan adopted was to capture gravid salmon, deprive them of their eggs, and then render the ova fertile by means of the milt of the male fish. That operation being successfully accomplished, the eggs laid down in boxes filled with small stones over which ran a gentle flow of water, were left to hatch, a process which required, the boxes having no cover of any kind, a period of about 130 days to accomplish. A pond was prepared for the reception of the young fish, which were carefully watched and constantly observed up to the period when it was expected they would assume the scales of the smolt and seek to leave the pond.

At length those interested were rewarded for their patience. The expected change of pars into smolts, in other words, a growth of scales on the par denoted they were ready to leave, but curiously enough it was seen that only a portion of the fish contained in the pond assumed the silver armour of the smolts—the others remaining unchanged, and it was resolved, therefore, to wait awhile before liberating the smolts in the hope that all would become ready to depart at the same time. But those which had assumed the migratory dress became impatient at being detained, dozens of them, day by day, leaping from the pond, till at length it was deemed advisable to open the sluice gates and allow them to reach the river *en route* to the sea. The smolts at once left the ponds, but the par remained and evinced no disposition to quit the place of their birth. Mr. Buist, the superintendent of the Tay fisheries, was astonished at what had occurred, so were many others who took an interest in the Stormontfield experiments, and their astonishment was of long continuance as the pars left in the pond remained pars for another year! As nearly as could be calculated one-half of the fish bred at Stormontfield were left in the pond, the other half, as has been narrated, having gone to the sea. At the end of the second year the remaining moiety assumed their smolt dress and were let into the river. No law explanatory of this remarkable fact in the natural history of the salmon has been discovered. It was at first thought that the division might be sexual and that the males would form one body and the females another, but that idea, on investigation, was dismissed as untenable. For a period extending over a quarter of a century the same occurrences were noted at Stormontfield, and up to the present time the mystery has not been solved. No change was ever observed in the order of migration; one-half of any given brood of salmon bred from the eggs, left the ponds at the end of the first year, the other half remaining for an additional twelve months before they became scaled fish. The scales, it may be noted, are an absolute necessity to sea-going young salmon: par cannot live in salt water.

Harking back to pre-piscicultural days, it deserves to be noted that the 'Ettrick Shepherd' (James Hogg) was one of the first to discover that the par of the Tweed and its tributaries were

in reality young salmon. He had handled the little fish just as the scales were growing upon them, he had brushed off these scales and seen the finger-marks of the par 'as plain as plain could be,' and when he was 'chaffed' about his discovery by Mr. Scrope, the enthusiastic deer-stalker and salmon-fisher, he replied, characteristically enough, 'Man, it's a great fact, an' I'll believe my ain een afore a' the lerned men o' Europe.' With the light of our to-day's knowledge shining full on the question, it is also interesting to remember that so informed a naturalist as Sir William Jardine, at one period believed par to be a distinct and well marked member of the family, and not young salmon. Sir William, however, lived to change his opinion. In that charming book, the 'Salmonia,' of Sir Humphry Davy [why is it not reprinted?] the par is set down as being in all probability the hybrid, offspring of a trout and salmon, or of the sea trout and the common trout of the Scottish rivers. The discovery of the true position of the par was at the mercy of Sir Humphry, but curiously enough, that eminent person went out of his way to declare the fish a hybrid! Scrope, of deer-stalking fame, who rented a salmon fishery on the River Tweed, and was a frequent guest of Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford, penetrated the mystery, probably prompted by James Hogg, at an early stage of the discussion, and was supported by Sir David Brewster in his opinion that par were young salmon.

Whilst many learned men who took part in the controversy were discussing the evidence for and against a person of humble position named Shaw, a forester in the service of his Grace the then Duke of Buccleuch, was industriously engaged in the solution of the question. 'Par are young salmon,' said Mr. Shaw, 'and I'll prove it.' And he did so, but not without pains and trouble and amid the scoffing of many unbelievers. First of all, he gathered the eggs of the salmon, and placing them in a pond saw them hatch, and found—as he expected to find—that the produce of the eggs were par. But there were those about who scouted that mode of procedure, and insisted that the eggs which Shaw had gathered were not salmon but par eggs. Shaw, knowing that his ideas on the subject were correct, set about proving his case in more conclusive fashion. He secured the gravid fish as they were about to span, and depriving them of their ova and milt,

mixed the two, and then waited and saw the eggs hatch, the produce being again as he expected—par. More than that, he caught par in the river and kept them until they became smolts, and in the end no man dared dispute his conclusions, for he demonstrated not only that par became salmon, but also that salmon were the parents of par! After many years had elapsed, Shaw's experiments were confirmed at the Stormontfield Salmon Nursery.

The question what is a grilse has been often asked, and numerous discussions have taken place, as to whether or not a grilse becomes a salmon or remains a grilse for ever? and if that be so, what are its age, boundaries, and dimensions. The opinion commonly entertained by the majority of fishery economists is, that grilse are young salmon in a progressive stage, and that so soon as they have yielded their eggs for the first time they are entitled to the nomenclature of salmon. But some startling contradictions have been given to this idea, one by the commissioners of the river Tweed, which is worded as follows:—'Our opinion from the experience of the last twenty years is that grilse never become salmon at any stage whatever.' A gentleman some years ago took the trouble to write a book in order to prove that grilse were a distinct species of the salmon kind, living and breeding on their own account, but his contentions have been over and over again answered or set at naught by other arguments and by demonstrations which showed conclusively that as a duckling becomes a duck, or a lamb, if permitted, grows into a sheep, so a grilse becomes a salmon in due season. Grilses, indeed, after having been captured and marked and then allowed to go at large, have been recaptured as salmon. If grilse are not salmon, as some have argued, it would be curious to ascertain how it is that we never see young salmon of the same size as we see grilse—namely, running in weight from three to six pounds; there must be thousands of such fish in existence, and if we do not get them in the shape of grilse, then we do not get them at all: it has been argued indeed, that the smolts of the true salmon remain a year at sea—do not return in fact till they have become sizeable fish. Among the curiosities of salmon biography, it may be noted that a so-called male grilse has been deprived of its milt, wherewith to

impregnate the eggs of a female salmon, the experiment proving quite successful; no difference being observable between the progeny so bred, and the regular run of fish admitted to be true salmon. Well developed roe has been found in grilse of six pounds weight, whilst milt-laden par were more than once used at Stormontfield to impregnate the eggs of full-grown females—the progeny of which became salmon.

These fish (salmon) as is well known are migratory. They resort to running waters to breed, and having fulfilled that instinct of their nature they again seek the sea; and as has been shown the young fish in moieties instinctively leave the streams in which they have been hatched, at the respective periods of about twelve and twenty-four months after birth, and make their way to the salt water. Having said so much, we now arrive at other mysteries of salmon life that seem difficult of solution. If the marking of the smolts which was accomplished at Stormontfield could be relied on, it would go to show the quickness of salmon growth, and also to prove that fish come back to the place of their birth with great rapidity. But many well informed persons doubt these points. The proportion of fish recovered with the marks upon them is believed to have been too great to be true, or if true, then the ratio of salmon growth in such instances looks little else than marvellous, and we are very naturally, in consequence, impelled to ask if a salmon be found to grow at the rate of seven pounds in the course of two months, what will be its weight at the end of a year?

As showing the fate of marked fish, it may just be recorded here that of 300 par marked by the insertion of a silver ring in their tail, none were ever re-captured. It is to be regretted that in the case of such an accessible fish as the salmon, which can, at certain seasons of the year, be easily spied upon and handled on its return to the place of its birth, means have not been taken to place beyond dispute the several points of its growth which have given rise to controversy. If a plan of marking the fish of these different rivers for say three successive years were to be devised, and those marked were enough to ensure the capture of a sufficient number of the animals so distinguished, many questions could then be answered. The exact ratio of growth pertaining to the

smolt could thus be determined and their periods of return from the salt water be fixed. By similar means it might be found that grilse grow into salmon, whilst the question whether or not these fish become gravid in every succeeding year, which has often been doubted, could also by such means be answered. It is known that salmon good for food may be taken all the year round, parties when engaged in the capture of gravid fish for artificial spawning have at the same time captured clean fish, quite as clean indeed as if they had been fished for in the month of May, whilst there are persons who hold that individual salmon do not shed their spawn annually. In all probability that fine food fish in some features of its natural history will continue to give rise to questions that may yet puzzle the cleverest observers and speculators. Some Scottish salmon have been known to attain a heavy weight, authentic instances are recorded of the capture of fish which weighed respectively, seventy, sixty-four, sixty-one, sixty, and fifty-three pounds: there are many who would be glad to know the age of these monarchs of the brook.

Many salmon rivers in Scotland as well as the Tay deserve attention and description, each having its own peculiarity. The Spey is one of the number. The Duke of Richmond and Gordon is proprietor of the largest portion of this river, and it used to be said that he leased those stretches of the water he did not own, so that he could command all the places of capture and fish only at such times and seasons as he thought would be best for the interest of the water, but I fancy the position said to have been taken by the Duke has been somewhat exaggerated, although his Grace undoubtedly fishes a long stretch of the river. The salmon rental of the Spey is assessed (or at least was assessed a few years ago) at £11,000 a-year, two-thirds of the sum representing the Duke's share of the water. The Dee and Don, in Aberdeenshire, are productive streams, the assessed rental of these rivers being over £12,000 per annum. Throughout Scotland, there are between eighty and ninety streams which are more or less productive, some of them being favourite resorts of anglers who, in many instances, pay highly for the privilege of fishing them. Persons to whom time, money and distance are of no account,

frequent the streams found in the islands of Scotland, some of which abound with salmon and trout. The scenery and surroundings are delightful, while permission to fish, if a stretch of water cannot be hired, is not difficult to obtain.

It is not so very many years since salmon formed a common food substance in Scotland, a food at which 'prentices and farm labourers were wont, as stories go, to 'turn up their noses' when that fish figured too often, as they thought, on their bill of fare; now-a-days these persons rarely, if ever, taste such a luxury. Till it was found that by packing the fish in ice, salmon could be sent to London by the slow conveyances of sixty years since—the sailing snacks, and be received in tolerably good condition for the table, the 'vension of the waters' was in a sense everybody's fish, that is to say in seasons when it was plentiful, it could be purchased at the rate of as many pence per pound as it now, at some periods of the year, costs shillings. The bulk of the salmon caught were boiled in brine and sold all over the country as 'pickled salmon;' a portion of the fish captured were 'kippered,' that is, cured dry. After being gutted, opened out, well salted, and perhaps peppered, they were then hung up to dry; when carefully treated, salmon so prepared, are exceedingly palatable and much esteemed as a breakfast relish. A little mixture of sugar and saltpetre is generally used in kippering. In the process the bone should be cut out. Kippered salmon for breakfast used to be at one time a feature of some Scottish houses. The pickled salmon, so abundantly prepared long ago in Scotland—usually in 'boileries' not far from where they were caught—for the London market were greatly relished, parties being not unfrequently made up to partake of these fish.

In the early years of the present century salmon in London was very costly, whilst all over Scotland it was—as has been indicated—exceedingly cheap. Sir Walter Scott used to relate an *apropos* anecdote of a Tweed-side laird who, accompanied by his man-servant, made a journey to London. They arrived during dinner time at a well-known hostelry, of the period. 'I'll take a slice or two of that saddle of mutton you have ready,' said the laird, upon being asked what he would like for dinner, 'and you can give my man a bit o' salmon.' The waiter was somewhat

astonished at the order but said nothing, although he thought there was some mistake. On one or two other days a similar order was given and all went well till the bill come to be looked over at the time for departure. 'Dear me,' said the laird when he saw the charges made, 'this item is surely a mistake, salmon for servant, £1 11s. 6d., what do you mean by that.' 'Oh, its all right, sir,' was the reply; 'you specially ordered salmon for your man, sir, as I daresay you will remember.' 'Yes, yes, I know I did, but surely you don't consider salmon to be gold; I can get as much as I like at home for the mere asking.' 'Perhaps you can, sir,' said the proprietor of the hotel, who had been summoned, 'but you do not live near London, if you did you would know more about our prices; salmon here, sir, is of far greater value than it is in Scotland.'

It is undoubtedly in connection with the river Tweed that fish of the salmon kind has received the greatest amount of attention. On Tweedside, a salmon always goes by the name of 'fish,' and nearly every person living within three miles of the classic, but no longer silvery stream, seems to fancy that its salmon are as much his property as they are the property of those who possess the fishings. Although the Tweed fisheries are governed by special Acts of Parliament—the provisions of these statutes are quite disregarded by hundreds of persons who may be described as hereditary poachers. It was the opinion of Sir Walter Scott, who could look upon the stream from the towers of Abbotsford, that 'all men, and women too, of the peasant class, born within the sight or the sound of the Tweed, think they have as much right to the fish as the lairds have.' Fifty years ago, as the writer who was born on Tweedside can well remember, nearly every family living on the banks of that stream, or any of its tributaries, laid in a store of salmon, pickling them or kippering them according to taste. These supplies were of course obtained by poaching. In those days poaching—or rather the capture of the fish at illegal times—was a pastime, because it could scarcely be said of the lairds that they were not entitled to catch their own fish, and the 'salmon-lairds' often joined in the winter night's sport of 'leistering' (spearing) salmon by the lurid light of a home-made torch. The spoils of the water were not, however,

on such occasions sold, poaching fifty years ago was a pastime winked at by those in authority, now it has become a 'business,' but the hereditary poachers do not usually sell the salmon they capture, they leave that to a meaner class of men who make it a practice so to dispose of such fish as they succeed in killing. No Acts of Parliament will restrain these men—and those now in force obtained in the face of determined opposition were the outcome of long years of the most pronounced lawlessness. As Lord Minto said in a pamphlet which he issued on the subject a few years since—'All the Queen's horses and all the Queen's men could not prevent poaching on the Tweed.' It has been asserted by persons who know the facts that as many salmon will be poached during the 'close time' as are caught during the months when it is legal to capture them, say twenty thousand fish. A salmon is never so valuable as when it is about to repeat the story of its birth, the future prosperity of the waters being imperilled when the gravid animals fall a prey to the poacher. The fish too, when the 'black fishers' seek for it in the dark nights of winter, is in the worst possible condition for food, 'lean and lank and lacking flavour,' all its flesh forming properties being then diverted to the forming and ripening of its spawn. Yet that is the time when the remorseless poacher falls foul of it, the long nights of winter being propitious to his unchivalric work. For table use the salmon is at its best on its return from the sea, full of fat and of fine flavour, it is then prized by the epicure and all who delight in a 'Tweed kettle.' Every day it dwells in the fresh water it deteriorates till, in time, when it has fulfilled the mission which instinctively brought it back to the place of its birth, it is not fit for food even after it has attained the condition of a 'well mended kelt.'

The joyous banquets of old which were held on Tweedside, and at which 'a kettle' played the chief part, are still occasionally imitated on the banks of the river. The Sheriff of the county, and the Mayor of the town of Berwick-on-Tweed still, keep up the time honoured custom of 'the kettle,' and invite their friends to a feast of curded salmon.

The Acts of Parliament, by which the Tweed fisheries are at present regulated, were passed in 1857-59, and were only obtained

after a keen fight with people who fancied they had a *locus standi* in the matter—much preliminary inquiry was instituted, and much money was expended before the bills received the royal approval. The Acts are considered somewhat draconian in their scope, and of course give no satisfaction to those (chiefly poachers be it noted) who evidently think they have as good a right to catch the fish as the owners of the fisheries, and so these men and their sons, ever since the Acts passed, have continued to declaim against them as being one-sided and unfair. But the course of time has made it apparent that these much abused statutes have been productive of great good, not only to the Tweed as a salmon stream—securing more especially the better preservation of the fish in that river—they have also greatly contributed to the proper regulation of the salmon fisheries of other parts of Scotland. Fixed nets and some other ‘positions of capture,’ at one period so numerous in all salmon streams, were doomed by the Acts of ’57 and ’59, the provisions of which were requisitioned by future statutes, and the killing of the salmon by the leister, either by night or day, was peremptorily stopped to the regret, it may be said, of many honest sportsmen who greatly enjoyed that exciting mode of killing the fish. Renewed agitation against the Tweed Acts has arisen, ‘honest’ anglers thinking themselves aggrieved by their stringency; but as Russell, of the *Scotsman* newspaper, used to say, ‘show me your *honest* angler, I have never seen such a being, certainly never on Tweedside, there they go out ostensibly to catch the trout which all may capture if they can—that fish being in a sense the fish of all—but the fish they have all the time their eye upon is the salmon, and if no one sees him, that is the fish the *honest* angler strives hardest to secure.’ There are men whom no legislation will ever satisfy, short of having yielded up to them all the fish of a river, and were such men to become possessed of the powers they seek, salmon, in a few years, would become extinct. As to the poachers, those mean fellows who kill salmon in the act of spawning—*black fish* they are called from their ugly colour—they deserve no man’s sympathy. When a noted poacher was being tried for salmon poaching before the sheriff of his county, his plea was that, ‘a fish travelling hither and thither could be no man’s property;’ then, he was smartly

answered by the judge, 'it cannot be the property of the poacher.' This much has to be said for the greatly detested Tweed Acts, they have been the means of largely increasing the salmon supply of the river; before they were passed the rental of the Tweed did not amount to five thousand pounds per annum, now it is, or at any rate, was lately over eleven thousand pounds.

The sport of salmon fishing by rod and line may be enjoyed on nearly every river in Scotland, by asking permission from proprietors or their lessees, many of whom are liberal in giving consent. On some stretches of water usually rented by hotel-keepers, salmon catching may be indulged in by payment of a fee; in some instances the angler may fish to his heart's content, provided he delivers up his fish to the lessee of the fishery! So much has been said with regard to angling on Loch Tay as to render further reference to it unnecessary. Tweed has always proved an attractive stream to anglers, and various associations of friendly fishermen lease some bit of water and a house in which to live in order to enjoy their favourite pastime, and in these 'howffs' there are not seldom 'high jinks,' o' night, when Edinburgh lawyers and Glasgow merchant princes hold a tournament of wit over their tumblers of toddy or glasses of grog—as Mr. Russell used to say,—'we get plenty of fun but—few fish.' Certain parts on many of the Scottish salmon streams are retained by their owners, so that they may enjoy at pleasure the 'contemplative man's recreation.' These gentlemen usually keep a fisherman to look after their fishing gear and watch their water, and so it has come to pass that there has been for sixty years and more on Tweed and other streams a race of 'professionals' who know the pools frequented by the fish and where to find them, who are learned in the state of the water and the abilities of all who fish in it.

Great anxiety is always evinced to increase the supply of salmon in Scottish streams, and proprietors are prone to forget that a given expanse of water will only breed and feed a given number of fish, just as a given area of land will afford food for so many sheep or cattle. And it would almost seem indeed, as if on some of the Scottish streams that limit had been reached, judging from the epidemics of *Saprolegnia Ferax*, which have played

havoc with the fish. The attack of this fungus is thought by some economists to be the result of overcrowding, by others it has been attributed to the enormous quantity of polluted water let in among the salmon from the mill-streams of woollen factories, paper mills, and other sources of deleterious matter. The mortality, from *Saprolegnia Ferax*, has been extremely heavy among Tweed fish.

Before concluding this *resumé* of the incidence of salmon fishing in Scotland, allusion may be made to another standard grievance, which is ever and again coming up for discussion among the 'salmon lairds,' may be referred to. It is that of the proprietors of the upper waters, and the tributaries of the main streams, the men who chiefly afford the fish their procreant cradle, but who do not get a share of 'the spoil.' The salmon netted in the commercial part of the stream were probably spawned on 'redds,' sixty miles distant from where they were caught, so far away in some cases, that salmon in quantity never reach them till the close season has arrived, when to capture them is illegal. It may thus occur on some river that one owner of a productive fishery may be deriving a rental of two thousand pounds per annum from salmon, bred on the property of a man, who may or may not, just as it happens, get only a few days rod fishing at the end of the season. This is an injustice that has once or twice been loudly proclaimed, but is not yet remedied, and no remedy other than one which has been occasionally proposed seems probable, namely, the formation of the proprietary into a company which, in adjusting the rights of individuals, would consider what was equitable in the case of the men who extend their protection to the fish when they attain their greatest point of value, namely, when they assemble in the shallow affluents of the greater waters to repeat the story of their birth. A salmon stream with its fisheries worked on the co-operative principle would admit of the breeders of the fish being remunerated, and so abolish the anomaly that only these proprietors of stretches of water which afford a passage whereby the gravid salmon reach their breeding places, obtain all the money paid by the men who lease the fishing stations.

ART. V.—THE FORMATION OF THE MODERN GREEK STATE.

[Translated, with the sanction of the Author, from the *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, I. 1.]

TOWARDS the end of the year 1822 Europe held a sort of Continental Council at Verona, where the different States were represented in the persons of Sovereigns and their Ministers. This was the first occasion upon which their collective wisdom was called upon to occupy itself with the Greek Question.

In the spring of the preceding year the news that an insurrectionary Greek movement had broken out in Moldavia had already troubled the deliberations of the Monarchs assembled at Laybach. The Emperor Alexander I., who was then the arbiter of Europe, hastened to express his condemnation of the revolt of the Greeks, a condemnation which was emphasized all the more because the insurgent chief, Hypsilantes, who had but recently been not only a General in his service but also an aide-de-camp in his household, was addressing to him the most urgent appeals on behalf of that country to whose cause he had now devoted himself, and to which he believed—as all the rest of his fellow countrymen believed with him—that Russia and her mighty Sovereign could not refuse their sympathy and their help. Hypsilantes was soon undeceived. The Orthodox Tzar and the whole of Europe disowned and condemned the Hellenic War of Independence from the very moment it began.

The national movement, initiated outside its natural sphere, seemed at that time to have no chance of continuing, far less of succeeding. But circumstances had changed somewhat before the close of the next year.

The insurrection had been stamped out in the Danubian Principalities, where it was not upon native soil, but Hellas herself had already some claim to be called free and independent. In the Peloponnesos the Turks had lost everything

except the two fortresses of Patrai and Nauplion; on the mainland they had just evacuated Athens, and the whole of that part of the country, from sea to sea, was cleansed of them; the Klephtai of Olympos in Thessaly, and the Souliotes in Epiros, still kept the Sultan's arms in check; Greek fleets swept the Ægean up to the very Dardanelles; and lastly, the representatives of the risen race, gathered together in a National Assembly, had been enabled to lay the first foundations of a political organization, and had testified before the civilized world to the existence of an Hellas with both the power and the will to live.

The Greeks, from the very beginning, seized every opportunity of defending their movement against the unjust imputation of revolutionary principles, which was at first cast upon it. The Assembly at Epidaurus, in their proclamation of January 15, 1822, say, 'Our war against the Turks is not the outcome of seditious and subversive forces, nor the weapon of party ambition. It is a National War, undertaken with no aim save that of reconquering our rights, and saving our existence and our honour.' When they cried for the help of Christendom, they declared betimes their desire that their new State should be a Monarchy. Their appeals and proclamations remained perfectly futile. The world continued to regard them as subjects in rebellion against their lawful Sovereign.

When they heard of the Congress of Verona, the Hellenes hastened to send a mission thither in order to explain their wishes and to plead their cause. The Congress refused even to receive the petition which the insurgents had the audacity to address to them. They forbade the Greek representatives to set foot in Verona, and requested the Pope to expel them from Ancona. Official Europe damned the Greek War of Independence from its very inception.

During the last twenty-five years a number of new States have been able easily to take shape and assume their positions in the European family of nations, and that, sometimes after defeats instead of victories, and sometimes after the populations have merely allowed themselves to be massacred without making any resistance. In view of such spectacles as these

it is difficult to realize that Hellas, after having fought and triumphed by sea and by land for two years and thus virtually acquired independence by her arms, entirely failed to make the Governments of that epoch even listen to what she had to say. To understand such a phenomenon it is necessary for the reader of to-day to place himself in thought at the period in question, and to remember that diplomatic Europe was then guided by the principles of the Holy Alliance. No better exposition of these principles as they prevailed in 1822 is, perhaps, to be found than in the ironical description in which the Duc de Broglie depicted it in one of his speeches (*Souvenir* ii., p. 346), 'Every revolution whatever,' he said, 'is not only a rebellion against the Government which it attacks in particular, but a criminal attempt against civilization in general. Every nation which tries to gain its rights, when its Government has refused it the liberty, is a nation of pirates which ought to be outlawed and proscribed by all Europe. Constitutions have no lawful source except in absolutism. Any Government which is the child of a revolution, is a monster, which ought to be killed as soon as possible.' It was against such doctrines as these, as much as against the arms of Turkey, that Hellas had to contend in order to conquer her independence.

And yet when the Hellenes addressed their petition to the Congress of Verona, the moment was a singularly propitious one for effecting a settlement of the question in conformity not only with the principles of the Holy Alliance but also with the interests of Turkey herself. It would then have been easy to have done what was afterwards attempted in vain, viz., to have brought about the pacification of Greece, while still preserving the Suzerainty of the Porte. It would then have cost no more trouble to succeed in such a proposal than it cost to fail at a later date. If the European Powers had not then been so exceedingly tender about the Sovereign rights of Turkey, they would have been spared the trouble of crushing Turkey five years later upon the waters of Navarino. But it is a curious fact that in this everlasting and tiresome Eastern Question, it is always the fate of Europe, or at least of Western

Europe, to make the mistake of leaving undone those things which she ought to have done, and so having to confess afterwards that she has done those things which she ought not to have done.

And so, as we have already remarked, Europe in 1822 as well as in 1821 left Hellas to her fate in the conviction that it would not be long before the Sultan crushed her again.

It must, indeed, be confessed that it was difficult to foresee how a little nation with no organization, no resources, no allies, and no protectors could successfully resist a power as formidable as Turkey still was at that time. It seemed impossible but that such an insurrection must be promptly stamped out. But the energy of despair gave tenfold force to the Greeks. Their struggle for liberty was a war without quarter. It could only end in one of two possible ways; either they would become free, or they would be exterminated. Between them and their old masters there was a great gulf fixed, which put anything like understanding or compromise out of the question.

So they went on fighting, and, contrary to all foresight, their cause prospered for two years after the Congress of Verona. Hellas, left entirely alone, had some grounds for hoping at last that after four years of struggle the Sultan would find himself obliged to cease a profitless war, or that Europe would step in and end it, if only by acknowledging her independence as an accomplished fact.

This hope would have been realized if Turkey had had no resources but her own to fall back upon. The aspect of affairs changed when the armies and fleets of Egypt came to her aid, and from 1825 fortune turned against Greece. The son of Mohammed Ali knew how to gain victories where Turkish armies had met with nothing but defeats. But the Greeks did not give in. When they were beaten they still set their stubbornness against the enemy's advance; they contested their burnt and blackened fields against the disciplined Arabs of Ibrahim; and, with the continued cry of *Ἐλευθερία ἢ Θάνατος*, still appealed to the conscience of Christian Europe.

These appeals were not altogether unheard. In despite of

their Governments, the nations soon began to show their sympathy with Hellas. The material help and, still more, the moral support which they thus gained afforded the Greeks an encouragement of which it is impossible to exaggerate the value, but unhappily, at the same time, this popular sympathy became an additional reason for the rabid hostility with which the Governments regarded the Hellenic cause, by identifying it in their eyes with the principal of Anarchy. 'How is it possible to doubt,' wrote Count Bernstorff from Berlin on July 27, 1821, 'how is it possible to doubt that the safety of European society is menaced by the war which threatens Europe, when we see that every revolutionist in every country is making it the object of all his hopes and expectations? . . . It would appear that their aim in wishing to have Greece free is only that they may set free the spirit of evil in all the Christian States of Europe; they only hate the Turks in order to satisfy their hatred of the allied Powers, and they call for the intervention of Russia with the treacherous hope of thereby dissolving the union which curbs them, restrains them, and chastises them.*' It was many a long year since the pressure of public opinion was strong enough to efface from the memory of the Hellenes the remembrance of the fact that private sympathy was far from being strong enough to counteract the effects of public hostility.

The European Cabinets did nothing for Hellas until the very last moment. When at last they acted, they acted unwillingly. It may fairly be said that what inspired them then was not the generous thought of helping an unhappy people. They never dreamed of doing anything when they heard of the massacre of Chios, or of the massacre of Constantinople, or of the massacre of Cydonia, or during any of the long years before the Egyptian armaments came upon the scene. It was when Greece, broken down by the struggle, fell a prey to anarchy, when the Hellenic Government was driven to desperation, when the army refused to yield obedience any more, when the men of the fleet took to plundering the seas of the Archipelago,

* *Prokesch-Osten*, iii. 347.

then it was that, for the first time, Europe found it necessary to put an end to the war. The European nations only took up the cause of Greece when Prince Metternich had been able to write (May 19, 1826) that it was only the future, and a very near future which would be able to show whether there were still any Greeks left to deliver.*

The first public and collective act by which the powers of Europe intimated their willingness to interfere in the Greek Question was the treaty of July 6, 1827. This was the beginning of that Triple Alliance which was to end, some years later, in the 'untoward event' of Navarino, and the independence of Hellas.

The notion of this independence formed no part of the design of the contracting Powers. All they wanted to do was to put an end to the war without cutting Greece clear of Turkey. Circumstances ultimately compelled them to go a great deal further than they wished, just as this Triple Alliance itself had only been forced upon them by necessity. But the Alliance led to the formation of the new Greek State.

The truth is that the treaty of July 6, 1827, was the result of long preceding negotiations. It was impossible not to pay some attention, from the very beginning, to a war out of which, as Lord Strangford expressed it, there might arise 'one of the gravest as well as most delicate questions with which diplomacy has ever had to deal.'† But when it came to negotiation, the Powers all had different interests and different aims, while none of them were wholly unaffected by what was going on in the East. Each of them tried to turn events to its own advantage, or, if that was impossible, at least to prevent their turning to the advantage of some one else. There was only one point upon which they were all agreed—and this was, to prevent the formation of any Greek State strong enough to be really independent.

Russia had not yet begun to discriminate between the

* *Ibid*, iv. 245.

† To Prince Metternich, July 1, 1824. *Prokesch-Osten*, iv. 104.

different races to which the Christians of the East belong, and she could not well remain indifferent to their fate, nor, however much she might condemn the Greek insurrection, abandon her own character of Protectress of the Orthodox Religion. She had not yet discovered that she had any kinsfolk in the Turkish dominions. She had still only co-religionists. The murder of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the persecutions and massacres, of which the Greek clergy and people were made the victims, roused a righteous indignation in Russia and evoked from the Russian Government a series of protests, remonstrances, and threats, which contributed, along with other causes of dissension to bring about the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Porte, long before the outbreak of war in 1828.

The great object of European diplomacy, guided by Prince Metternich, was to present the outbreak in question. The result was only to retard it. This, however, was in itself a great success from the point of view of the object to be attained, viz., the preservation and integrity of Turkey. 'A war of Russia against the Porte now,' wrote the Prussian minister, Herr Ancillon, 'will not end like former wars in a treaty of peace the utmost result of which would be to give Russia a new province. The Emperor's forces are so formidable, Turkey is so weakened, and the diversion effected by the Greeks will be so powerful, that it will be a question of nothing less than driving the Turks back into Asia and making the Crescent in Europe give place to the Cross. This is a result which neither Great Britain nor France can, to judge by their present policy, desire.'*

Neither did Russia desire to see the formation of a strong and independent Greek State. Katherine the Great's *projet Grec* had been abandoned by her successors, and Alexander I. was very far from wishing to sacrifice the principles of the Holy Alliance, in order frankly to take the Greek side. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that during the whole course of the War of Independence Russia was the only Power

* *Prokesh-Osten*, iii, 342.

which acknowledged the claims of humanity as an element for her consideration. M. de Nesselrode wrote on August 29, 1821, 'The Emperor is sincerely affected, for the sake of Europe, to see that the barbarity of the measures adopted by the Porte is such as to clothe the revolution with the character of lawful self-defence, and to gain it the secret good wishes of every man who prides himself upon not remaining indifferent to the sufferings of his kind.'*

But for Russia, it is not unlikely that public opinion alone would have failed to rouse the European Cabinets to action in favour of 'rebels.'

Russia had already proposed two alternatives for the pacification of Greece, at the Congress of Verona in 1822. These were 'that the Porte should either consent to enter into direct negotiations as to the Guarantees under which the Greeks should again come under the Sovereignty of the Grand Signor; or should prove by her acts that she respects the religion of Greece and is trying to re-establish tranquility in the interior of that country upon bases such as may assure to Russia the establishment of durable peace.'

On January 9, 1824, Russia took another step. After a number of tentatives addressed to the other Cabinets, she now produced a formal memorandum in which she proposed 'to establish upon the mainland of Greece, Principalities analogous to those upon the Danube. In accordance with the geographical position of Greece these Principalities should be three in number. The first, or *Eastern Greece*, should include Thessaly, Boeotia and Attica. The second, or *Western Greece*, should embrace all the old Venetian coast line which has not passed into the possession of Austria, Epiros and Acarnania. The third, or *Southern Greece*, should be composed of the Morea, to which might even be added the island of Candia. The islands of the Archipelago should be placed under a municipal system which would be in fact only the renewal and regularization of the privileges which they have already possessed for centuries.' †

* *Ibid.*, iii. 179,

† *Ibid.*, v. 5.

The subsequent fate of other provinces tributary to Turkey and the re-union of Principalities inhabited by the same race show us now-a-days how much the realization of this project might have turned to the advantage of the Hellenes. Hellas herself would thus also have been spared the desolation caused by six more years of war, while the high deeds already wrought would by themselves have been enough to render glorious for ever the history of her new birth. But the Hellenes had made up their minds never to submit again to the domination of the Porte in any shape, and they unanimously rejected the scheme.

The Turks on their side stubbornly refused to allow any intervention of the Christian Powers in their dissensions with their subjects. They would hear of nothing but absolute submission, and, as M. de Nesselrode truly observed in one of his despatches, they discriminated, with an acumen peculiarly their own between simple diplomatic demonstrations and settled resolutions. It was only an Europe resolved to be obeyed which could make the Turks give in. But the European Powers were not really at one. It is true that they had all given their adhesion with an apparent heartiness to the Russian proposal. But the initiative which Russia had assumed the right to take with regard to the Greek Question was none the less a cause of disquiet and jealousy. The inter-nuncio of Austria wrote to Prince Metternich on September 25, 1824, 'We know her schemes. Russia talks of religion, but all she is looking for is the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. She despairs of obtaining the consent of the other Governments to the partition of Turkey, and so she covers her plans of ambition with the veil of religion and humanity, and invokes their compassion in favour of the Greeks.'*

So the proposal to erect tributary Principalities in Hellas came to nothing. The negotiations between the Powers were broken off. The war went on still, notwithstanding the successes of Ibrahim. The victorious Pasha was credited with a plan for transporting the entire Hellenic population of the Peloponnesos to Egypt, and colonizing the country with Mohammedans.† Messolonghi had just fallen, after an heroic

* *Ibid.*, iv. 121.

† *Ibid.*, iv. 271, 306.

defence which had lasted a year. Sympathy for Greece became stronger in Europe than ever, and under its pressure the Governments again began to turn their thoughts thither. Negotiations recommenced. This time it was England which began. Canning, on December 1, 1824, wrote to the Greek Government in reply to their communications. This was the first time that any European Cabinet had addressed them directly and officially, and it was considered by the Greeks as the first recognition of their political existence. Unfortunately for Greece, Canning's ministry lasted only a few months, and his policy expired at his own untimely death.

It must not be forgotten that all this time the only question under discussion was the submission of the Hellenes to the Turks. England wanted nothing more, and Russia desired to go no further. In 1824, M. de Nesselrode again declared 'that Russia will never admit the independence of the Greeks; she wishes that they should remain under the Suzerainty of the Sultan, but in the enjoyment of as much self-government and of as many privileges as possible.' In April, 1828, on the very eve of the Russo-Turkish war, the Emperor Nicolas expressed himself just as incisively. In an interview which he held with the Austrian Ambassador, he assured him that he detested the Greeks, because he regarded them as subjects in rebellion against their lawful Sovereign; that he did not wish that they should become free; that they did not deserve freedom; and that if they were to succeed in obtaining it, it would be a very bad example for other countries.* Such declarations, however, did not prevent the other Powers from crediting Russia with interested motives. They thought that she wanted, by the pacification of Greece, merely the re-establishment of her former relations with the Greek people; and Russia herself on her side saw in every new proposal which could possibly end in Hellenic independence, a fresh scheme for undermining her influence.†

The Cabinet of St. Petersburg was not far wrong in suspecting that jealousy of Russia was the motive which inspired

* *Ibid.*, v. 207.

† *Ibid.* *Geschichte des Abfalls der Griechen*, i. 343.

the other Powers with interest in the affairs of Greece. Lord Aberdeen wrote plainly to the Duke of Wellington on April 27, 1829, that the object of England in taking in hand the affairs of Greece had been to prevent the war between Russia and Turkey, and to prevent Russia obtaining an exclusive influence in Greece.* Thus also, M. Thiersch, writing from Greece in 1832 to Mr. Stratford Canning, then English ambassador at Constantinople, had no hesitation in accounting in the same way for the tardy protection which Hellas had at last obtained from the Western Powers. 'Why,' said he, 'have France and England joined the Triple Alliance?—To prevent Russia having the settlement of the Greek Question all to herself.' †

If, however, there were some reasons for suspecting that Russia was not altogether disinterested, Russia herself was not without having some grounds for fearing that England was trying to obtain in Greece exactly the same preponderating influence which she would not permit to her rival. Her close proximity as protectress of the Ionian Islands, the presence of her fleets, the vogue of the liberal ideas of which she posed as the representative, the sympathy which different Philhellenic Committees had manifested for the Greek cause, all combined to furnish the British Government with means of action sufficient to ensure her success in this struggle for influence.

As a matter of fact, when the Greeks had been disappointed in their hopes of help from Russia, they had very soon turned their eyes towards England. In 1821, they had already conceived the idea of placing themselves under the protection of the same Christian Power whose standard floated over the Republic of the Heptanessos. If Europe had given her consent, perhaps England would not have refused. But Europe did not consent. And as the war went on, the Hellenes became more and more attached to the idea of complete independence. A Christian Protectorate became nearly as repulsive to them as

* *Wellington Despatches*, vi. 76.

† *De l'état actuel de la Grèce*, i. 386.

renewed submission to the Turks. In 1825, during the confusion which followed the victories of Ibrahim, some of the Greek leaders revived the idea of an English Protectorate, and Captain Hamilton procured some overtures in this sense; but the Hellenic people were now determined to abide by their last resolve, and the intrigues in question came to nothing.

Whether England ever indulged in the dream of a Protectorate over Greece or not, it is certain that she was even more bitterly opposed than ever was Russia to the notion of a strong and independent Greek State. Russia had wished to obtain self-government for a fairly extended area, albeit divided into three principalities. England wished to restrict to the Peloponnesos the limited benefits of conditional freedom.

Such were the circumstances under which these two Powers entered together upon the solution of the Greek Question.

The Emperor Alexander had died in December, 1825. This event, however, did not seem to be accompanied by any change in the Eastern policy of Russia. In the ultimatum which the Russian Government addressed to the Porte in the ensuing month of March, the Greek Question was not mentioned; but it was none the less evident that the fate of Greece was deeply concerned in the results of the war which was now about to break out. It was at this moment that Canning appealed directly to Russia to concert with England some settlement of the affairs of Greece. On April 4, 1826, a Protocol by which the two Powers bound themselves to act in concert for the pacification of Greece was signed at St. Petersburg. The arrangement to be proposed to the Porte was that Hellas was to be attached to and dependent upon Turkey, and was to pay her an annual tribute. The limits of the territory to which this arrangement was to apply were reserved as a matter for after discussion.

The overtures made by the two Powers to the contending parties were entirely futile. The Greeks could not consent to be dependent upon Turkey, and Turkey absolutely refused to permit any foreign interference between her and the insurgents. It was evident that she would never consent to let them be independent until she herself had been brought to her last pass.

It was altogether in vain that M. de Nesselrode protested that 'the conditions of the Protocol in no way stipulate for the independence of Greece, and so far from changing the Sovereignty of the Grand Signor into a Suzerainty, they reserved to him the entirety of all his rights by specifying that the Greeks should be attached to and dependent upon the Ottoman Empire.* The Porte remained unconvinced by these arguments.

At the same time, the English Cabinet was trying to convert the other Powers to its own views; and Russia, as if she felt ill at ease at finding herself alone with England, was anxious to obtain the participation of her old allies in the task which she had so long been pursuing. France alone made any reply to these overtures. She professed to share those views which they both held in common, and made a proposition tending to impress the more obligatory and solemn character of an European treaty upon the preliminary stipulations concluded by Russia with the Court of St. James's in the Protocol of April 4, 1826. †

If England was roused to action with the object of defeating the schemes which she attributed to Russia, she was quite as sensitive on the subject of the influence of France in the East. Her suspicions were kept on the alert by the fact that the suggestion of the Greek Committee at Paris that it would be well to elect a French Prince to the Hellenic Throne had not been without supporters in Greece itself. Moreover, the inconsistent policy of the French Cabinet was not calculated to inspire her with confidence. The Duke of Wellington pointed out to Prince Lieven that France was playing a double game; while she was encouraging the Greeks to hold out, she was at the same time undertaking to form and discipline the Egyptian Army. ‡

The reproach was perfectly just; and it was the Greeks above all who had the right to address it to France. They would have had little to fear from Ibrahim if he had invaded the Peloponnesos with undisciplined Arabs, who would have

* *Prokesch-Osten*, v. 2.

† *Ibid.*, v. 10.

‡ *Ibid.*, iv. 186.

been certainly less formidable than Turks. It was French discipline and French science which had made of these Arabs a redoubtable army. The French Volunteers who fought upon the side of the Hellenes found themselves face to face with French officers who were leading the Egyptian batallions. But the Greeks have forgotten all that now. They only remember the act of justice as well as generosity by which French soldiers under General Maison hunted Ibrahim's troops from off their soil.

It is none the less true that the French Government, between the pressure of public opinion on the one hand, and the doctrines of the Holy Alliance upon the other, did not seem to know its own mind. Count Apponyi, the Austrian Ambassador at Paris, thus summed up on June 5, 1827, the reasoning of M. de Villèle, the President of the Council. 'France desires the preservation of the Turkish Empire; she is opposed to the emancipation of Greece; she looks upon the Russo-English alliance as monstrous and dangerous; she desires its dissolution at whatever cost; and the only means which she can see for accomplishing these ends is herself to join this very same alliance whose aims and work are consecrated to secure the precise evil which she wishes to avert. The principle which underlies her policy is, if I may venture to use such an expression, the *homœopathic*.*'

The tone of this little extract sufficiently indicates the spirit in which Austria looked upon the whole matter.

During the whole of the war Austria had never done anything to win the sympathy or the gratitude of the Hellenic population. On the contrary, she did everything which could ensure their recognising in her the most implacable of all the enemies of their regeneration, and the most intractable among the representatives of the Holy Alliance. Prince Metternich, as was remarked by the Duke of Wellington, gave himself up 'body and soul' to the Turks as far as regarded Greece. He looked upon the Greeks simply as rebels against their lawful Sovereign. No doubt he would have been glad to see some

* *Prokesch-Osten*, v. 83.

reforms introduced into this Sovereign's system of government, but he would have had the armed resistance of the Greeks put down with a strong hand, and he could not conceive that any length of duration, or any measure of success, could ever clothe an insurrection with the character of a lawful war. The Greeks complained bitterly of the conduct of the Austrian ships, which they represented as being the most effective allies of the Turkish cause. The Austrians transported convoys and munitions of war to the Turkish garrisons and fortresses, and broke through the Greek blockades—acts which, in the eyes of all who recognised in the Greeks the character of belligerents, were more than a gross violation of neutrality, and amounted to a direct participation in the war on the side of the Turks.* However, the diplomatic history of this epoch now shews us that, in spite of these acts, Austria, at least from 1825, was the most far-seeing of the European Powers. If the other Governments had been anxious to arrive at a solution at once frank and radical, so as not to leave the door open to new and inevitable complications, they would have had nothing to do but to act upon the views expressed by the Cabinet of Vienna. But they had no anxiety of this sort, and it was just because he knew how far the other Powers intended to go, that Prince Metternich was able to be, or at least to appear, sincere, without any fear of being taken at his word.

While Russia and England were both insisting upon the necessity of making Greece a tributary province under the Suzerainty or the Sovereignty of the Sublime Porte, Austria pointed out the impracticable character of any scheme based upon a compromise between the old state of things and pure and simple independence. The Austrian internuncio at Constantinople wrote—'The first consequence of the proposed step must necessarily be to give a powerful encouragement to the very insurrection which we wish to suppress, and to create an important diversion in its favour, without giving us any assurance that the Turks will ever consent to our suggestion, and I would therefore prefer to begin by jumping the ditch

* *Prokesch-Osten*, v. 83.

which we should still leave before us, and recognising an independence which would put an end to a good many difficulties.*

This was evidently what had to be done.

When England sought his co-operation in the formation of a tributary Greek State, whose possible frontiers she did not indicate, Prince Metternich replied by some observations of which it is impossible to deny the plausibility, while it is to be regretted that Europe has not since allowed herself to be guided by them to a line of action which, if it had not removed, would at least have mollified all the difficulties against which she has had to contend since, and will have to contend again. The Austrian Minister wrote to Prince Esterhazy on June 8, 1826—‘It is hard to tell what is meant by the word *Greece*. Does it mean the Peloponnesos and the Islands? or does it mean all the parts of Turkey in Europe where the majority of the population is Christian? If it means the Peloponnesos, whether by itself or in union with the Islands of the Archipelago, and if such a territory presents—which we do not admit that it does—the elements indispensable for the constitution of a State politically independent, the existence of such a State would be enough to render problematical that of the Turkish Empire in Europe. If it means a union of all the countries where the Greek population is predominant, it would make it impossible. Whether therefore it means one or the other, the establishment of an independent Greece means, in either case, the expulsion of the Turks from Europe.† This exaggerated view of the consequences of the independence of Greece ought to be contrasted with that of a Greek statesman. On December 5, 1824, Alexander Maurokordatos wrote from Messolonghi—‘We are the greatest enemies that the Turks have. We have good reasons for being so. Nevertheless, if our frontiers were once fixed, and our independence recognised by Turkey, our policy as an independent State would have to be in contradiction to our feelings and our national antipathy. We should be obliged to desire, and even to sup-

* *Prokesch-Osten*, iv. 157.

† *Ibid.*, iv. 299.

port, the existence of what would be left of Turkey in Europe, because we should have nothing to fear from her, but everything to fear from Russia. We are the natural enemies of the Turks, but if the Russians undertook to expel them from Europe, we should be their most faithful allies against them.*

Subsequent events have proved that the Greek statesman saw further than the great Austrian Chancellor, and that if the frontiers of Greece had been fixed, as they ought to have been, the danger that Prince Metternich feared would not have come from that quarter. But let us hear him again. 'If,' he continued, 'we put aside all abstract considerations of right and of justice, and if there existed the means necessary for expelling the Turks from Europe, and for again putting in their place a great Christian State, Austria, of all the Powers, would be the one which would have the least cause for regretting such a restoration.'

Unhappily Prince Metternich did not see that Austria would have no cause for regretting the formation of a really strong and independent Greek State, whose existence would not necessarily entail the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. He worked out his hypothesis ingeniously, so as to increase the embarrassment of the Powers. He had no belief in the half measures which they advocated, and their indecision lent plausibility to his arguments.

'There are only three ways,' he said, in conclusion, 'there are only three ways of effecting the pacification of the insurgent provinces. They are, first, the voluntary submission of the Greeks to the Ottoman Power; secondly, the definitive conquest of all the insurgent provinces by the force of the Turkish arms; or lastly, that the Powers should bring about a friendly arrangement between the Sultan and his insurgent subjects. This last solution has occupied the attention of our Court for the last five years. Our efforts have come to nothing, because the questions have never been approached with frankness and order either by the Cabinets or as regards the contending parties. . . . At present the successes of the

* *Prokesch-Osten*, iv. 135, vi. 219.

Porte and the internal decay of the insurrection have placed matters in a position different from that which they formerly occupied. We will never claim the right to interfere with a pacification, of which we cannot deny the legal existence, and which can take place without our help.'

It is easy to see which of the three alternatives was most to his taste. The invitation to join the projected alliance was met by a categorical refusal. Prussia followed the example of Austria. There only remained France who was willing to consent to the proposals of Russia and England. The three Powers signed the Treaty upon July 6, 1827.

This Treaty went no further than the Protocol which had preceded it. It stipulated 'that the Greeks should be dependent upon the Sultan as Lord Paramount, and should pay him an annual tribute.' As for the limits of the Greek territory, the signatories reserved to themselves the question 'of determining them in the course of negotiations to be hereafter undertaken between the High Powers and the two contending parties.'

The Triple Alliance ended by going further than its programme. This might have been foreseen from the beginning, in view of the insurmountable difficulties which the original scheme was bound to raise. As Prince Metternich remarked, the question thenceforth 'turned less upon the pacification of Greece, than upon what means should be adopted to compel the Ottoman Government to consent to it. The end was thus eclipsed by the means, and the experience of all ages teaches us that in politics as in private quarrels the latter are the most difficult to regulate.*'

His foresight was soon justified. As soon as the three Powers had made up their minds to act they found themselves obliged 'to unite their forces in order to prevent the transport of any troops, arms, or munitions of war, either to the mainland or to the islands of Greece.†' This was the first step

* *Ibid.*, v. 203.

† These were the very words addressed to Ibrahim Pasha by the officers in command of the Allied Fleets, on the eve of the battle of Navarino.

which was necessary with a view to effecting the pacification. The consequence was the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino. It is quite true that after that event the Powers continued to assure the Porte just as much as before of the entirely friendly and peaceful nature of their intentions, but a month later their Ambassadors were obliged to leave Constantinople, and to break off all negotiations with the Turkish Government, and thereupon followed at last the outbreak of that Russo-Turkish war which diplomacy had so long been endeavouring to stave off.

Nevertheless, neither this war, nor the battle of Navarino, nor the French expedition into the Peloponnesos made any change in the language of the Cabinets as regarded the independence of Hellas. They would not give up the terms of the treaty of July 6, 1827. The idea of the entire emancipation of Greece entered into the thoughts of no one of the three Powers. On November 16, 1828, they placed the Peloponnesos and the islands of the Archipelago under their provisional guarantee, but always under reservation of the Suzerainty of the Sultan.

It was once more Prince Metternich who foresaw the issue of this dilemma, and therefore strove to show the Powers, on the one hand, that they would be necessarily bound to admit the independence of Greece, and, on the other, to persuade the Porte 'that if she would frankly give up possession of the Morea and of the islands, she would have the immense advantage of escaping all the future complications which would be entailed by preserving a nominal power over them.'

The Hellenes themselves seemed to have cut the knot of the question by electing Capodistria as President without asking or waiting for any authorization from the Porte. They had named the head of their own Government, a Government which Prince Metternich observed 'would have to fall to pieces the instant that the Turks accepted the proposals of the Powers.*' They had performed an act of independence, and what was more, this act had received the sanction of the Powers, in

their recognition of the election of Capodistria, while they still persisted in picturing the Greek State as dependent upon the Porte.

It was nearly two years after the signature of the Treaty of July 6, 1827, when the plenipotentiaries accredited to the Conference of London ventured, on April 18, 1829, to insert in one of their Protocols as a mere suggestion, 'whether it would not be desirable at once to constitute the Greek State, and to recognise its absolute independence, without asking the consent or recognition of the Turkish Government, to which it would be enough to make an official notification of the decision adopted by the Allies.'

Some months later, Turkey, beaten by the armies of Russia, signed the treaty of Adrianople, by the tenth article of which she gave her accession to that of July 6, 1827. This was not a recognition of the independence of Greece, but that independence had already been resolved upon by the Powers, and on February 3, 1830, they formally declared that 'Greece shall form an independent State of which the government shall be an hereditary monarchy.'

This same Protocol which clinched the question of Greek independence, declared that the new State was to extend beyond the isthmus of Corinth, but without comprehending the Western Provinces of the mainland. The question of the frontiers was not settled, nor was it destined to be so for a long time after.

Ever since the negotiations began, England had been obstinately opposing the formation of any State which should spread beyond the isthmus. For her, Hellas meant the Peloponnesos. She only gave way upon this point inch by inch, and with a protracted struggle. 'In the event,' wrote Lord Aberdeen to the Duke of Wellington upon July 19, 1829, 'in the event of our being compelled to go beyond the Morea, what do you think of making the Northern State under a separate Government? This would be more agreeable to the Porte; it would be more in unison with the declamations of the classical dreamers; but, above all, it would operate as a check upon the encroaching and restless spirit of Greek

ambition, which we must expect to see in any State to be established, especially under one head.*

Later on, the English Cabinet consented to the addition of Attica, but it did everything that it possibly could to shut out the island of Euboea. 'Should the Turkish Power,' wrote Lord Aberdeen again, 'be ever good for anything, the possession of Candia and Euboea ought effectually to control Greece.'† Happily, Euboea was reunited to the rest of Hellas; thanks to France, the Northern frontier was stretched as far as a line between the gulfs of Volo and Arta‡; but the island of Crete remained and still remains under the Turkish dominion, after all the sacrifices which have been offered for her, and after all the struggles of Capodistria and Prince Leopold to set her free.

Capodistria, who had been chosen the President of Greece on April 11, 1827, did not reach Nauplion until after the battle of Navarino. The joy with which that great event inspired him was not unmarred by misgiving. His political foresight showed him the consequences which were likely to ensue, and he feared the growing rivalry of the Powers which would now claim to have wrought the salvation of Greece. This is not the place in which to point out all that Greece has since had to suffer, especially during the first years of her freedom, from being made the arena of their rivalries; it is enough to cite the testimony of a Russian officer who had the frankness to own, in 1827, that Greece would never be at rest as long as foreign agents had anything to do with the management of her internal affairs.§

Although he submitted to the decision of Europe, Capodistria never concealed the fact that his own wishes sought a far wider territory than that within which Greece was to be confined. Before the treaty of July 6, 1827, was concluded, he had claimed for the new State a frontier which should

* *Wellington Despatches*, vi. 29.

† *Ibid.*, vi. 176.

‡ *Ibid.*, vi. 9.

§ *Thiersch, De l'état*, etc., i. 176.

embrace all Thessaly and a part of Macedonia, including Thessalonica. This is the natural frontier of Greece, and it is that which, as we have already seen, Russia had suggested in 1824 in her scheme for the Three Principalities. It is true that things were not quite the same in 1830 as they had been in 1824. Free Hellas had lost ground in the interim, and the Powers were not disposed to restore it to her. England in especial vehemently opposed the idea of making conquests for Greece at the expense of Turkey.

Since the moment when the great Chatham majestically declared that he would not stoop to argue with any one who did not regard the preservation of the Ottoman Empire as a point of supreme importance to England, the maintenance of the integrity of Turkey at any cost has remained a sort of axiom with English Statesmen. The integrity in question has been pretty often knocked to pieces during the last hundred years, but the belief in its continued existence is nevertheless held in England as an article of faith, which the fact of Turkey's repeated mutilations is powerless to remove. The principal victims who have suffered from this curious hallucination have been the Greeks. In 1829, after the complete defeat of the Turks by the Russians, there appeared for a moment to be some hope of a cure. The Duke of Wellington despaired of Turkey, and it occurred to him that the Greek element might supply for his policy the void which was about to be caused by her disappearance. Prince Esterhazy, the Austrian Ambassador in England, wrote from London on October 12, 'The Duke of Wellington admits that Turkey has received her death-blow, that all our efforts to restore her to animation must be futile, and that our energies ought really to be directed to getting something to take her place among the Powers of Europe. I have pointed out to him that it would be inexcusable to act upon anticipation, and that even if the Porte is to expire to-morrow, we are bound to give it a helping hand to-day, were it only to soften the fall and to prevent the effects of a shock so violent. Lord Aberdeen agrees with his chief and is taken up at present with the idea of the consolidation of the Greek State, in which the English Ministers seem

already to recognise a Power which is destined to take the place of the Ottoman Empire.* But this was only a lucid interval. The curious delusion returned with full force. It has required much time and many a mortification to make England admit that the integrity of the Turkish Empire whether in the past, the present, or the future, is a matter open to doubt. And when at last it became evident even to her that it is not a thing to be absolutely calculated upon, she has actually taken up an idea that it may be possible to use *Bulgaria* as a barrier against Russia! The Hellenes owe much to the hand of Byron, of Canning, and of Gladstone; they can never forget the support and protection which they have often derived from England; but they cannot help calling to mind, that if half as much had been done in time for them, as has been done in the attempt to fashion an independent Bulgaria, the object would have been attained long ago, at far less cost, and the Eastern Question would have received a solution in harmony, not only with their own lawful aspirations, but also with the true interests of Europe.

When Capodistria perceived that it was impossible to obtain a more extended frontier, he fell back upon that which ran between the Gulfs of Arta and Volo. France brought the whole weight of her influence to support this scheme, and at the same time recommended to the three Powers the emancipation of the island of Crete. England gave way at last as regarded the Northern frontier; but neither the French Government, nor Capodistria, nor Prince Leopold, nor later on the King of Bavaria, were ever able to shake her opposition to the emancipation of Crete.

On February 3, 1830, Leopold was officially accepted by the Powers as King of Greece. His name had been already proposed by the Emperor of Russia several months before, but the King of England had persistently opposed his nomination; and it was only after a vain attempt to agree upon any other name that the plenipotentiaries of the three allied Powers were fain to fall back upon his. On October 13, 1829, Russia

* *Prokesch-Osten*, vi. 183.

proposed Prince Philip of Hesse-Homburg; on October 19, France, Prince Charles of Bavaria; next day Lord Aberdeen proposed Prince Frederick of Orange, and ten days later Prince Maximilian of Este. There was always some Power ready to veto any proposal. Each of the three had agreed to exclude members of their own reigning houses. At last they agreed on Prince Leopold, and George IV. yielded with as bad a grace as possible. 'The King,' he wrote to the Duke of Wellington from Windsor Castle on Jan. 19, 1830, 'The King cannot but deeply regret the selection made by France and Russia of Prince Leopold as the Prince to be placed at the head of the Greek Kingdom. Without entering into a detail of reasoning, the King considers Prince Leopold not qualified for this peculiar station. Nevertheless the two great Powers, France and Russia, having conjointly named Prince Leopold to be placed at the head of the Greek Kingdom, the King, in deference to the desire of those two great Powers, gives his assent.'*

That Prince Leopold resigned the crown which had been offered to him and which he had accepted, has been attributed to the intrigues and personal ambition of Capodistria. This is not the place to examine the foundations of such an assertion. I think, however, that the ill-will of the Court and Government of England was a force quite strong enough to dishearten Prince Leopold, and to cause his resignation. This he signified definitively upon March 21, 1831, on the ground that he did not wish to place himself at the head of a dissatisfied people, and to let his name be associated in the minds of the Hellenes with the mutilation of their country and the desertion of their brethren, who had fought along with them to set that country free, and were now to be cut off from it.†

The abdication of Prince Leopold was the formal condemnation of the English policy. He had failed to obtain any of the concessions, which he regarded as indispensable conditions of stability and progress for the State which he had been called to govern. On February 9, 1830, he wrote to the Duke

* *Wellington Despatches*, vi. 426.

† *Prokesch. Geschichte*, ii. 419.

of Wellington—‘I have considered the Protocol of the 3rd inst.; it appears that, if its spirit be duly executed, it will effect as follows:—(1) It will establish an armistice and *de facto*, peace between the contending parties, provided peaceable means suffice to carry this purpose. (2) It will give birth to a Greek State and promise it independence. (3) It will have traced out for this State boundaries, weak in a military, poor in a financial point of view. (4) It will have found a Sovereign for the new State.’* The obstinacy with which freedom was refused to Crete appeared to him to be especially unjustifiable. ‘As I see nowhere,’ he wrote in the same letter, ‘that it is English policy to separate Candia from Greece, I am afraid that the hidden interest, which caused this separation to be determined on, will augur no good to the new State. The exclusion of Candia will cripple the Greek State, morally and physically, will make it weak and poor, expose it to constant danger from the Turks, and create from the beginning innumerable difficulties for him who is to be at the head of that Government.’

The subsequent history of Crete and of Greece has amply justified his sorrowful foresight. Austria had not opposed the nomination of Prince Leopold, although she was herself more inclined to give to Greece a constitution in the form of a Federative Republic [somewhat after the manner of Switzerland,] in which case it would have been natural for Capodistria to have occupied the position of President.† But Hellas herself and all the other Powers had formally pronounced in favour of Monarchy. After the abdication of Prince Leopold, and while Capodistria was still alive, the idea of a Federative Constitution might again have been brought forward. But in October, 1830, Capodistria fell a victim to private revenge, and the Hellenes, torn by internal dissensions, were agreed only on the necessity of obtaining from the protecting Powers a King, the commencement of whose reign should mark a new era in the history of their country.

On February 13, 1833, Prince Otho of Bavaria, who had

* *Wellington Despatches*, vi. 489.

† *Prokesch*, *Geschichte*, ii. 391.

been proposed by France, was named King of the Hellenes. His father, King Lewis, insisted upon the annexation of Crete, but was no more successful in obtaining it than had been Prince Leopold. Otho was sent to reign over a country condemned already to waste her strength in the efforts required to obtain an inevitable expansion, and thereby impeded in the course of internal development. 'An Hellas,' as wrote M. Thiersch,* 'an Hellas which did not embrace the Ionian islands, nor Crete, nor Thessaly, nor Epiros, did not deserve the name, and was incapable either of maintaining her own independence or of educating herself for the destiny to which Providence seemed to be calling her.'

When the Great Powers set themselves to deprive the new State at its very birth of the means either of independence in the present or of preparation for the future, were they merely dissembling a friendship which they really felt? Did they regard their imperfect work merely as the germ from which a new creation was to develop? After the series of historical facts which the preceding pages have recalled it would be hard to answer, Yes. Fortunately neither the Hellenes themselves nor their true friends have ever ceased to believe in their future. Putting aside more ambitious dreams which the past justifies but the present forbids, they have always looked upon the curtailed frontier which European diplomacy assigned them in 1829, as marking only the limit of a first day's march. It has been a long time before they have been able to move forward another stage. Late events are now beginning to prove that they were right not to despair of their future, and encourage them to persevere until their national wants shall be satisfied. The ambition which Lord Aberdeen condemned by anticipation, is not the insatiable greed of a child which asks for more the more it has been spoilt; it is the consciousness of what is due to them which inspires a nation who know that life lies before them, and who seek, when all is said, nothing but what history, ethnology, and geography alike teach them to be their imprescriptible rights.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΒΙΚΕΛΑΣ.

* *De l'état etc.*, i. 202.

ART. VI.—THE ROMANCE OF SIR TRISTREM.

1. *Die Nordische und die Englische Version der Tristan-Sage.* HERAUSGEGEBEN VON EUGEN KÖLBING. 2 Theilen. Heilbronn. 1878-1882.
2. *Sir Tristrem.* Edited by GEORGE P. M'NEILL, LL.B., Advocate. Edinburgh. 1886.
3. *Tristan: Recueil de ce qui reste des Poèmes relatifs a ses aventures composés en François en Anglo-Normand et en Grec dans les xii et xiii siècles.* Publié par FRANCISQUE MICHEL. 3 tomes Londres et Paris. 1835-1839.
4. *Tristan et Iseult poème de Gotfrit de Strasbourg comparé a d'autres poèmes sur le même sujet. Thèse présentée a la Faculté des Lettres de Paris.* Par A. BOSSERT. Paris. 1865.

PROFESSOR KÖLBING'S work divides itself into two parts. In the first we have to begin with an introduction of about a hundred and forty pages, printed in small italic type, and devoted for the most part to a detailed comparison of the texts of the Icelandic *Tristrams Saga ok Isondar*, the Old English *Sir Tristrem*, and Gottfried of Strasburg's *Tristan und Isolde*, made mainly for the purpose of determining a controversy which the author has with Professor Heinzel as to the sources whence Gottfried derived the materials for his celebrated poem. This is followed by the text of the *Tristrams Saga ok Isondar*, which is here edited for the first time. Next we have a free German translation of the Saga, and finally a number of notes dealing chiefly with the peculiarities and difficulties of the Icelandic text. The Second Part, which has for its subordinate title *Sir Tristrem*, is dedicated to Sir Walter Scott, who, as need hardly be said, was the first to place the Old English Romance of Sir Tristrem in print. The volume opens with an elaborate introduction of some ninety pages. The Heinzel controversy is renewed, but the greater part of the introduction is devoted to important discussions respecting the authorship, construction, style, verse,

and dialect of the poem. Then follows the text of the Auchinleck MS., exhibiting a multitude of variations from that printed by Sir Walter Scott or by any of his editors. This, again, is followed by a series of elaborate notes extending to as many pages as the Romance itself, in smaller type, and evincing on the part of their author a rare knowledge of Old English literature. Lastly, we have a glossarial index of more than ordinary minuteness. Every word is registered in the different combinations in which it occurs throughout the poem, and its German equivalents are given. The work, in short, though almost painfully minute, is one of rare scholarship and excellence; and while reflecting the greatest credit on its author, is an additional proof of the enthusiasm and indefatigable industry with which the study of the ancient literature of this country is being carried on in Germany.

Mr. M'Neill's work, though by no means comparable in respect of elaboration of detail and scientific interest with Professor Kölbing's, is in its own way a careful piece of workmanship. In all probability it will meet the requirements of those for whom it has been prepared better than any attempt to follow the initiative of Professor Kölbing. In fact, for Mr. M'Neill or any one else to have attempted to follow that initiative would have been little better than a work of supererogation. What Professor Kölbing has done, in connection with the Old English Romance, he has done once for all, and no imitation is needed. What was required in addition to it was an edition of the poem which should meet the wants of a less scientific class of readers—an edition, that is to say, containing an exact text, an introduction giving a readable and, as far as possible, accurate account of the authorship and history of the poem, a series of notes sufficiently numerous and lucid to render the allusions in the text intelligible to ordinary readers, and an ample and exact glossarial index. And this we may venture to say Mr. M'Neill has in most respects provided. That his volume contains, as he affirms, 'a more perfect text of the Romance than has yet appeared in this country' may be readily believed. A scholar himself, and accustomed to the reading of ancient MSS., with the original MS. before him and the careful text of Professor Köl-

bing's volume, he could scarcely fail to produce a more accurate text than that contained in any of the numerous editions of the poem issued by Sir Walter Scott and his editors, all of which are in this respect, as Professor Kölbing has shown, far from accurate. It might not have been amiss, however—it would certainly have made Mr. M'Neill's volume more useful—if, after the manner of his German predecessor, he had given a list of the principal passages where his own text varies from that of the best editions of Sir Walter's, or better still, if he had printed them in parallel columns. For this purpose the edition of 1833 might have been taken. Readers of that edition are apt to be led into putting too much trust in the accuracy of its text by the statement in the preface that, 'in the present edition the text of Sir Tristrem has been carefully collated with the Auchinleck MS.' As a matter of fact, however, the work of collating the text for that edition was done but imperfectly; the mistakes in it, though not often of great importance, are nevertheless numerous. In the matter of notes and introduction Mr. M'Neill's predecessors had left little for any one coming after them to do, and to a large extent he has depended upon them. Here and there, however, he has been able to add a particular of more or less importance or interest. The glossary he has prepared is, if anything, a little too scant. The register might have been increased and more attention might have been paid to the etymology. Still, in spite of these somewhat important drawbacks, Mr. M'Neill is entitled to the credit of having produced the best edition of the poem which has yet appeared in the English language.

M. Fr. Michel's work has been so long before the public and is so well known and appreciated among scholars, that it is almost unnecessary to say anything about it; but as it has become excessively rare and is probably unknown to the majority of the present generation of readers, it may not be out of place to devote a few lines to its description. It opens with an introduction singularly replete with information respecting the Sir Tristrem literature and the references to Sir Tristrem in ancient writings. The notes appended to it exhibit a vast amount of erudition and are, if anything, quite as valuable as the introduc-

tion itself. Equally erudite and helpful are the notes scattered throughout the remaining parts of the volumes. The chief contents of the volumes are French or Anglo-Norman poems or fragments of poems relating to Sir Tristrem. Some of these, as we shall see, had been printed before, but others of them were here printed for the first time. The first piece in the first of the two original volumes is the Berox fragment taken from a quarto MS. in the Royal Library at Paris, and originally, but imperfectly, printed by von der Hagen at Breslau in 1821. Though incomplete, it contains no fewer than 4444 verses. Next follows an entire poem of 576 verses printed from a MS. in the library at Berne. The third and fourth pieces are taken from the Douce MS. in the Bodleian, the latter of the two being a copy of the poem taken from the Berne MS. Next we have the *Lai du Chèvre-feuille* by Marie de France, a poem which M. de Roquefort printed in the first volume of his *Poésies de Marie de France* with a translation into French prose. The text here used is that of the Phillipps' MS. Then follows a fragment of 170 verses taken from a poem in the same MS. entitled *Donnez des Amanz*. The third volume was not issued until four years after the first and second, and was necessitated by new discoveries. Its first piece is the important Sneyd fragment. The three fragments which follow were found in the Library of the Protestant Seminary at Strasburg, by Professor Mone of Carlsruhe. One piece in the second volume we have omitted to mention. It is a fragment of a Greek poem written in political verses, of which there are 306, and found in a MS. of the Thirteenth or Fourteenth Century in the Library at the Vatican. It was first published by von der Hagen at Breslau in 1821, who added to it a Latin version and a series of notes, both of which M. Michel has reproduced. The glossary with which M. Michel has furnished his volumes is of great service, inasmuch as it explains most of the words occurring in the poems and fragments which are not to be found in Roquefort. The work, in short, is unique; but more than sixty years having elapsed since it was issued, and the study of Mediaeval French literature having made rapid and great progress, it is to be hoped that a new edition of the work, supplemented, if possible, by more recent discoveries, and brought up to the present

standard, will soon make its appearance. To the student few reissues would be more acceptable.*

The *Sir Tristrem* literature is very extensive and has given rise to many discussions. In the following pages we propose to give some account of the history of the Romance, and then to touch upon one or two of the questions connected with it.

Whether *Sir Tristrem* is the oldest of the Chivalry Romances or not, in addition to being the one whose story is the most widely spread and the best known, its antiquity is unquestionably great. In one shape or another, it has made its appearance in numerous languages, and the references to it both in Mediæval and more modern times are remarkably frequent. The earliest known references to the Romance, though not to *Sir Tristrem* himself, are in France. Rambaud Count of Orange, a distinguished troubadour, who died about the year 1173, describes it in considerable detail. After him it is mentioned or alluded to by such troubadours as Bernard de Ventadour, Deudes de Prades, Bertrand de Born, Pistoléta, Pierre de Corbian, Augier, and Raimond Jordan. Allusions to it are also to be met with among the trouveres, as for instance in the chansons of Châtelain de Coucy, who died in 1191, and in *La vie des set Dormanz* by Chardri, an Anglo-Norman trouvere of the same period. Chrestien de Troyes who died about the end of the Twelfth Century, is known to have made it the subject of a long poem, which, though once in considerable esteem, is now lost.† His poem is probably alluded to by Marie de France, who also belongs to the Twelfth Century, in her *Lai du Chèvre-feuille*. During the two following centuries the reputation of the Romance increased, and the references to it became more frequent. In the Thirteenth Century, for

* M. Bossert's monograph is sufficiently described by its title. It is an excellent study and will repay perusal.

† Chrestien begins his *Roman de Cligès* by saying :

' Oïl qui fit d'Erec et d'Enide
Et les comandemanz d'Ovide,
Et l'Art d'amors en romanz mist,
Et l'esmort de l'espaule fist,
Dou roi Marc et d'Iseut la Blonde,' etc

instance, it is alluded to in a number of fabliaux, in two chansons by Thibaut de Champagne, King of Navarre, in one by Eustace de Paintres, in the *Chroniques de Saint-Magloire*, in the *Livre de Oger de Dannemarche*, in the *Roman du Renart*, and in the *Roman de la Violette* written about the year 1225; and in the following century by Froissart and Bertrand du Guesclin. Like other writers of the period, Froissart sets forth

Tristran et Yseus,
Qui furent si amoureux,

as examples whom all knights and lovers ought to follow. Referring to the allusions which are to be met with in the first of these classes of writers, M. Raynouard makes the remark not only that they prove the existence of the Romance, but also that they are often of such a nature that unless the Romance had been well and popularly known, to those who read or heard them the passages in which they occur must have been altogether unintelligible. He further instances a troubadour, who, when accusing a jongleur of ignorance, charges him with being ignorant of, among other things, the adventures of Sir Tristrem. The remark, however, which he makes with respect to the allusions in the writings of the troubadours applies with equal force to those found in the works of the trouveres. In short, there is abundant proof that from the middle of the Twelfth Century onwards the Romance was well known and in possession of a constantly increasing fame both in the South and Middle of France and in the North.*

Manuscripts of the French prose version of the Romance are numerous. Roquefort mentions a number in the Royal Library at Paris. Others are in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in the same city, in the Library of Inguibert at Carpentras, in the Public Library at Geneva, in the British Museum, and in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillips. From these it appears that the prose version is a translation from the Latin, and that its first author or translator was Luc de Gast, an English knight, residing near Salisbury. His work forms one of the four great Romances in

* Cf. M. Fr. Michel's Introduction, and the notes to it where the passages in which the allusions to the Romance occur, are given at length.

which the traditions and hopes of the Cymri are embodied and led to the writing of the remaining three. Henry II., it is said, was so pleased with Luc's work that he engaged Walter Map to write the Romances of Lancelot and the Mort d'Arthur, and Robert de Borron to compose that of the Holy Graal. But though the first begun, Luc's was the last completed. He died in 1191, leaving his Romance unfinished. In the following century it was taken up and completed, during the reign of Henry III., by Hèlie de Borron. It was printed at Rouen in 1489. Other editions were issued at Paris in 1496, 1503, 1514, 1520, and 1533.

Outside of France, the Romance is mentioned by Jacop van Maerlant, a Flemish writer of the Thirteenth Century, in his Life of St. Francis, and there is an early prose version of it in Danish.

Italy received it from the troubadours. The *Cento Novelle Antiche* borrows a couple of tales from it, and later on Straparola was indebted to it for the third tale of his tenth night. Dante mentions Tristrem in the *Inferno*, and names him, along with Paris, as one of the great crowd of lovers whom he saw flying about as a flock of starlings, driven hither and thither, tormented by their inward unrest, and continually blaspheming the Divine power.* Boiardo regrets, in his *Orlando Innamorato*, that Tristrem never found the Fountain of Hate. Ariosto names him among the chief knights of Britain,† and further on in his *Orlando Furioso* speaks of the *ròcco di Tristano*. Petrarch also alludes both to Tristrem and Isolde. The Romance of Sir Lancelot was equally well known, but, like the Tristrem Romance, chiefly through prose translations from the French. Neither the adventures of Lancelot nor those of Sir Tristrem nor any other of the Cymric legends seems, however, to have taken any great hold upon the Italians. 'The two principal subjects drawn from the Round Table,' says Ginguené, 'Lancelot du Lac and Tristrem of Lyonesse were known in Italy at a very early date

* Canto V., 28-69.

† 'Tristano,
Lancilotto, Galasso, Artù, e Galvano,' IV., 52.

by translations in prose from our old French Romances. But these two interesting legends did not for a long time inspire any of the poets, and were versified but slowly and very imperfectly. There was but one poor little anonymous poem on the beautiful subject of the loves of Tristrem and the beautiful Isolde.*

In Spain the adventures of Sir Tristrem were made the subject of popular songs. Along with Blanchefleur, he is mentioned by a poet of the Fourteenth Century, and 'in the ancient romance of *Tirant lo Blanch*, written in the Valencian dialect, before the year 1460, Hippolito, the Empress's gallant, prays her, one day as they are sitting together, to sing him a song. To please him, therefore, she sings, in a low voice, "a lay or song of Tristan, in which he complains of the blow of a lance he received from King Mark." This was doubtless some well-known Spanish ballad of the author's time; and is represented to have been so tender, that Hippolito could not refrain from tears.†

Translations from the French prose version of the Romance were printed in Spain, first at Valladolid in 1501, then at Seville in 1528, and again in the same city in 1534. That the popularity of the Romance continued there is the evidence of Cervantes. Don Quixote is not only well acquainted with it, he is almost of opinion that the death of the two lovers is of quite recent date. 'Some also,' he remarks, in one of his wise conferences with Sancho, 'may presume to say, that the history of Guerin Meschino, and that the attempt of St. Grial are false; that the amours of Sir Tristan and Queen Iseo are apocryphal, as well as those of Guinever and Sir Launcelot of the Lake, whereas there are people living who can almost remember they have seen the old lady Quintanona, who had the best hand at filling a glass of wine of any woman in all Britain. This I am so well assured of, that I can remember my grandmother, by my father's side, whenever she saw an old waiting-woman with her reverend veil, used to say to me, "Look yonder, grandson, there's a woman like the old lady Quintanona"; whence I infer she knew her, or at least had seen her picture.' ‡

* *Hist. lit. d'Italie*, cit. by Fr. Michel, p. xvi.

† Ritson's *English Songs*, p. xli., cit. by Fr. Michel, p. xoiv.

‡ Pt. i., bk. iv., c. 22.

The Greek political verses, to which reference has already been made, and which occur in a paper MS. of the Thirteenth or Fourteenth Century, in the Vatican, though not exactly a poem on Sir Tristrem, show that at the period of their composition the Romance was sufficiently well known at the Court of Constantinople to make reference to it in poetical writings a fashion. In order to account for this, some remarks of M. Fauriel may be cited. After speaking of the introduction of Western ideas and customs at the Court of Constantinople and of the influence they exercised there, he says: 'Along with these manners and customs there passed to Constantinople the ideas which were the soul of chivalry, and the heroic fables in which they were poetically set forth. The claims of the most illustrious families of the Empire to be descended from the most famous paladins of France, presuppose an acquaintance, and something more than an acquaintance, with those of our old Romances in which Charlemagne and his Twelve Peers are the principal figures. They show also that these Romances were regarded by the educated Greeks, as they were by the ignorant in the West, as actual histories. The Byzantine historians of the Fourteenth Century, who have made us acquainted with these genealogical pretensions, themselves relate them without the slightest suspicion respecting their truth or probability; they speak of Roland and Oliver as seriously, and with as much belief in their reality, as we do of Du Guesclin and the Bayard. From the strange hold, therefore, which these legends of chivalry had upon the minds and vanity of the great, we are warranted in concluding that to a certain extent they were well known, and had no inconsiderable degree of popularity.' M. Fr. Michel, who cites this passage, adds the remark that towards the end of the Thirteenth Century the French language was, according to the testimony of a contemporary Chronicler, spread in the Morea and in Attica, and was spoken there as well as it was in Paris.

But while spreading Southward and along the Northern shores of the Mediterranean, the Romance was also finding a home in the far North, and attaining to a remarkable degree of popularity among the Germans. In 1226 Brother Robert, who is also named as the author of the *Elis Saga* or *Rosamundu*, at the

command of King Haco, translated the Romance from the French into the Old Norse language. Of this translation, though a few fragments are still extant on a membrane of the Fifteenth Century, only one complete copy exists, in a paper MS. belonging to the Seventeenth Century. Brother Robert's translation, which was made the basis of an Icelandic adaptation, is the Old Norse version of the Romance edited by Professor Kölbing and printed in the first part of his work.

In Germany the popularity of the Romance was great. There also, as in France and elsewhere, and in Asia as well as in Europe, the Twelfth Century witnessed a remarkable outbreak of poetical activity. Love-songs and love-romances, chiefly on the model of French, were produced in abundance. Among the subjects chosen for the latter none was more popular, and perhaps none was earlier chosen, than the story of Tristrem and Isolde. The first to introduce it into German literature was Eilhard von Oberge, a knight belonging to the neighbourhood of Hildesheim, and apparently residing at the Court of the Guelph prince, Henry the Lion (1139-1195). Written about the year 1170 the appearance of the *Tristan und Isolde* of Eilhard was almost contemporaneous with that of the romance of *Flore und Blancheflur* by an unknown poet of the Lower Rhineland. Speaking of Eilhard's work, Professor Scherer has said: 'Perhaps more than any other it became the ideal of chivalrous life. It contained everything that could fire the knightly imagination, for its main theme was a passionate attachment leading to many tragic complications, while it also furnished descriptions of battles and single combats, faithful pictures of real life, of chivalrous education and refined manners, together with fabulous elements, such as a conflict with a dragon and a powerful love-potion. The book is a complete biography of an ideal hero, to whose lot fell all that the world can yield of honour, fame, and happiness, but also of bitter sorrow.* Eilhard's work, like the rest of the German Romances of the period, more especially those which were derived from Celtic sources, was founded on a French original and was in the main a translation. As the writer just

* *Hist. German Literature*, i. 136.

cited remarks, the Court poets of Germany show their originality only in their lyric songs; as romance writers they are mostly translators, their individuality appearing only in the choice of their story and their method of treating it.

Soon after Eilhard, Sir Tristrem is mentioned by Heinrich von Veldeke, author of a legend of St. Servatius and of a German version of the Aeneid—a work, however, not based upon Virgil but upon a French translation which takes very considerable liberties with the Mantuan. A perhaps earlier allusion than Veldeke's occurs in a ballad by an unknown author, in which there is a reference to the black sail. But the most beautiful monument to Sir Tristrem among the Germans is the celebrated *Tristan und Isolde* of Gottfried of Strasburg. This work was written about the beginning of the Thirteenth Century and probably during the lifetime of the famous trouvère Chrestien de Troyes. Though in the main a translation like Eilhard's, Gottfried's poem is a work of undoubted genius. His French original, with the exception of a few fragments, is now lost, but it was evidently not the one used by Eilhard. Since his time the story had been taken up afresh in France and its incidents altered and refined. In the beginning of his work Gottfried complains that in consequence of the multiplicity of the narratives he has had great difficulty in ascertaining what the true story of Sir Tristrem is; but adds, that after examining many books, both Latin and foreign (*walschen*), he has come to the conclusion that the adventures of his hero have been correctly narrated only by a certain Thomas von Britanje, a writer well-versed, he declares, in *britunschen buochen*, and whom he has resolved to follow. Who this Thomas von Britanje was is one of the most difficult points to determine in connection with the Romance, and one to which we shall have occasion further on to return. But whoever he was, Gottfried followed him almost slavishly, often translating him word for word and line for line. Partly, however, through the greater perfection of his French original, and partly through the greater perfection of his own style, Gottfried's work is much superior to Eilhard's, and, so far as is known, no French treatment of the subject ever attained to an equal degree of perfec-

tion. Unfortunately the work was never completed. Gottfried died in 1210, after writing 19,573 verses, which bring the narrative down to the point where Tristrem is debating with himself whether he should marry Isolde of the White Hands. Two attempts were made to continue it; one, about 50 years after Gottfried's death, by Ulrich von Turheim, who undertook the work at the request of Conrad von Winterstetten, brother of Ulrich von Winterstetten, one of the minnesingers; and the other by Heinrich von Freiberg, about half a century later, who dedicated his work to Raymond, Count of Lichtemberg. Of the two, Turheim's is the shorter, but Heinrich von Freiberg's exhibits the greater skill. The result of both, however, is, as M. Bossert has pointed out, that Gottfried's *Tristan* remains unfinished. Both continuators follow the tradition of Sir Tristrem introduced into Germany by Eilhard von Oberge, and which Gottfried attempted to replace by that of Thomas von Britanje; or rather, in reality, neither follows any authority exclusively. Of the two, however, Freiberg is the more faithful to the spirit of Gottfried.

The Romance was also known in Germany from prose versions. So far as is known, the first of these is represented by an unprinted fragment, in which the author, who follows the earlier tradition, says: 'For the sake of the people who do not care for such rhymed books, and can not properly understand the art of rhyme, have I, unnamed, brought this history into the present form.' Prose versions, made, however, not from French metrical but from French prose originals, were printed at Augsburg by Hans Schönsperger in 1498, at Strasburg and Worms in 1510, at Erfurt in 1619, at Nurnberg in 1664, and in the *Buch der Liebe*, a collection of prose Romances published at Frankfort in 1587, and reprinted by Von der Hagen and Büschen at Berlin in 1819. Hans Sachs, who combined poetry with reforming zeal, dramatised the Romance in 1553, and Wagner made it the subject of one of his musical dramas.

In Great Britain the Romance, it may suffice to say at present, was in some shape or other well known from the earliest times. As already pointed out, the first prose version known was made by Luc de Gast, an English knight, residing near Salisbury.

The metrical version of the Auchinleck MS. belongs to the Thirteenth Century. Since then, allusions to Sir Tristrem are abundant. The *Morte d' Arthur* of Malory dwells at length on his adventures. Spenser has made great use of it in his *Faery Queen*, and three modern English poets, Mr. Swinburne, Mr. Matthew Arnold, and Lord Tennyson, have celebrated the love there was between him and Isolde the Beautiful.

Like the origin of many other Mediæval Romances that of Sir Tristrem is involved in obscurity. That it did not spring up all at once may be taken for granted. Luc de Gast translated from the Latin, and Thomas von Britanje owes his claim to be considered an authority in respect to the adventures of Sir Tristrem to the fact that he was well versed in *britunschen buochen*. In other words, the Romance of Sir Tristrem was in existence before their day. If the Court poets of Germany cannot, as has already been said, be called inventors, no more can Berox, Thomas von Britanje, or the author of the Auchinleck version of Sir Tristrem. They were simply makers. Their relation to the adventures of Sir Tristrem was that only of architects and builders to the materials they use. They created nothing but the form. The materials they used were already in existence and lying to their hands. These materials were, in reality, part of that vast body of traditions and aspirations which the Celtic, or to speak more accurately, the Cymric race had always amid the sad misfortunes which had befallen them, carefully preserved.

The original form of the Sir Tristrem tradition it is now, perhaps, impossible to ascertain. Already in the first half of the Twelfth Century it had passed through many forms and received considerable accretions, some probably from foreign sources; foreign, that is to say, in the sense of having no real connection with Sir Tristrem himself. Even Thomas von Britanje complains of the multiplicity of traditions. There can be little doubt, however, that the materials out of which the Romance was subsequently formed, like those on which, at a later date, the legends about Charlemagne were based,* took shape during the lifetime of their hero, and had their beginning in the narratives of

* Cf. M. Gaston Paris, *Hist. Poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 37,

his companions in arms and in the songs and ballads of the minstrels of Arthur's Court.

According to Davis, however, no such an individual as Sir Tristrem ever existed, and the whole Romance about him is nothing better than a sort of allegory. But, as Southey has remarked, this is but the utmost wildness of hypothesis. There is as little reason for doubting his existence as there is for doubting that of Roland or Oliver, Fierabras or Charlemagne, and many other of the heroes of Chivalry. His actual existence is vouched for not only by the Romances of the Twelfth Century, but also by the Welsh Triads and Mabinogion. These last, it is true, are not history, and the earliest MS. in which they are found is not earlier than the Thirteenth Century; but, though not history in the proper sense of the term, with all similar productions or survivals from antiquity, they shed, as Professor Mone has observed, a faint ray where history denies her light, and embody the sagas and traditions of remote times. In the Dream of Rhonabwy, Tristrem is mentioned as one of the counsellors of Arthur's Court, and in the Triads his name occurs with sufficient frequency to show that he was one of the most renowned of the Knights of the Round Table. He is mentioned there, to use the words of Lady Charlotte Guest, 'as one of the three compeers of Arthur's Court, as one of the three diademed Princes, as one of the three Heralds, and as one of the three stubborn ones whom no one could deter from their purpose. His chief celebrity, however, is derived from his unfortunate attachment to Essylt, the wife of his uncle, March ab Meirchion,* which gained for him the appellation of one of the three Ardent Lovers of Britain. It was owing to the circumstance of his having tended his uncle's swine, whilst he despatched their usual keeper with a message to his lady, that he became classed as one of the three swineherds of the Island. There is a further Triad concerning Trystan, in which he is re-

* The King Mark of the Romance. 'There was a chieftain of the name of March ab Meirchion living in the fifth century.' Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii. 342,

presented as able to transform himself into any shape he pleased.* He is one of the interlocutors also in a dialogue written by an anonymous bard, whose Englyns set forth what passed between the golden-tongued Gwalchmai (Gawain), King Arthur, and Tristrem, on the occasion of Tristrem's return to Arthur's Court after an absence of three years in displeasure, and after he had slain eight and twenty knights whom Arthur had sent to seize him and to bring him bound to his Court.† 'The Mabinogion,' says M. Loth, 'carry us back into the most distant past of the history of the Celts, almost up to the period when the Welsh and Bretons were united.'‡ The same may be said of many of the Triads and Euglyns.§ At all events, those we are referring to, while affording what seems to us pretty conclusive evidence as to the actual existence of Sir Tristrem, contain indications of the shape which the traditions which had gathered around him, had assumed at the time they were composed, though not, of course, of the shape in which they were originally cast. Of the traditions of Charlemagne the monk of St. Gall has preserved in his pages almost the very earliest form; but no monk ever received the command of emperor or prince to do for Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table what the author of the *De Gestis Karoli Magni* did for Charles and his Twelve Peers, though many of the traditions respecting them were doubtless preserved and elaborated in the monasteries of Ireland and Wales at a very early date.

But whatever the original form of the Sir Tristrem tradition

* *Mabinogion*, p. 333. Edit., 1877.

† *Ibid.*, p. 57. See also M. le Vicomte H. de Villemarqué, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, p. 66, where the Englyns are carefully analysed and their relation to the Romance pointed out.

‡ *Les Mabinogion*, t. 1^o, p. 20.

§ According to M. de Villemarqué, the Englyns referred to above are at least two centuries older than Raimbaud d' Orange, the first troubadour who mentions Sir Tristrem; and according to the Englyns themselves, it would appear that at the time of their composition the traditions of Sir Tristrem were widely known. From the reasoning of M. de Villemarqué, it would follow, in fact, that at the time referred to, i.e., about the middle of the Tenth Century, the traditions about Sir Tristrem were also numerous.

—whether simple narrative, popular ballad, or minstrel's song—and whatever the incidents it preserved, it has been subject to growth and development, and possibly to accretions from without. As early as the Twelfth Century, at least, it had assumed a variety of forms, and given rise to an abundant literature not always at one with itself. This we know, not only from the complaint of Thomas von Britanje, but also from the several versions of the story which have come down to us. Perhaps more than those of any other race the traditions of the Welsh and Armorican Britons were the subjects of change and development. 'At its origin,' observes M. Bossert, 'a tradition is always simple, and it remains simple so long as the moral, religious, and national ideas which have inspired it, retain their sway. It is not immutable, but it is at least preserved from cold curiosity and from mere phantasy: the expansions it receives are simply regular developments from a primitive germ. This, the first age in the life of a legend is never prolonged beyond the moment when it ceases to be attached to its native soil. As soon as the British histories changed their country, they adapted themselves so readily to the society into which they were received, that they became at once its vivid and mobile expression, modifying and renewing itself according to the varying aspects of the times. They reflect still all the movements through which they passed, and unless their fragmentary condition renders an exhaustive study of them impossible, every age they have traversed will be found to have left its mark upon them. As soon as the literature of chivalry passed beyond the countries of the Celts, it followed the fortunes of a world profoundly agitated. In its progress it received into itself a crowd of new elements, which it threw aside almost as readily as it received them; each age adopted the method and renewed the work of the age before it.*' This was the case with the Sir Tristrem legend. The different versions of it which have come down to us bear the impress of the periods in which they were formed. Here and there, too, they exhibit traces of an earlier and ruder period, and often present contradictory elements which do

* P. 121.

not easily blend with the narrative ; yet this instead of diminishing their value, increases it. No age can shake itself entirely free of its predecessor. Each period carries over into its successor something of its own peculiar manners, sentiments, and ideas ; and the different developments which the legends of Chivalry have undergone, serve to shew that while their authors were in the main redactors and adapters, they reflect not only the ideas and aspirations of the periods to which they belong, but also the obstacles and contradictions with which these aspirations and ideals had to contend.

The Sir Tristrem pieces which have survived from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries divide themselves into three groups : 1. The French prose Romance of Luc de Gast ; 2. The Berox fragment,* Eilhard von Oberge's *Tristan und Isolde*, Turheim and Freiberg's continuations of Gottfried of Strasburg, and the German prose version ; 3. The French fragments of Thomas von Britanje,† Gottfried of Strasburg's *Tristan und Isolde*, the English *Sir Tristrem* in the Auchinleck MS., and Brother Robert's *Tristrams Saga ok Isondar*. These three groups may be taken as representing the Sir Tristrem traditions in their more elaborated stages of development. That the traditions contained by the pieces in the second group are identical with each other, and that the same must be said of the traditions contained in the pieces forming the third has already been proved by M. Bossert and Professor Kölbing. We shall proceed at once, therefore, to give an analysis of the English Romance of Sir Tristrem, and then refer to some of its points of agreement and difference as compared with the other pieces belonging to its own group and to some of the points wherein its traditions vary from those contained in the others.

Like Gottfried, the author of the Auchinleck poem begins after the usual custom by giving an account of the parentage of his hero. There is this difference, however, between them—a difference which forms one of the distinguishing features of the poems—that while in Gottfried the story of Tristrem's origin

* Fr. Michel, vol. i., pp. 3-212.

† Ibid. iii., pp. 1-42 ; 83-85, ii., 1-85, ii., 80-2.

occupies some fifteen hundred lines, in the Auchinleck it is dismissed in less than two hundred and fifty. But to proceed to the story. Roland prince of Ermonie revolts against his suzerain Morgan. A fierce battle ensues and is followed by a truce of seven years. Roland immediately after departs for England and arrives at the Court of King Mark. Here a tourney is held, and Blanchefleur, the sister of Mark, with her ladies, is present. Blanchefleur is struck with the noble bearing of Roland and becomes enamoured of him. Roland rides forth with Mark to battle and returns grievously wounded, and Blanchefleur is conducted by her 'maistresse' to the chamber of the wounded knight. Duke Morgan soon after breaks the armistice, and Rohand, whom Roland has left in charge of his province, asks assistance. Roland takes leave of Mark, and returns to his own dominions. He is followed by Blanchefleur, who is received by Rohand as Roland's wife. Morgan assembles his knights; a battle follows. At first the victory leans towards Roland, but in the end he is treacherously slain. On hearing of his death Blanchefleur gives birth to a son, whom she names Tristre.¹¹ and hands over to the care of Rohand. At the same time she gives him 'a ring of riche hewe' as a token of the boy's parentage. This was the closing act of her life. She dies immediately thereafter of a broken heart.

Rohand having received charge of the child, adopts him as his son and calls him Tramtris. He educates him, and for fifteen years instructs him in all manner of crafts, in ventry and minstrelsy and 'in old lawes and newe,' until the boy is more than a match for his companions, though at the same time 'tho that bi him wore Of him weren ful blithe.' A great misfortune, however, is at hand. A Norwegian ship puts in at Sir Rohand's hold, and the captain challenges those on shore to play him at chess for 'tventi schilling.' Tristrem accepts the challenge and again and again wins. The defeated captain refuses to pay his stake, and treacherously puts to sea, carrying Tristrem with him. A storm arises, and for nine weeks and more the ship is driven about, 'the waves were so wode With winde.' When the storm abates, Tristrem is put ashore in an unknown land, where he wanders over hill and through forest until he finds a path and

meets a couple of palmers, who tell him that he is in England, and undertake to bring him to the King's Court. On their way they meet a party of huntsmen breaking up stags, but so clumsily that Tristrem interposes and cuts up the quarry so deftly that the hunters take him to the Court and make his skill known to the King, by whom he is hospitably entertained and treated with great favour.

Meanwhile Rohand, who when Tristrem was taken away was out hunting, having returned to his castle and found Tristrem absent, has been wandering through seven kingdoms and more in search of him. By good fortune he at length meets the two palmers whom Tristrem had accosted, and from them learns where Tristrem is. Clad in rags and wearing the appearance of a beggar rather than that of a knight, he presents himself at Mark's gate and ask for admission. The porter at first drives him away, but the bribe of a couple of rings obtains admission for him to the presence of Tristrem. At first 'Tristrem knewe him no thing, And ferly Rohand thought;' but a few words suffice to bring about a recognition. Tristrem recounts his adventures; Rohand is then clad as becomes his station, and introduced to Mark. Sitting beside the king he makes known to him who Tristrem is, how Roland had been treacherously slain by Morgan, how Blanche fleur had died, and how he had given out that Tristrem was his own son for fear of Morgan. Blanche fleur's ring, which had never left Tristrem's finger, is recognised by Mark, and confirms his story. Tristrem is at once acknowledged by Mark as his nephew. But Tristrem also has heard Rohand's story and his heart burns to avenge his father's death, and to wrest his kingdom from the hands of Morgan who is now ruling in it. Mark, though not without regrets, supplies him with men and arms, and Rohand and Tristrem sail away with them to Ermonie. Morgan, on their arrival, is summoned to give up the kingdom, but refusing, is slain by the hand of Tristrem, who rules the country for the space of two years, and then having made Rohand king, sets out for his uncle's Court.

On his way he hears tidings that he had never heard before. Moraunt, brother of the Queen of Ireland, has come to claim a heavy and cruel tribute from Mark. Tristrem hastens to the

Court, learns from Mark's own lips the nature of the tribute, then arms, and challenges Moraunt. They sail out 'into the wide' in their two ships, and land on an island, where, after a fierce fight, Moraunt's skull is cleft in twain by Tristrem's sword, and Tristrem himself is seriously wounded. For three years Tristrem is confined to bed by reason of his wounds. Wearied at last with inaction, he asks a ship from Mark, in order that he may travel and see fresh faces. The ship is granted and he sails with Governail from Carlioun. 'Nine wouks and mare He hobbled up and down,' and is at length driven ashore at Develin, 'an hauen in Ireland.' There he is seized by the natives, and remembering that he has slain the Queen's brother he assumes his old name of Tramtris, and gives out that he is a trader. He still, however, retains his skill in minstrelsy, and the Queen, drawn to him partly by his wounds and partly by his accomplishments, undertakes his cure and he is soon restored.

At the time there was residing at the Court of Ireland, Isonde, the king's daughter,—

'Ysonde of heighe priis,
The maiden bright of hewe,
That wered fow and griis
And scarlet that was newe.
In warld was non so wiis
Of craft that men knewe
Withouten Sir Tramtris
That al games of grewe
On grounde.
Hom longeth Tramtris the trewe,
For heled was his wounde.'

She became the pupil of Tristrem, who, after staying a year at the Court of the King of Ireland, returned with Governail to the Court of King Mark. Here Tristrem describes the beauty and accomplishments of Isonde in terms so glowing that Mark wishes to have her for his Queen, and Tristrem is despatched to Ireland to ask her in marriage for him.

Landing at Develin, Tristrem finds the inhabitants of the town fleeing in terror before a dragon. He arms himself, and, after a terrible encounter with the monster, breaks its 'nek bon,' and cuts out its tongue, which he carries away in his hose; but

he has gone but 'ten stride' when the fetid exhalations from it throw him into a swoon. A steward coming up, cuts off the head of the dead dragon and carries it to Isonde as a trophy of his valour. Isonde, however, refuses to believe that he has slain the monster, and, with her mother, goes to learn for herself

' Who that wonder wrought,
That durst that dragon slo.'

They find Tristrem lying where he had swooned, and being restored to consciousness, he tells them that he is the slayer of the dragon, and how he had carried away the tongue and been 'venimed' by it. The Queen draws the tongue out of his hose and believes him. On being asked who he is, Tristrem gives out that he is a merchant. Isonde, however, suspects that he is Tramtris; but having examined his sword, and found that the piece of metal taken out of Moraunt's skull exactly fits a notch in it, she discovers that he is none other than Tristrem who slew her uncle, and is on the point of slaying him when he pleads that he is her old tutor and is come to ask her in marriage for the King of England. Matters are settled amicably, and it is agreed at the Irish Court that Tristrem 'schuld Ysonde bring To Mark the riche King.'

Before the two set out for England, Isonde's mother

' Tok a drink of might,
That loue wald kithe,
And tok it Brengwain, the Bright,
To think,'

instructing her to give it to Isonde and Mark on their 'spouseing a night.' When the vessel is far out at sea, Isonde asks Brengwain for a drink, and either from accident or design she fills up a golden cup with the 'drink of might.'

' In al the wurd was nought
Swiche drink as ther was in.'

Isonde asks Tristrem to pledge her. The two drink of the potent cup, and from that day forth 'til her ending day' no man might come between Isonde and Tristrem.

For two weeks the lovers are left to themselves on the sea, when a wind blows them to England. Isonde is married to

Mark, and under cover of the night Brengwain is tricked upon Mark as his bride. Isonde, however, fears lest Brengwain should inform the King of what has passed between her and Tristrem and resolves to compass her death; but the two ruffians whom she engages to murder her, when they have carried her away into a secluded ravine, are induced by Brengwain to spare her, and to carry a message to Isonde, who, when she hears it, threatens that they shall be 'hung and drain'; but learning that her maid is still living, she has her brought back and receives her into favour again.

By and by there comes a harper from Ireland who had loved Isonde in other days. Mark is enchanted with his playing and bids him play again, promising to give him whatsoever he may ask. The harper plays, and asks for Isonde. Tristrem expostulates with Mark, but in vain. Isonde is given to the harper and 'To schip ther thai her bring So blithe;' but just as they are about to set sail Tristrem comes with his lute and obtains possession of her, and riding away with her into a wood, dwells with her there in a 'loghe' for six days, and on the seventh returns with her to Mark.

Meriadok, a false friend of Tristrem, suspects that Isonde and Tristrem are in the habit of meeting secretly, and having obtained some evidence that his suspicions are well founded, communicates it to the King. To test her, Mark, at Meriadok's suggestion, professes to Isonde that he is about to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and asks her

'Loke now ous bi-twene,
Who may the kepe fram care?'

Her answer is Tristrem, and Mark believes all Meriadok has said. But Isonde having related the matter to Brengwain, that wily maid seeing the mischief which is likely to arise, counsels her to go to Mark and say that Tristrem is her enemy. Isonde sees the mistake she has made, and having done as Brengwain suggests, Mark believes her and banishes Tristrem from his Court. Tristrem, however, lingers in the neighbourhood, and by means of slips of linden wood which he floats down the river, arranges a tryst with Isonde, who since his departure has

mourned him as dead. They meet as arranged, and are seen by a dwarf who overhears their plans for meeting again, and at their next meeting Mark himself is present, though carefully concealed. Tristrem, however, detects him and begins to upbraid Isonde with procuring his banishment. Isonde plays up to him, and Mark convinced of their innocence, makes Tristrem his Marshal.

For three more years Tristrem and Isonde meet as before, when Meriadok again convinces Mark that Isonde is unfaithful to him. Tristrem is banished, and Mark takes his Queen to London that she may be proved by the ordeal of fire. As they are about to cross the Thames to the place where Isonde is to bear the hot iron, Tristrem clad as a beggar, and unknown to any save the Queen, offers to carry her to the ship. While carrying her he stumbles,

‘ And on the quen fel he
Next her naked side,
That mani man might y-se
San schewe.’

At the trial the Queen swears that she is a guiltless woman, and that no man except her husband had come so near her as the beggar who bore her to the barge. Thus

‘ Swete Ysonde hath sworn
Hir clene, that miri May.’

Tristrem is recalled from Wales, where he is supposed to be, and whence, after slaying the Giant Urgan, he returns, and is restored to his cities, and castles, and offices.

Again Mark hears of the intrigues of the two lovers. This time he drives them both away from the Court. They betake themselves to the woods and there live together, until one day Mark, when out hunting, sees the two lying sleeping with a naked sword between them. This he takes as a proof of their innocence, and leaves his glove between them. On awaking they recognise the glove. Knights come to recall them to the Court, and they return. But soon afterwards led by the dwarf, Mark sees with his own eyes the love between his Queen and Sir Tristrem. He sends knights to bring them to him, but they find

only Isonde. Tristrem has fled, and sorrowing at his separation from Isonde, he resumes his old life of knight-errantry and wanders far and wide. In Spain he slays three giants; he visits the sons of Rohand, and then goes into Brittany. Here Isonde of the White Hands, daughter of Florentine, Duke of Brittany, hearing him sing a love-song which he had made for Isonde, the Queen, falls in love with him. Her father offers her to him in marriage, and the two are 'spoused'; but looking at the ring Queen Isonde gave him when they last parted as a gage of love, Tristrem holds back from Isonde of the White Hands and refuses to consummate the marriage. Her father gives him broad lands, whither they ride. While out hunting one day Tristrem meets with Beliagog, a stern giant, whom he overcomes, and of whose lands he takes possession. Beliagog leads him to his ancestral hall and finds him workmen to build another, such as had never been built before. Here the loves of Tristrem and Isonde are figured with exquisite art, and Ganhardine, brother of Isonde of the White Hand, seeing the beauty of the Queen, does not wonder that Tristrem has made his sister a forsaken bride. Furthermore, he falls in love with the image of Brengwain; and he and Tristrem set out for England.

Meantime Canados, the Constable of Mark's kingdom, has endeavoured to win the love of Isonde, but has failed. After one of her interviews with him Isonde and Brengwain ride out, when they are seen in the distance by Tristrem and Ganhardine. Tristrem gives Ganhardine Isonde's ring and sends him after them to say that he has come from him. The Queen recognises the ring and once more the lovers meet. But Canados has a spy among the Queen's servants, and word being conveyed to him of Tristrem's arrival, knights are sent out to arrest him, when Tristrem and Ganhardine flee. The latter goes far into 'Bretaine,' but Tristrem lingers about 'To wite what men wald say.' By a stratagem on the part of Brengwain, Canados is got rid of and Tristrem and Isonde meet again. A tournament is subsequently held in which Canados is slain, and the MS. ends by telling how Tristrem slays with his own hand fifteen knights and more in defence of a young knight who bears his own name.

As already remarked, Professor Kölbing and M. Bossert have proved almost to a demonstration that the work we have thus rapidly analysed, Gottfried's *Tristan*, the fragments of Thomas von Britanje, printed by M. Fr. Michel, and Brother Robert's *Tristrams Saga* belong to one and the same group, or represent the same series of tradition. But while in all essential respects the same, the identity of the four narratives, or to leave out the *Saga*, of the three poems is not complete. There are certain points in which they differ. Thus Gottfried's poem is of an altogether different cast from that of the *Auchinleck MS.*, and though not altogether dissimilar from that of Thomas von Britanje, is in some respects different also from that. Each poem moreover is strongly marked with the individuality of its author. Gottfried refers everything to the moral life; he explains, comments, allegorises. His *Tristan* is armed, not like *Aeneas* by *Vulcan*, but by *Reason*, *Goodness*, *Magnanimity*. In describing the grotto where *Tristrem* and *Isonde* for some time live in banishment, he not only describes each detail, but makes everything bear some reference to love. His narrative moves on with the greatest deliberation and he frequently digresses, as in the passage where he turns aside to argue with his poetical contemporaries and to set forth his own ideas of art. The *Auchinleck* poem, on the other hand, is full of life and movement. Its author stops to explain nothing. He neither comments nor indulges in reflection, but hurries on with an almost breathless haste, showing a decided preference for external facts, knowing nothing of allegory, and making no attempt to paint a passion. He loves fighting, as M. Bossert remarks, for its own sake, and his descriptions of battle are veritable war-songs. While Gottfried is smooth, polished, and given to reflection, and much taken up with the thoughts and sentiments of his heroes, the *Auchinleck* poet is engrossed with their actions, is rugged and vigorous, cares little for what his heroes think, and is concerned chiefly with showing what they do. His poem was evidently written to be chanted, while Gottfried's was as evidently written to be read by those noble knights and dames among whom he wished to be reckoned. Between him and Thomas von Britanje the likeness is considerable. Thomas betrays the same preference for dwelling on the

thoughts and feelings, moods and tempers, hopes and disappointments of his hero and heroine as Gottfried. His style is similar. He exhibits the same preference for antithesis, and the same fondness for repetition. In short, it is difficult not to believe that Gottfried found in Thomas not only an exact narrative of Tristrem's adventures, but also much of his poetic inspiration.

There are other points in which these three poets differ. As a rule their poems, so far as they exist, are at one in respect to the order in which the incidents follow each other; but now and again they vary, both as to the facts and the order in which they occur. Thus in Gottfried, Blanche fleur does not own her love for Roland until he returns seriously wounded from battle; but in the Auchinleck MS., she makes the confession when she sees him at the tournament. Again, the length of the truce between Roland and Morgan is given differently. Gottfried fixes it at one year; the Auchinleck poem makes it seven years. In respect to the violation of the truce, again, Gottfried simply says that Roland was made acquainted with it by messengers, while in the Anglo-Saxon poem he is said to have been informed of the fact by Rohand. And again, in the latter, Tristrem is called Tramtris when he is adopted by Rohand; but in Gottfried, he does not receive the name until he assumes it in Ireland. According to the English poem, Tristrem's education by Rohand lasts fifteen years; but according to Gottfried only fourteen, while Thomas of Britanje does not say how long it lasted. Again, after Tristrem is put ashore by the Norwegian captain, the English poet represents him as making known his parentage when interrogated by the King; his interrogators in Gottfried, on the other hand, are the hunters whom he astonishes with his skill in venery. In the passage which immediately follows respecting the arrival and recognition of Rohand at Mark's Court, while all the three poems are in substantial agreement, in several particulars they differ, and the Auchinleck text is more in accordance with the French than with the German. These points of dissimilarity might be multiplied, but those mentioned are sufficient to indicate their character. They are of no great importance, and are such as might have been expected to occur. While showing that at least two of the authors exercised a certain amount of

independence in placing their work, so to say, on the canvas, they tell nothing against the theory that the three poems belong to one and the same group, and represent the traditions about Sir Tristrem in one and the same stage of development. In this connection there is one fact which deserves to be specially mentioned. As already remarked the three poems are all more or less fragmentary. Gottfried's *Tristan* is unfinished; all that we have of Thomas von Britanje is a number of fragments, and the poem of the Auchinleck MS., though nearly complete, has several lacunæ and the conclusion is wanting. And the singular fact is that the three poems or fragments complete each other. Thus what is wanting in the French is supplied by the German and English; what is wanting in the German is supplied by the English and French; and what is wanting in both the English and the German is supplied by Thomas von Britanje. Gottfried and Thomas again, supply many particulars which are not to be found in the Auchinleck MS., and afford in many parts a commentary and explanation of it. Or to take the most striking instance. Gottfried, as already remarked, breaks off just before the marriage of Tristrem with Isolde of the White Hands. The Auchinleck MS. brings the narrative down to the point where he is wounded while fighting in defence of the younger Tristrem. The Thomas fragments complete the story. The first, a fragment of 900 lines, begins exactly where Gottfried breaks off, and ends with the departure of Tristrem and Ganhardine for England. Other fragments relate the incidents which then follow as given in the English poem down to the point where Tristrem receives his wound; and the last fragment contains the conclusion—Tristrem lies tormented in body and in mind. He calls Ganhardine to his side. They mourn their lot, and Ganhardine is despatched to England to fetch Isolde. Impatient for the return of the vessel which is to bring Mark's Queen, Tristrem causes himself to be carried to the shore, but lest he should see the signal of the black sail, which he has arranged with Ganhardine is to be hoisted instead of the white one, in the event of her refusal to come, he returns to the palace. The vessel soon appears in the distance bearing the Queen and Ganhardine. Isolde of the White Hands sees it and announces it to Tristrem. 'The sail is

black,' she says in reply to his inquiry, and he falls back dead. Isolde disembarks, sees the tears of the people, and hears the tolling of the bells. She understands their meaning, and going straight to the couch on which the dead body of Tristrem lies, casts herself upon it, and dies.

The second group of traditions is represented, as we have said, by the *Tristan* of Eilhard von Oberge, the Berox fragment, and the German prose romance. The points of difference are numerous, and sufficient to show that they are not simply variants of one and the same tradition, but that the traditions worked up are different, and that the works in which they are found belong to an earlier period. As enumerated by M. Bossert they are these: (1) Roland, Prince of Lyonesse, marries the sister of Mark, King of Cornwall and returns with her to his own domains. She dies on board ship while on the voyage, after having given birth to Tristrem. Arrived at the age of chivalry, Tristrem takes leave of his father and enters the service of his uncle Mark. (2) Tristrem's vessel is cast ashore in Ireland. A hair borne by a swallow causes him to be found and recognised by Isolde. (3) The love-potion acts only for a limited period. This expires after the sojourn in the desert. Tristrem voluntarily brings Isolde back to the King. The two lovers are shriven by a hermit in the desert. (4) Tristrem and Isolde are condemned to death. (5) Tristrem receives his fatal wound while engaged with a Knight who is holding the wife of Ganhardine captive. (6) Mark's connection with Arthur. Tristrem becomes a Knight of the Round Table. (7) A number of individuals who play a subordinate part, are introduced; others who appear in the third group are wanting. So also (8) are certain episodes: the adventure in the Norwegian ship; the defeat of the giant in Wales; and the incidents in which Rohand and Morgan appear.* Here we are evidently on older ground, and nearer to the original Celtic sources. The traditions bear witness to the existence of more barbarous customs and of a greater belief in the supernatural.

The French prose Romance of Luc de Gast, translated, as he tell us, from the Latin, occupies a quite independent position

and seems to stand midway between the two groups to which we have been referring. While containing incidents which are common to both of them, it contains others which, though found in one of them, are not found in both, and others, again, which are in neither. Like the older group it connects Mark and Tristrem with the Court of King Arthur. Like the younger or Thomas group, on the other hand, it makes the effects of the love-potion, administered by Brengwain, permanent. With the older group, again, it makes Tristrem take service with Mark, and says nothing of the adventure in the Norwegian vessel, or even of Rohand and Morgan; but unlike either it represents his mother as dying in a forest while in quest of her husband, whom a fairy has enchanted and hid. Unlike either, again, it attributes Tristrem's introduction to Isolde and her mother to his skill on the harp, and causes him to receive his death wound while assisting the brother of Isolde of the White Hands in a love intrigue. It concludes not with the death of the lovers, but with their burial and the touching story of the sympathetic plant. Mark orders them to be buried in his own chapel and from the tomb of Tristrem there springs up a plant which creeps along the wall and descends into the grave of Isolde. The King orders it to be cut down three times, but every morning it is found to have recovered its growth and to be more verdant than before, and ever since it has overshadowed the two graves.* The Romance may indeed be called that of Sir Tristrem, but it represents a set of traditions different from that either of the Eilhard

* 'Such plants,' observes Dunlop, (*Hist. of Fiction*, i. 205), 'are common in the old ballads. The Scotch ballad Lord Thomas and Fair Annet, concludes—

“ Lord Thomas was buried without Kirk wa',
 Fair Annet within the quiere;
 And o' the tane thair grew a birk,
 The other a bonny briere,
 And ay they grew, and ay they threw,
 As they fain would be near.”

According to an old Spanish version of the legend, Isolde survived Tristrem, and became a mother in consequence of partaking of a lily which grew upon his grave.

or of the Thomas group of writings. It forms in fact, as already remarked, one of the romances of the Holy Graal cycle, and represents, perhaps, those traditions of Sir Tristrem which were preserved and elaborated in the monasteries of Ireland and Wales.

Of the authors of the principal Tristrem pieces some are tolerably well known; others are not. Among the first are Eilhard von Oberge, Gottfried and his continuators, Ulrich von Turheim and Heinrich von Freiberg, and Luc de Gast. Of the author of the Berox fragment, on the other hand, very little is known. He names himself Berox, and from the fact that his poem has, as M. Bossert remarks, a very pronounced English taint the inference may probably be drawn that he was an Anglo-Norman *trouvere*. Very little more can be ascertained about Thomas von Britanje. He certainly lived before 1210, and from his name he was apparently a *trouvere* residing either at the English Court or in some part of Great Britain, or it may be in Brittany. Further, he was well versed, as Gottfried informs us, in the legendary lore of the Celts, and, as he tell us himself, he had taken Breri or Bledri as his master or authority for the Tristrem legend. Like Gottfried after him, he complained that while many had attempted to narrate the story of Sir Tristrem, his master alone had told it rightly.* Lastly, by the beginning of the Thirteenth Century he had attained to considerable celebrity as a poet, and was regarded by many as the only authority for the true story of Sir Tristrem, and thus had acquired the name of True Thomas. The opinion that he was the author of the English metrical Romance is altogether untenable. There is

* 'Seigneurs, cest cunte est mult divers . . .

Entre cels qui solent cunter
E del cunte Tristran parler,
Il en cuntent diversement,
Oï en ai de plusur gent ;
Asez sait que chescun en dit,
Et ço qu'il unt mis en escrit.
Mès sulum ço que j'ai oï
Nel dient pas solum Breri,
Ky solt les gestes, é les cuntes
De toz les reis, de toz les cuntes
Ki orent esté en Bretaingne.'

not a single word in the poem to suggest that he was. On the contrary the opening words of the Romance indicate as plainly as possible that he was not.

' I was at Ertheldoun
 With Thomas spake Y thare ;
 Ther herd Y rede in rounne
 Who Tristrem gat and bare,
 Who was King with croun,
 And who him fostered yere,
 And who was bold baroun,
 As thair elders ware.
 By yere
 Thomas telles in toun
 This auentours as thai ware.'

These lines leave no doubt whatever that Thomas—the Thomas von Britanje of whom we are now speaking—was not the author who wrote them. All they imply is that the writer, whoever he was, visited Erceldoune and there heard the story as related by a certain Thomas—but what Thomas, or who this Thomas was, is not said. Elsewhere, also, in the poem Thomas is cited as the authority, just as Gottfried cites him, and just as Thomas cites Breri.

The author of the Auchinleck *Sir Tristrem*, the opening lines of which we have just cited, is unknown. The facts which may be gathered from his poem respecting him are extremely scanty. In addition to those we have just mentioned, they are these: He was an Englishman, and adopted the story as told by 'Thomas' as the only genuine source for the history of Tristrem. This is absolutely all that can with certainty be inferred from the poem respecting him; but even this suggests many difficulties, and affords room for abundant controversy. The questions are at once suggested: Who was the Thomas with whom the author spoke? Who was the author of the poem he heard read? When composing his poem, did he depend wholly on what he had heard read, that is, on his memory, or had he his original before him? In what dialect did he write? Of course, there are always behind these the doubts as to how much of the introduction is true, and how much is due merely to style and mannerism. Hypercritical these doubts can not be called. The

literary habits of the times compel the candid inquirer to bear them constantly in mind. But leaving them aside, what answers do the known facts permit to be given to the above questions?

The Thomas with whom the author spoke is usually supposed to be Thomas of Erceldoune, otherwise known as Thomas the Rhymer. Assuming that this opinion is correct, it is clear that the author of the poem, *i.e.*, of the English poem, was not Thomas the Rhymer, but another—one who spoke with him. Further, assuming that this Thomas with whom the author spoke, was Thomas of Erceldoune, all that can be inferred from the opening lines about him is that ‘he *rede* in roun^e’ the story of Tristrem, and was in the habit of telling it ‘in toun.’ But even admitting this, it says not a word in favour of the theory that Thomas of Erceldoune was the author of the English poem. The facts set down in the opening lines, that the author was at Erceldoune and there spoke with Thomas and heard the story of Tristrem, are untouched. In other words, the evidence of these lines is clearly and decisively against the Erceldoune authorship of the poem, and in favour of the opinion that its author was another than the Rhymer. It is customary to cite Mannyng of Brunne’s lines in support of the Erceldoune authorship of the poem; but in the face of the distinct statements of the poem itself, it is useless to cite them. The Thomas they refer to in connection with the Sir Tristrem Romance must evidently be some other Thomas. Probably it was none other than Thomas von Britanje, the disciple of Breri. One thing is clear, Mannyng in the verses referred to is simply reiterating the complaints about the narratives of Sir Tristrem which had been made before about them by Thomas von Britanje, Gottfried, and the author of the English Romance.*

So far we have spoken only of the authorship of the English or Auchinleck poem. Our second question refers to the authorship of the poem or romance which the English author heard, or professes to have heard, read at Erceldoune, and which he avowedly takes as his authority for the adventures. That the author of this poem was Thomas von Britanje there can be little doubt.

* For a number of other remarks respecting the Erceldoune authorship of the Auchinleck poem, see vol. ix. p. 330 of this *Review*.

In the first place, the English writer has evidently followed a French model, and to some extent is a translator from the French, as Gottfried and Brother Robert were. 'A great number of expressions occurring in the poem indicate,' M. Bossert, observes, 'a French origin and show that the Tristrem has not escaped the influence which prevailed in England after the Norman Conquest. The terms which refer to the chase, to war, and to life in the castles are borrowed from France. Certain words are directly transcribed from a French original; thus Tristrem assumes the garb of a *mesel* or mendicant leper, in order to escape recognition at the Court of Mark; the philtre is always called the *coupe*, while the French fragment of Berox which has a very pronounced English taint, employs the word *lovendris*.'* And in the second place, the English author always mentions Thomas as his authority, and as the traditions he follows are, as already pointed out, identical with those of Thomas of Britanje, it is clear that this Thomas, Thomas von Britanje, is the one to whom he refers. Here, however, we are met with another question and one on which it could be wished that there were more evidence to be had—the question, namely, whether Thomas of Erceldoune and Thomas von Britanje were the same or different.

M. Bossert is of opinion that they were the same. Following up the remarks cited above, he continues: 'To the proofs furnished by the comparisons of the texts fall to be added the indications given by the writers themselves. The English poet avers that he has found at Erceldoune, a village in Great Britain, the true source of the tradition of Tristrem, and the German poet invokes the authority of a master of adventures of Britain; both name their model Thomas, and their works resemble each other from beginning to end; is it not evident that Thomas of Erceldoune who has inspired the *Sir Tristrem* and Thomas von Britanje whom Gottfried has followed, are one and the same author?' We do not think they are. It does not follow that because the author says he was at Erceldoune, that he was there. It may seem extremely sceptical to say so; but the scepticism is warranted by the literary habits of the times. And

again, it does not follow that because the author of the English version heard the true story of Sir Tristrem read 'in roun' at Erceldoune that Thomas of Erceldoune was its author. The assumption that he was is altogether unwarranted. It might just as well be said that Thomas of Erceldoune was the author of *Cursor Mundi*, of *Sir Ferumbras*, or of any other work of unknown origin, because it had been heard read there. The fact is, the English poem affords no evidence whatever either as to the authorship of the French fragments of Thomas or as to the identity of Thomas of Erceldoune with Thomas von Britanje. All that its author asserts is that he heard the story as related by Thomas read at Erceldoune and the inference from his silence as to the identity of Thomas of Erceldoune with Thomas von Britanje is that he was aware they were not the same and knew they were different. Against this the assertion

' Bi yere

As Thomas telles in toun

This auentours as thai ware '

makes nothing. On the contrary, it may be adduced in support of it; for if the reference is here to the French poem of Thomas von Britanje, we must suppose the author's meaning to be that Thomas recited the adventures of Sir Tristrem year by year at Erceldoune in French or Norman-French. But even admitting that he did, it does not follow that he was the author of the 'auentours.' He may have simply recited the composition of another. Had he been their actual author, it is only natural to suppose that the writer of the English poem would have said so. But he does not. And further, there is always the doubt—referred to a little ago and so difficult of solution—as to how much of the introduction to the English version is poetic feigning, and how much is literally true. As the matter stands, and until more and better evidence is forthcoming, we are unable to think with M. Bossert, and are disposed to believe that Thomas of Ercildoune and Thomas von Britanje were not the same.

Turning now in the last place to the dialect of the Auchinleck poem we are met by two theories. One is that it was written in the Scottish dialect of the Thirteenth Century, and the other that it is a 'southernised copy of an older Northumbrian romance.'

The Scottish theory may be dismissed without ceremony. At the time the poem was composed the 'Scottish' dialect in the sense in which that term is now employed, viz., to designate a dialect spoken exclusively north of the Tweed, did not exist. Practically the same dialect was spoken, with but very slight variations, from the Humber to the Frith of Forth; the only reason for calling the poem 'Scottish' seems to be that it is found in a MS. which has a Scottish name. Along with it is a number of pieces some of which might just as well be called Scottish, but which no one, except perhaps Dr. Laing and a few others, have ever dreamed of regarding as such. The actual text betrays two dialects—Northern and Southern English. The inflexional forms of the Southern dialect prevail; but the theory of the Ercildoune authorship of the poem has led this to be explained by the supposition that their presence is due to the zeal of a Southern transcriber. It is quite competent to maintain, however, that the dialect of the poem was originally Southern or rather Midland English, and that the comparatively few Northern inflexional forms are due to the zeal of some Northern copyist. The possession of the author's original MS., or certainty as to who he really was would of course settle the point. But wanting the one and being ignorant of the other, and bearing in mind the liberties copyists were in the habit of taking with their texts and their vagaries in orthography, the alternative hypothesis is at least as good as the other. For the present, however, we prefer to leave the matter as it stands—an open question.

ART. VII.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Viertes Heft). 1889.—Herr Pfarrer Scharfe of Stuttgart contributes the first article in this number, 'Die schriftstellerische Originalität des ersten Petrusbriefs.' In it he subjects the epistle to a minute critical examination in order to bring out its literary characteristics, and show how the influence of the LXX. had affected the thought and style of the writer. In this way he seeks to establish

the author's independence of Paul and the Pauline school, and so strengthen the argument for the Epistle's authenticity.—Dr. Georg Runze, Privat-Docent in Berlin, follows and treats of 'Die vierfache Wurzel des ausserchristlichen Unsterblichkeitsglaubens und ihr Korrelat in der christlichen Jenseitshoffnung.' This fourfold root of the belief in a future life he finds in, first, the fear of death and the wish to prolong life; secondly, in the tendency of the human mind to carry over by analogy the experiences of dreams to the life after death; thirdly, its grasping the idea of causation; and, fourthly, its estimate of the dignity of a human personality. Dr. Runze works out his theme with elaborate care, so far as this section of his paper carries him, which is only to the end of part second, the analogies from dreams.—Herr Ludwig Conrady furnishes a study, historical and critical, of the 'Protevangelion' of James.—Herr Pfarrer Enders gives three letters supplementary to Vogt's recent collection of Bugenhagen's correspondence, ('Dr. Johannes Bugenhagens Briefwechsel') a work which is reviewed in this number later on by Dr. H. Hering. Dr. Hering has also here a short paper on 'Die Urkunde des Treptower Landtagsabschiedes vom Jahre 1534,' and his recent book, 'Doktor Pomeranus, Johannes Bugenhagen' is reviewed, the review bringing this number to a close.

DEUTSCHE RUNDschau (April, May, June).—The contribution most likely to prove interesting to the general reader is that which bears the title, 'Franz Dingelstedt. Blätter aus seinem Nachlass.' It is edited, or to use his own expression, supplied with marginal notes, by Herr Julius Rodenberg. None was better fitted for the task, for Herr Rodenberg was Dingelstedt's intimate friend through a long course of years, and had better opportunities than probably any other contemporary writer, of understanding a man about whose character most conflicting opinions have been expressed, although on one point, his influence on the development of the German stage, there never was or could be anything but unanimity. Besides extracts from Dingelstedt's Diary, Herr Rodenberg gives a humorous and satirical poem, 'Die Ressource,' which will be read with special enjoyment by those who are acquainted with the ways of the 'haute volée' in a small German town such as Rinteln, where the poet was brought up, and of which the sketch given by him was as true a very few years ago, and is very likely yet, as when he wrote it at the age of sixteen, in 1830.—The essay, or rather the lecture, of which a report is contributed by Herr G. Rümelin, and in which he considers the question whether German prose has improved or degenerated since the classical days of Goethe and Schiller, arrives, in its conclusion, at a kind of compromise. It admits

that there are at present fewer pre-eminently great writers, but it maintains that, on the other hand, the general standard of prose writers is superior to what it then was.—A paper by Dr. Ludwig Meyer contrasts the present treatment of the insane with that to which they have been subjected at various periods and in various countries.—Although, so far as is known to us, centenary-hunters in this country allowed the three hundredth anniversary of Thomas Hobbes's birthday to pass unnoticed, Germany, or at least one German writer, Herr Ferdinand Tönnies, has taken care that an event not without importance in the history of philosophy should not be wholly uncommemorated. Somewhat late in the day, for Hobbes was born in 1588, he comes forward with an essay in which, those whom the subject may interest, will find a very able exposition of the English philosopher's system.—A new, or at least comparatively new, edition of Martial has been made by Herr Hübner, a peg whereon he hangs an essay on epigrams in general, and on those of the Latin poet in particular. Were a criticism of this contribution required, it might be expressed in the one word 'padding.'—The article headed 'Geschichte einer vornehmen Dame im achtzehnten Jahrhundert,' is based on the biography of the Comtesse Hélène Potocka, published last year by 'Lucien Perey,' whose real name, however, is Mlle. Luce Herpen.—The May number contains a contribution which will be of interest not only to the scientific world, but to all cultured readers. It consists of a series of letters written by Julius Robert von Mayer, the celebrated scientist, the first who gave clear expression to the theory of the equivalence of heat and movement, and calculated the mechanical equivalent of heat. The letters, which are addressed to Mayer's friend Griesinger, are doubly valuable. In the first place, they bring Mayer before the reader in the first moment of his discovery, and before the result of the labours which had brought conviction to his own mind had yet been given to the public. In addition to this, they contain an explanation of the theory intended for one who was in no way a specialist. It is, therefore, expressed with greater simplicity than was necessary when Mayer addressed himself to scientific men. The work of editing these letters has been entrusted to Professor Preyer, whose name is a sufficient guarantee that nothing calculated to make them thoroughly clear and intelligible to the reader of the present day has been omitted.—In a thoughtful and able essay on 'Hamlet,' Professor Paulsen develops the idea, that Shakespeare's tragedy is not to be regarded as an apology for pessimism, but that, on the contrary, the Prince of Denmark's fate is held up as a warning against it.—Since the name of the author of the 'Wacht am Rhein' emerged from the

obscurity which had long surrounded it, considerable interest has very naturally been excited, and scraps of information concerning Max Schneckenburger have at various times been communicated to the public, but Herr Lang is the first who has been able to gather materials for a complete sketch. Although Schneckenburger's mercantile career was not an eventful one, and although his now famous song remained comparatively unknown for over twenty years after his death, the events with which 'The Watch on the Rhine' is inseparably connected doubtless justify the publication of what is, in itself, insignificant enough.—The two most notable contributions to the third of the quarter's numbers are the continuation and conclusion, respectively, of the articles on Mayer and Dingelstedt.—Another interesting production deals at considerable length with the military resources of Italy.—The Russian novelist, Dostojewski, who has of late been going the round of most periodicals in most countries, is again brought before the reader by Herr Eugen Zabel.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (April, May, June).—In these three numbers considerable space is, as usual, devoted to those descriptive sketches which take the reader from month to month through most of the interesting cities of the world. This time the fireside tourist begins his travels in Genoa. With Herr Fritz Lemmermayer for his guide, he can wander through the old Italian town to which the popular voice assigns the title of 'la Superba,' though its detractors further qualify the epithet by adding that it is the spot in and around which the sea has no fish, the mountains no trees, men no honour, and women no shame: 'mare senza pesci, montagne senz' alberi, uomini senza fede, donne senza vergogna.' The interest of Herr Lemmermayer's able sketch is heightened by a series of no less than twenty-five excellent illustrations. It runs through the first two numbers.—In addition to this the April part devotes an article to the liliputian principality of Lippe. In point of fact there are two microscopic states of that name in Germany, Lippe-Schaumburg and Lippe-Detmold. It is the latter which Herr August Triinius has chosen for the subject of his paper. For its historical importance Lippe depends on one event. It includes within its narrow limits the Teutoburger forest, where Hermann defeated the legions of Augustus under the command of Varus. The event is commemorated by a monument which represents Hermann brandishing his sword in a threatening manner in the direction, not of Italy, but of France. Nor, indeed, is this hint necessary to indicate the sentiments which led to the erection of the 'Denkmal.' As long as the triumph of Hermann was the

only thing associated with it, it was so difficult to arouse enthusiasm that the monument remained in a half-finished condition for years. After the Franco-German war, however, it was discovered that Hermann was one of the founders of German unity, and that it was his spirit which, surviving the changes of eighteen centuries, had led to the triumph of the German over the Latin race. Then patriotism made up its mind to complete the Denkmal. It was inaugurated in 1875; it had been planned in 1819, and begun in 1838.—Herr Konrad Alberti contributes a literary study, of which the subject is 'Silvio Pellico'; and though he has nothing very new or original to say about the author of 'Le mie Prigioni,' he has been able to shape the old materials into a very readable essay.—A short article which Herr Schumann entitles, 'Die Eisverhältnisse der Südpolarregion' contains a moderate amount of information gathered chiefly from the accounts given by Wilkes and Ross nearly half a century ago.—A photographic expedition to the peninsula of Sinai has supplied Herr Vogel with materials which he has turned to excellent use in an article full of interesting information concerning a part of Syria but little known to travellers, and, of course, still less to the general public.—Herr Wilhelm Richter is exceedingly instructive in the short paper which he devotes to 'Salt,' and so is Herr Ledebur who, writing about the most important metal of the present time, details the various processes used in the production of steel.—Two biographies occur in the May number. One of them, written by Herr Kleinschmidt, recapitulates what most people already know about Peter the Great; the other introduces a less known character, Eduard d'Alton, one of Goethe's friends and correspondents. Some hitherto unpublished letters from the poet are included in the sketch; they are not, however, of much importance.—An article well worthy of attention is that which Herr Eugen Niethé entitles 'The Waves of the Sea.' It contains an interesting exposition of what is called the 'trochoid theory' of the formation and movement of the waves, and though not by any means light reading, will fully repay careful perusal.—A critical and literary study of the works of the Austrian dramatist, Grillparzer, is contributed by Herr Ernst Wechsler.—Under the heading 'Ferien colonien' (Holiday Colonies), there is an interesting account of the origin and development of the system devised by a Swiss clergymen, Herr Walter Bion, for giving poor children the benefit of a stay in the country during the summer.—In the third number the descriptive paper is from the pen of Herr Theobald Fischer, whose wanderings through the south of Spain are sketched in a pleasant and most readable style.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (April, May, June).—The table of contents is headed by an extract from the fourth volume of Professor Heinrich von Treitschke's 'History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century.' It deals with the Revolution in Brunswick in 1830, into the details of which it enters with considerable minuteness. In spite of his well-known absolutist tendencies the author justifies the open rebellion against constituted authority on the ground of the sovereign's worthlessness and incapacity. The whole tone of the article, however, suggests a doubt whether Professor Treitschke is not influenced at least as much by his thoroughly Prussian hatred of the Guelphs as by his sympathy with the oppressed Brunswickers.—In an article entitled 'Ein Gang durch die neue Kaiserliche Wohnung im Berliner Schlosse,' Herr Paul Seidel gives a description of the changes and improvements which are being carried out under the Emperor's directions, in that part of the Palace which he has chosen for his residence.—The first number closes with a short paper in which Herr Otto Harnak examines the second part of 'Faust,' with a view to proving that it is in reality not so unintelligible as it is reputed to be.—In the May part, Herr Hermann Conrad has a very able article on Grillparzer. It extends over nearly sixty pages, and contains critical analyses of the Austrian dramatist's chief productions, from the 'Ahnfrau' to the 'Jüdin von Toledo.'—A recently published 'History of the German Navy' is reviewed at great length by Vice-Admiral Batsch, who has fault to find with nearly everything in it, including the title.—In a paper bearing the title 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Märztage 1848,' Herr Otto Perthes publishes some extracts from the 'Politischen Aufzeichnungen über das Jahr 1848' written by his father, Clemens Theodor Perthes, partly immediately after the events therein recorded, and partly at a later date. The writer's authorities are said to have been persons who played an important part during the 'March days.' Amongst those mentioned are the Minister of War, Von Roon, Count Albert Pourtales, Count von der Goltz, General Fischer, and Count Oriola.—The provisions of last year's Railway Bill are explained by Herr Ulrich, whose opinion of them is that they are, to a certain extent, calculated to remedy existing evils, provided they be duly carried out; but he appears to entertain considerable doubt as to whether this is likely to be the case.—Of the remaining articles, two are biographical, 'Albrecht Ritschl' and 'Die Memoiren des Fürsten Adam Czartoryski.'—The last of the contributions to the third number explains the theory of the formation and the influence of glaciers.

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (April 1st).—A. Franchetti begins a paper on 'The French Revolution, and the National Political Conscience in Italy,' making use of documentary investigations into the progress of things in Italy and the first signs of new political life in that country.—E. Ferri describes Garibaldi as revealed in the General's memoirs, which show him to 'have been a man of action, of single-minded character, easily impressed by external nature, of an old-world frankness and joviality, warlike genius, and especially grand in his capability of high sentiment, filial affection, and generous conceptions of humanity; so that, among the grand military figures of the world, he appears as one of the mildest and most humane.'—An elegant little comedy by Leo di Castelnuova, and the continuation of the novel 'To-morrow' by Neera, give lightness to this number.—The most solid articles are one on 'Co-operative Societies,' and 'Industry in the Romagna,' by E. Cavalieri; and on 'Military Administration,' by an ex-Minister, who advocates a commission of inquiry into the state of military affairs in Italy.—Signor Bonghi concludes his detailed description of Eton College.—The bibliographical bulletin notices J. K. Ingram's 'History of Political Economy,' praising its broad and accurate exposition of the doctrines and principles which prevailed before Adam Smith, but opining that, as to what specially belongs to the history of political economy in England, there are very many serious gaps in the book.—(April 16th).—E. Panzacchi writes an enthusiastic article on Edmund de Amicis's 'On the Ocean.'—D. Silvagni commences an account of 'Fabrizio Guicciardi,' a captain of adventure in Rome in 1700.—'W.' writes on Italian politics in Africa, advising the withdrawal of the Italian troops at Massowa, and their substitution by a civil governor and native troops.—J. Massarini writes on 'Italy and Sorrow in the Lyrics of a Foreigner.' The lyrics meant are those by Maurice Faucon.—C. F. Ferraris writes on 'Charitable Institutes before Parliament;' and R. Erculei on the 'Ceramic Exhibition at Rome.'

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (May 1st).—Professor Brizio writes an article on the Laocoon, pointing out Lessing's mistake in believing that the idea of the group was taken from Virgil's description, and agreeing with Goethe that the eldest son escapes from the gripe of the serpent, which is sufficient to show that the idea was taken from the description of the epic poet Arcturos, who made only one son perish. Professor Brizio mentions all the latest modern criticisms, and concludes this first paper by saying that Henke has not resolved the

question of the period at which the group was executed.—A. Salandra writes an interesting article on 'Ancient Socialism,' founding it on the book of that name by Professor Cognetti de Martus.—G. Barzelotti continues his study of Philosophic Pessimism in Germany.—Neera's novel 'To-morrow' is finished.—C. Ferraris concludes his chapters on 'Charitable Institutes before the Parliament.'—C. Anfossi writes about poisons, pointing out the general carelessness in selling such drugs, and their presence in various materials and cosmetics.—G. Chiarini criticises G. Pisa's translation of Lewis's 'Life of Goethe,' as often imperfect, and hopes it may be amended in a future edition of an excellent and commendable book.—The reviewer of foreign literature, E. Nencione, praises the 'Imaginary Sonnets' by E. Lee Hamilton, and translates several into Italian prose. He considers E. Henigen, in his 'Dickens and Poe,' unjustly severe on the great novelist, but more conscientious in his treatment of the poet. Still he does not convince his readers. Sime's 'Life of Goethe' is called a model of biography, and the Hon. Mrs. Lawley's 'Vittoria Colonna' is commended for its simple style, good arrangement, and an evident love of the subject. The critic, however, points out some mistakes in the work.—(May 16th).—An important article, 'Thoughts on Italian Policy,' is commenced by the Senator G. Jacini, who divides for consideration the last thirty years of Italian policy into two distinct periods; the first beginning with the armistice of 1859, and closing when, in 1866, the Austrians withdrew from Venice and the French from Rome. He describes this period as the fight for national existence, when, all being in ruins from the overthrow of the old States, everything had to be remade; and shows that the policy of that period had full success, although not crowned by a *military* victory. The second period which followed was distinguished from the first by the fact that the Italian nation had now full power to dispose of itself and choose its own policy. The writer then fully discusses the second period and its difficulties, and the gradual sinking of the nation into a hybrid system, which he calls a pseudo-parliamentary régime on which volumes might be written. He designates that régime as the principal fount of the diseased and perilous state into which the national organism had fallen—the nursing-mother of all the bad passions inherent in human nature—the extinguisher of all the good qualities inherent in Italians. He describes its bad effect, especially on financial equilibrium, which, however, he considers providential, as this kind of effect is more evident to the multitude, who will demand its correction. But the worst symptom of all he considers to be

what he calls the 'political mania for grandeur.'—Professor Carducci has an interesting article on 'The Italy of 1831 in French Poetry.'—Professor Brizio ends his account of all the study that has been devoted to the Laocoon, which study, he says, constitutes a hymn in praise of German philosophy and archæology.—Signor Barzelotti ends his examination into 'Pessimistic Philosophy in Germany and the Moral Problem of our Time,' by deciding that pessimism, far from being a doctrine or system, is the symptom of a state of mind which feels itself miserable because outside the historic ideality by which, for centuries, the inner wants of the heart have been reconciled with those of the intellect. Positive and critical science denies or ignores those wants, but cannot prevent their true or supposed cessation from being felt as the utter loss of all value in human life.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (June 1st).—Signor Jacini's 'Thoughts on Italian Politics,' goes on to describe the bad effect of the political mania for grandeur in all the various phases of policy, such as the Irredentist, Tunisian, and Papal questions. His future chapter will dwell on the German Alliance.—F. de Renzis writes on the 'Woman-question,' and, in the course of his article, points out that Italian women were the first to raise their voices against the injustice done to women. In 1600, Modesta Pozzi de Zorzi wrote a book on 'The Merit of Women,' and the next year on 'The Nobility and Excellence of Women, and the Defects of Men'; while in 1621, Lucrezia Brusati wrote a book entitled 'The Victory of Women.' Signor de Renzis examines into the causes of the inequality between the sexes, and declares that the task of modern society is undoubtedly to compensate woman for the injustice she has suffered, and to restoring her to the full and unrestricted possession of her civil rights and liberty. In conclusion, he quotes Michelet's words—'The worst fate of woman is to live alone,' and says that this is exactly the harm which the new ideal views of women's rights may do. He discusses the marriage question; considers marriage to be woman's natural destiny. But it is a social injustice to deny women the very greatest liberty to compete with men in all walks of life, an injustice which no doubt will be removed; but at the same time women ought to be prepared for their future destiny by assiduously cultivating the healthy gifts of the heart.—(June 16th).—S. Jacini concludes his 'Thoughts on Italian Politics' which, on the whole, coincide with much of Mr. Gladstone's recent article on 'Naples and Italy' in the *Nineteenth Century*.—E. Nencione, reviewing some Italian novels,

calls the Neapolitan authoress, Matilde Saras, an excellent painter of contemporary life, but accuses her of false sentimentality and false morality.—A. Franchetti concludes his chapters on the 'French Revolution and Political Conscience in Italy.'—E. Teza has an interesting paper on popular songs as represented in several French books.—L. Luzzati writes on 'Italian Finance as Judged by Foreigners.'—G. Chiarini has a long article on the Italian translation of 'Evangeline,' by A. Pruschettini.—'The Short Memoir of G. B. Mancini,' by Signora Pierantini-Mancini, is concluded.

ARCHIVIO STORICO (for the Neapolitan Province; year xiv.; fasc. 7).—N. Barone continues the publication of 'Historical Notes from the Angevine Registers.'—M. Schipa commences the biography of 'Carlo Martello,' desiring to throw more light on a Neapolitan prince, often mentioned, but little known. The portion given here describes the relationship between the Angevine and Hungarian houses, and the birth of Carlo Martello, the exact date of which is uncertain, but which the writer fixes as having most probably occurred in May or June of the year 1270.—The extracts from 'a Neapolitan Diary of the time of Don Pedro de Toledo, the Viceroy,' are continued. They are full of descriptions of church and other festivals, and there often occurs the mention of circumstances which bring the time vividly before one. One day is memorable because the news has arrived that a bandit-chief, Cesare Riccardo, has not only cut the legs off 12 pair of oxen that were bringing snow to Naples, but has also killed 250 sheep belonging to a man who was his enemy, fired his woods and barley, and burnt the post-bags on the way from Bari and other provinces. Another day there comes the news that fourteen English ships have taken five Turkish *caravelles*, and sunk one, after a fierce naval combat. Then we read that a relation of the above-named brigand, whom he had helped, had been taken and imprisoned in Castell del Ovo. The arrival of three English ships in port, the discharge of their cargoes, and their departure, are also mentioned, as worthy of remark. Then comes a story, that when an eclipse of the moon was about to take place, the people were smitten with panic, believing that an earthquake would follow, and, on the fatal day, the whole population either fled to the open country or rushed to the churches, 'so that on that day there were not enough priests to hear the confessions of the multitude.' Of course no harm ensued.—N. Barone gives an interesting account of the water-marks in the paper manufactured in the 13th to the 15th centuries, and used in the documents now kept in the Naples

archives, with facsimiles of the same.—B. Capasso, in view of the destruction of many interesting traces in old Naples of the mediæval, Angevine, Aragonese and Viceregal times, commences a description of the old churches and buildings, and all that is interesting in their history. His accounts bristle with names and facts, and there is much that is interesting even to the general public.

IL GIORNALE STORICO DELLA LETTERATURA ITALIANA (Fasc. 37, 1889) contains 'A song' by Master Antonio of Ferrara, and the 'Hybrid Language of the Italian Literature,' by Pio Rajna.—M. Barbi writes on the question touching Dante's mental life, and now agitated in Italy, as to whether the poet was an unbeliever, as has been asserted, during the period of his philosophic studies. When he wrote his *Convivio*, Signor Barbi says that there is no proof, either in the works of that period or in later confessions that Dante went through a time of unbelief. All that can be admitted as possible is, that Dante sometimes felt instinctive and passing doubts. His own serious words directed against 'the stupid and vile beasts in the guise of men, who presume to speak against our faith,' and the declarations made in the Paradise, seem to exclude the hypothesis altogether.—(Fasciculi 38-39) contain 'New Researches in Foligno,' by A. Lazio.—'The Legend of Mahomet in the West,' by A. d'Ancona.—'A Letter from Boccaccio to the Prior of SS. Apostoli,' by F. Macri-Leone.—'Epistle of the Senior of Capodistria,' by R. Sabbadini.—'Classical Comedies in Gazzuolo in the 16th century.'—'Contributions to the History of Customs in Italy,' by A. Graf. 'Autograph MSS. of Gabriel Chiabrera,' by A. Neri.—'Inedited Letters from Pietro Giordano and G. Niccolini to the Marquis of Guazzerosa,' by G. Sforza.

RASSEGNA DI SCIENZE SOCIALE E POLITICHE (April 1st) contains 'Notes on the rearrangement of the Section for Logic in Technical Institutions,' by S. Santangelo.—'The Irish Agrarian Question,' by G. Boglietti, recognising its importance, and giving an account of the chief Acts of Parliament connected with it.—Among the general notes is one giving the total export and import of precious metals in Italy during the first eleven months of 1888 as: import, seventy-four millions, seven hundred and ninety francs; the export, ninety-eight millions.—(April 15th)—contains an article by D. Zanichelli on the 'Primato' of V. Groberto, which, written by a man whose soul had imbibed the spirit of the nation, had power to move a whole people, and, to a certain degree, determine its aspirations.—R. Della Volta writes on the 'Future Exhibition of

Social Economy in Paris.—E. Bezzozero writes on the ‘Municipal Constitution of Rome.’

RASSEGNA DI SCIENZE SOCIALE E POLITICHE (May 1st) contains ‘The Thirteenth Anniversary of the Tuscan Revolution,’ by A. Gotti.—‘The Age of Deputies,’ by G. Iona, approving of invigorating the representative force by a youthful element.—(May 15th)—‘The New Constitution of Servia,’ by G. A. Ruez, who considers the examination of the novelties introduced to be of the greatest interest.—‘An Economy,’ by C. Testiera, points out the useful reforms in the prefectures of Italy.

RASSEGNA DI SCIENZE SOCIALE E POLITICHE (June 1st).—Contains ‘A project for the modification of the Electoral Laws,’ by B.—The ‘Anniversary of the French Revolution and European Diplomacy,’ by F. P. Contuzzi, who endeavours to demonstrate that the period of cosmopolitanism is ended, and that of ‘humanism’ commenced. This latter period now aims at uniting all nations by the great principle of equality and right. The humanity of nations is the legacy which the 19th century will leave to the 20th; but the 19th century could not have accomplished this had not the 18th century closed with a revolution that altered the obsolete system of internal and international policy, which had hitherto prevailed.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (April 1st).—We have here the continuation of the account of the campaign of 1848 in the Venetian province, according to the unpublished papers of General Durando.—Fiction is represented by a very readable story from the pen of P. M. del Rosso, and by the continuation of ‘After a Refusal,’ by Neera.—G. Casani proceeds with his important article on ‘Mutual Help Associations,’ and A. V. Pernice, points out some evil tendencies in the Italian representative parties.—E. Soderini describes at length the ministerial crisis, and discusses the German-Italian alliance, advocating the strictest neutrality on the part of Italy.—A ‘Catholic Italian’ carries on a discussion about ‘Rome and Italy.’—(April 15th).—E. Poggi, in a review of M. Costa de Beauregard’s *Prologue d’un Règne: La jeunesse du Roi Charles Albert*, says the book will give the Italians reason to correct some erroneous judgments, and prove to them what sacrifices, perils, and troubles had to be gone through in order to prepare for Italy her present unity.—E. Soderini contributes a long article on magnetic perturbations considered as precursors of earthquakes. He is inclined to believe that the complex motion of planets round the sun is due to the same kind of cause as the complex motion of a freely suspended magnet

impelled by an electric current, and likens the electric action of the sun on a body under its attraction to a cord thrown over that body, which divides upon it into two parts, one on each side of a neutral middle zone, and the two ends of which, from the poles of the body, return to the sun, which, by their means, communicates its own energy to the body in question.—Giulio Monti writes an interesting paper on the poet Giacomo Zanella.—G. Cassanis contributes chapters on 'Mutual Help Societies and the Law of 1886.'—V. Messeri writes on 'The Easter of 1886,' and adds an appendix called forth by the popular superstition that when the feast of St. John the Baptist and that of the Corpus Domini occur on the same day (which was the case, after a period of 152 years, in 1886) some great misfortune is about to happen to the world.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (May 1st).—E. Riva Sanseverino, apropos of the governmental decrees concerning the titles and prerogatives of the Italian nobility, examines the origin and essence of titles, with the intent to ascertain whether they are compatible with the new forms of political régime, or whether, as is sometimes contended, they are a grave offence to the principle of civil equality.—The review of foreign literature by Signor Strafforello, notices 'German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle,' by G. Harbutt Dawson, remarking that our century is busied with the great problem of labour and capital, and that all the nations should do their best to solve it. Equity forbids that learning and luxury should crush the ignorant and poor, but no less will the law of progress, which is always fulfilled by the flower of a nation, never permit ignorance and poverty to destroy learning and riches. Our century might sink into its tomb with glory, if it could achieve the work of reconciling all social classes, and initiate a league of Christian and scientific brotherhood on which the future of humanity will depend. 'The Correspondence of J. L. Motley' is described at length, while 'The Concordance of the Divine Commedia' by E. A. Fay, receives due praise; and a translation of that great poem by J. A. Wilstach, is ridiculed. 'The Fatal Three,' by Miss Braddon, is not considered of interest to Italians; while 'The Quick and the Dead,' by Miss Rive, is approved of as marked by vigorous and touching delineation, and amazing in its daring. It is, however, the critic thinks, only a book of a day.—(May 16th), Angelo de Pesaro writes on 'Clericalism or Religious Peace,' the subject being suggested to him, as he says, by the increasing gravity of the situation of Catholics in Italy, owing to the confounding of the victory of absolute truth with a return to the Middle Ages, political

oppression, etc. He believes religious pacification to be the most urgent need of Italy, but that it cannot be obtained without earnest seeking after the kingdom of God.—G. Cassani's papers on 'Mutual Help Societies' are continued, while A. Valdarum writes on the fate of philosophic study in Italian colleges.—There are some more chapters of 'After a Refusal,' and more letters from General Durando's correspondence relating to the campaign of 1848.—R. Mazzei describes the political views of this conservative magazine, which aims at supporting the national principle and religious sentiment, thinking it not irreverent to assert that the Roman question might be settled by restoring full liberty to the Pope without disturbing the unity and integrity of Italy.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (June 1st).—V. Antognoni has a paper on Antonio Ranieri and the poet Leopardi.—A. Tagliaferri writes on the urgent wants of the Church in Italy, especially pointing out the necessity of the clergy's being elevated to a higher level of thought and culture.—'After a Refusal' reaches its sixteenth chapter.—A. Rossi discusses public works and operative societies in France.—C. Marchini, looking back on the forty years since the institution of the National Statute in Italy, says that the first twenty years of that period of liberty excelled in pure patriotism and private morality, while both Liberals and Clericals find cause to complain of the want of those virtues during the last twenty years; statistics also showing that things have gone from bad to worse.—'Sincerus' writes on the Roman Question and Germany.—(June 16th).—We have here a paper on the well known Italian professor and poet, Giacomo Zanella, who deserved well of his country, by M. Tabarrini.—A sad little love-tale by F. Tarducci follows.—A. Rossi discusses the international legislation concerning the question of labour, and the meeting to be held in Berne next September. He says the very proposal of such a meeting seems to show the impotence of economical liberalism, and he doubts that any practical result will be obtained.

FRANCE.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS. No. 1, 1889.—This new Quarterly is issued in the interests of the Christian, and more especially of the Roman Catholic, faith. In the 'Avant-Propos' of the Editor, M. l'Abbé Z. Peisson, the importance, marvellous vigour, and rapid progress of the youngest of the sciences, the Science of Religions, are fully and generously acknowledged. The assumption of its most able and energetic votaries, however, viz., that

all religions are the products of the human mind, and must have applied to them the same methods of investigation, M. Peisson and his collaborateurs regard as not only unscientific because, as they say, not founded on, nay contradicted by, fact, but misleading, and therefore dangerous to the highest interests of men. They represent the traditional, as opposed to the evolutionary, school. They maintain that religion was originally 'revealed,' that the various religions of the world since are but corrupted or degenerate forms of the primitive faith and cult, and that Christianity is the divinely restored religion, adapted to the requirements of man's fallen state. They propose in this *Revue* to study historically and scientifically the different religions that have been, or still are accepted and practised, and which have left us monuments by which they can be known; and they confidently anticipate that all their researches will more and more clearly establish these positions. M. l'Abbé De Broglie opens this series of studies by an examination of 'Les Origines de l'Islamisme,' the latest born of the great religions.—M. R. P. Vaden Gheyn, under the title 'La Science des Religions à l'Université de Leyde' enters into an elaborate criticism of Professor Tiele's well known 'Manual' of the history of religions, which he condemns as in many specified respects defective and unscientific.—In the 'Chronique' which follows, an interesting account is given of the various courses of lectures bearing on the Science of Religions instituted at universities and other centres of learning, and of the magazines and books published in connection with it. Under 'Bibliographie' several important works bearing on the subject are briefly noticed and appreciated.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS. No. 2.—In 1884 the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres crowned with its approval, and rewarded with a sum of two thousand francs, a work presented to it by M. Ch. Schoebel (recently deceased) on the Vedic poem the Râmâyana—'Le Râmâyana au point de vue religieux, philosophique, et moral.' It was published some months ago as Volume XIII. of the 'Annales du Musée Guimet.' This work M. R. P. Staelens here subjects, under the heading 'La doctrine morale et religieuse du Râmâyana,' to a searching and scathing criticism. According to M. Staelens this book has well nigh every fault which a book of any learned or scientific pretensions could well have. 'Its plan,' he says, 'is superficial, its method abominable, and its conclusions are utterly erroneous.' And he sets himself here to justify these sweeping assertions by a minute analysis of the work and copious quotations from it. He does not think the book worthy of the pains here taken with it, but he

considers it a service done to literature and to science to expose its worthlessness, seeing it has been put into the hands of the public under such auspices as those above mentioned. His criticism is not finished in this number.—M. R. P. Vanden Gheyn continues his examination of Professor Tiele's 'Manual' or 'Outlines of the History of the Ancient Religions,' and adduces other instances, as he thinks them, of the errors with which he alleges the book abounds.—The editor, M. l'Abbé Peisson, gives a very succinct and interesting account of the Guimet Museum of Religions, and of the progress made by the Science of Religions generally during these past few years. The 'Chronique' and 'Bibliographie' are also extensive and valuable.

L'ART (April, May, June).—This quarter's numbers are devoted almost exclusively to two subjects, the Exhibition and the Salon. To give some details of the various articles, we have, in the first place, 'A travers l'Exposition Universelle,' written by M. Camille Roddaz. It runs through some five numbers, and is not yet concluded. The Eiffel Tower takes up the greater part of one instalment to itself, and the other points of special interest follow, and help to make up a general survey which will be found useful by intending visitors.—M. Hustin contributes another Exhibition article, but of more limited scope. He confines himself to the collection of paintings, and even here, does not go beyond the French School. His series of articles, 'Les peintres du centenaire,' contains sketches of the most noted French artists of the century. Vernet, Favray, Descamps, Brenet, Roland de la Porte, Roslin, Bertry, Restout, Gauffier, Ducreux, Bruandet, Casanova, Lagrenée, and Greuze, are those whose life and works M. Hustin has sketched so far.—What M. Hustin does for painting, M. de Chennevières undertakes for engraving in 'Cent Ans de Gravure,' of which, however, only one instalment is before us.—Jewelry, too, is treated in a similar manner by M. Felix Naquet, whose contribution is 'La Bijouterie Française depuis, 1789.'—Yet another retrospect is supplied by M. Paul Viardot: 'Notes et Croquis sur la Musique.'—The number bearing the date of the 1st of May is exclusively devoted to the 'Salon,' which also claims further space in the succeeding parts.—We may also notice that the first of the June numbers announce the death of the director, M. Eugène Veron.

REVUE UNIVERSELLE ILLUSTREE (May, June).—Of the three contributions to the lighter literature of these numbers, two are translations, one from the English and one from the German. The former is Mrs. Carter's, 'My Old Watch,' and the latter, Herr Risse's, 'The Wedding Present.' The third and only origi-

nal one is 'Folle,' by the Baroness S. de Boüiard.—'Croquis Anglais,' which bears the signature of Mme. Marie-Anne de Bovet, is a light and readable sketch of a journey from Calais to London.—The next item on the table of contents is communicated by M. Ludovic Lalaune, and consists of a collection of letters from Benjamin Constant to Fauriel. The chief subject they treat of is Constant's imitation of 'Wallenstein.'—Both numbers contain instalments of M. Gaston d'Hamières's 'Nancy,' an historical and descriptive sketch of the town which has been called the most beautiful in France.—This is followed by four slight biographical sketches. The first of them is devoted to Lulli; the next introduces a character not so widely known, Pieter van den Broecke, a Dutch colonist, who, with Jan Pieterszoon Coen, was one of the early pioneers of European commerce in the far East. The well-known pamphleteer, Paul-Louis Courier, and Oliver Goldsmith, are the subjects of the two others.—An article, entitled 'Le Musée du Conservatoire National de Musique,' contains an interesting description of some of the old musical instruments to be seen in the museum attached to the Conservatoire.—We may further notice two other readable papers in the June part. One of them gives a short account of the career of Christine Nilsson; the other is descriptive of the scenery of the Cevennes.

REVUE DU MONDE LATIN (April, May, June).—Amongst the most important contributions to these three numbers, and that which deserves the first place, is M. Léonce de Brotonne's 'L'Alsace-Lorraine depuis l'Annexion.' It contains a very able sketch of the various phases through which the Government of the annexed provinces has gone during the last eighteen years. Summed up in a few words, the writer's conclusion is to the effect that Alsace-Lorraine is the real cause of the military preparations constantly going on throughout Europe, and of the warscares to which they periodically give rise. And he further opines that the present state of things cannot last many years.—In each of the three numbers M. Maurice Jollivet appears with instalments of an historical sketch, 'Un Roi Corse au dix-huitième siècle.' The episode to which it is devoted is the rebellion of the Corsicans against their Genoese masters, and the strange career of the German adventurer, Baron Neuhoff, who, by holding out to the islanders promises of reinforcements and ammunition, succeeded in getting himself elected King under the title of Theodore I. This interesting chapter in the history of Corsica is not concluded in the numbers before us.—In the June number there is an interesting article in which M. Maxime Formont

brings together some details concerning Catherine d'Atayde, who was to Camoens what Beatrice was to Dante, Laura to Petrarch, and Leonora to Tasso.—In each of the three numbers a writer who signs with the initials, 'F. F.,' contributes articles on social and political subjects; the titles are, 'La Situation Industrielle et Commerciale,' 'Les Questions Sociale et Ouvrière,' and 'La Degradation de l'Instruction Publique.'—There are also with each monthly part a number of light letters on various topics, from diplomacy to the stage.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (April, May, June).—The first of these three numbers opens with a lengthy paper in which M. Binet records a number of experiments made by him in connection with the subject of 'Mental Vision.' The different points dealt with by him are: 1. Voluntary mental vision in its relation to anesthesia, paralysis, and hysterical contracture. 2. Mental vision induced by the excitation of anesthetized parts. 3. The intensity of mental vision. 4. The 'exteriority' of mental vision. 5. The illusions of mental vision. 6. The field of mental vision. 7. The changes of size and shape in mental vision.—In the same number M. Colonna d'Istria examines at some length Professor Lombroso's work on 'Genius and Madness.'—The third contribution bears the title 'Note Critique sur la primauté de la Raison pratique de Kant,' and sets forth M. Fouillée's objection to the recognition of Kant's 'categorical imperative' as the supreme principle to which speculation should subordinate itself.—In the May number M. Ch. Secrétan heads the table of contents with a paper entitled 'Mon Utopie,' in which he deals with various social questions, notably that of capital and labour.—The question of free-will is dealt with by M. Edmond Clay in a lengthy paper, which he entitles 'Le sens commun et le déterminisme.'—The first part of a very able study, in which M. Paulham considers 'Abstraction and Abstract ideas,' appears in the last of the three numbers before us. So far the writer's arguments tend to establish the reality of abstract images. These abstract images, according to him, are also general in so far as they may represent a certain number of concrete sensations and images. They seem to contain only certain elements which are to be found in all these sensations.—Taking up a subject which has been dealt with by M. Ribot in his work, 'Psychology of Attention,' M. Marillier argues that there is no necessity for distinguishing, as does M. Ribot, two kinds of attention, that the mechanism of attention is not essentially a motor mechanism, that the adaptation of movement is often wanting in it, and that attention, whether spontaneous or voluntary, is always the result of inhibitive action.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (April, May, June).—In the four numbers for the first month one of the most notable articles is M. A. Londe's 'L'Evolution de la Photographie.' It is now exactly fifty years since Niepce and Daguerre first succeeded in reproducing an image on a sensitive plate; and the writer records all the improvements which have taken place since then, and also indicates the various uses to which photography is now applied.—M. Kunckel d'Herculais, who has been commissioned to wage war against the locusts which yearly commit such extensive depredations in Algeria, contributes a paper in which he gives interesting information concerning these destructive acridians, and the various methods employed for their destruction.—An important paper is that in which M. X. Rocques treats of natural and artificial alcohols. By the former he understands those which are produced by simple distillation, such, for example, as cognac and whisky. The latter are those of which the flavour is not natural, but added by a process of 'rectification' after the alcohol has been extracted from beet-roots, potatoes, etc. From a comparison between the two kinds, the writer is of opinion that, from the point of view of chemistry and hygiene, artificial alcohols are better than natural alcohols.—In a paper on the proportions of the human body, 'Les Proportions du Corps humain,' M. Bertillon gives the result of a great number of measurements which have been made with a view to establishing the proportion which exists between any part of the human body and the whole of it, and he shows the great value, for purposes of criminal investigation, of the results already arrived at. Amongst other articles in the April numbers we may mention, 'La Reconstitution des Vignobles Français;' 'La Fixation de l'Azote par la Terre Végétale;' 'Les Races Anciennes et Actuelles du Brésil;' and 'La Science Expérimentale de la Pensée.'—In one of the June parts M. Thoulet has a paper which he entitles 'Les Etudes Océanographiques,' and of which one part, at least, will be read with interest in this country, for it gives an account of the work carried on at the Scottish Marine Station, and by the *Medusa* and the *Ark*.—The various processes used in the fabrication of steel are set forth by M. Lodin.—The Paris Exhibition begins to assert itself, and already claims several articles. One, by M. Georges Petit, describes the various Panoramas; another, gives all kinds of details concerning the Eiffel Tower; a third takes the reader through some of the special sections.—A very instructive paper by M. Charles Richet examines the power and the result of fasting in various animals.—A lengthy account of Stanley's last expedition is given by M. Servier.—Other articles of more limited interest are, 'Le Cadran Solaire de la

Colonne de Médicis; 'Les Aldéhydes de la Série grasse;' 'Les Ondulations électriques;' 'Le Mécanisme des perceptions inconscientes dans l'hypnotisme;' and 'l'Enseignement Agricole en France.'—Each of the June numbers has an article devoted to the Exhibition. In the first of them M. H. de Varigny takes up the section intended to illustrate the history of human dwellings. The writer's judgment is, on the whole, unfavourable. He finds M. Garnier's reproductions interesting enough for the mere sight-seer, but so disconnected as to be practically valueless from the historical point of view.—The next is from M. Georges Petit, who describes the working and explains the construction of the 'fairy fountains,' which are a feature of the French as they have been of several English shows. The same writer also gives an account of the various processes used for supplying electric light throughout the Exhibition.—Lastly, M. E. Rivière gives a summary description of the section in which are exhibited various collections resulting from or connected with French scientific missions.—A paper of special value and of special interest is that in which M. A. Béchamp treats of 'Milk, its Histological Constitution and Chemical Composition.'—In two separate articles M. Bellet describes the new harbour lately opened in Calais, and that which, after considerable delay seems on the point of being completed at Boulogne.—A subject from which numerous articles in various periodicals have taken the gloss of novelty, the Transcaspian Railway, is again taken up by M. J. Leclercq; whilst M. Banderali gives instructive details and comparative statistics with regard to the speed of fast trains.—In a paper which deserves special notice, M. J. Rochard enters with a detailed account of the evil results produced by the use or abuse of tobacco, opium, and alcohol. It appears in the number dated June 22nd, and is entitled 'Les Intoxications volontaires.'

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (April, May, June).—In the first of the six numbers for this quarter, M. Taine continues his historical study 'La France en 1800.' The present instalment deals particularly with the changes and reforms introduced in the fiscal system, and also with the military system.—This is followed by the last of a series of articles in which M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu considers 'The Modern State and its Functions.' The leading idea about which the writer groups his arguments is to the effect that, forgetting its origin, its nature, and its special object, which is to be a military, diplomatic, and judicial apparatus, the modern State weakens itself by assuming duties which properly fall to free and independent

associations.—In an essay which will be read with pleasure even by those already acquainted with the *Memoirs* upon which it is founded, M. Victor du Bled gives a sketch of the career of the Prince de Ligne.—The services which photography has rendered to astronomy are set forth by M. Radan in a paper which a thorough familiarity with the subject has enabled him to make as clear and intelligible as the most untechnical of readers could possibly wish.—M. Max Leclerc devotes a lengthy paper to the important question of Chinese immigration. He considers the anti-Chinese agitation which has spread from California to Australia, to be but the first phase of a struggle between two races, and he seems to think it possible that a time may come when those prohibitive laws which Western civilization obliged China to repeal will be put in force against it, and when the West will close its ports to the East.—Under the somewhat misleading title of 'Pain,' Dr. Jules Rochard informs the lay reader as to the wonders worked by anesthetics, morphia, chloroform, bromide, antipyrine, and others. From the use he passes to the abuse of these drugs, and gives some very startling instances of morphinomania.—The conclusion of M. Taine's study on the 'Reconstruction of France' goes on to treat of the system of rewards by which Napoleon succeeded in making that unscrupulous ambition which inspired him the mainspring and motive power of all about him.—In the first of the May numbers M. G. Rotham opens another series of 'Diplomatic Reminiscences.' The special subject of them, on this occasion, is M. de Persigny's mission to Berlin in 1850, and the present instalment, which is intended to serve as an introduction, contains a sketch of France and Prussia immediately after the Revolution of 1848.—Continuing his study, 'Religious Liberty in Russia,' M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu considers the position of the Jewish and Mussulman subjects of the Czar. The general conclusion at which the writer arrives is that, in religious, as in political matters, Russia is under the ancient régime still. She has not yet accepted the principle of religious liberty which all other states have long recognised, and this 'confessional exclusivism' of hers is, according to M. Leroy-Beaulieu one of the causes of her political isolation and of her economic inferiority.—An anonymous article entitled 'Du Danube à l'Adriatique' is followed by a biographical and critical essay which M. Paul Stapfer devotes to Jean Paul Frederic Richter; it is ably written, though few, we think, who are acquainted with Jean-Paul's works will feel inclined to accept the French critic's estimate of them.—Besides continuations of articles begun in the first number, the second of

the May parts contains an interesting sketch by M. C. de Varigny, 'La Femme aux Etats-Unis.'—One of the most noticeable contributions in the number for June is the article which M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu devotes to the centenary of 1789. By an ingenious fiction he puts his opinions into the mouths of speakers of different nationalities, and through the medium of these imaginary critics expresses a number of opinions which may very possibly be any thing but very pleasant reading to the apologists à *outrance* of the Revolution.—'Un Apologiste de l'Etat Prussien' to whom M. Bourdeau does the honour of devoting a lengthy article, is Herr von Treitschke. The German professor who hates France and all things French with a hatred of which the thoroughness would have delighted Dr. Johnson, will learn from it that two can play at the game to which he is himself more than moderately partial, and will be guilty of an injustice if he does not recognise that his critic is fully as good a hater as himself.—The Oklahoma question has supplied M. Albert de Chenclos with a peg whereon to hang an article which he entitles, 'Peaux-Rouges et Visages-Pales,' and in which he forecasts the future of the scanty remnants of the Indian tribes which inhabit the interior of America. Perhaps it did not require very deep study to arrive at the conclusion that they are doomed to lose before long their nationality and to become simple settlers on Government land.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 2, 1889).—It is four years since M. A. Barth favoured the readers of this *Revue* with his last 'Bulletin des Religions de l'Inde.' The works devoted to these that have appeared in the interval have been very numerous, and several of them of the highest importance, so that he may be said to be sadly in arrears. He makes a beginning, however, in this number of clearing off these, but his notices of most of the works here overtaken are very brief. The most important of them have of course greater space devoted to them, and the loss to science in the lamented death of M. A. Bergaigne is touchingly referred to.—M. C. Piepenbring of Strasburg discusses the somewhat vexed question of 'the Primitive Religion of the Hebrews.' He brings forward a considerable mass of evidence to show that it was not, as many allege, and as M. Renan continues to maintain, monotheistic and pure, but polytheistic and gross in the extreme—a rude fetichism and animism which was gradually purified by the advancing intelligence chiefly of the prophets. He shews from the testimony of ancient traditions preserved in the Bible, and customs that lived on into later times, that the early Israelites

worshipped an infinite variety of objects, springs, stones, trees, animals, heavenly bodies, etc.—that in short their religion did not differ in degree or kind from other Semitic polytheisms of which we have any knowledge.—M. E. Montet treats of recent publications bearing on the origin of the Vaudois, and the early literary works produced by them or attributed to them. Among the books reviewed is M. Renan's second volume of the 'Histoire du peuple d'Israel.' The 'Chronique' and 'Bibliographie' are, as always, full, interesting, and of the highest service to all interested in the Science of Religions.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (Janvier—Mars, 1889).—M. J. Darmesteter gives a first instalment of a series of extracts from Pehlevi texts bearing on the Jews and the Hebrew Scriptures. The Parsis never had much in common with the Israelites, and the extracts here given are not very flattering in their appreciations of biblical history or biblical morality. But M. Darmesteter thinks it likely to be interesting, and perhaps profitable, for the Jewish community to see the kind of objections that have been urged by Parsi scholars against the teaching of their sacred books.—M. J. Halévy follows with a critical examination of the sources relative to the persecution of the Christians by Dhou Nouwas, king of Himyar, a convert to Judaism. It is but the first part of his study that we have here, and his examination of these sources, so far as he goes in this section, tends to throw considerable doubt on their trustworthiness.—M. Isidore Loeb begins a series of papers on 'Polémistes chrétiens et juifs en France et en Espagne.'—M. J. Derenbourg continues the text of Abou Zachariah ben Bilem's 'Glosses on the prophecies of Isaiah.'—M. Israel Levi treats of the Christian elements in the *Pirké* of Rabbi Eleazar.—M. T. Reinach has a short paper on 'Le calendrier des Grecs de Babylonie et les origines du calendrier juif.'—M. R. Gagnat gives an inscription found on a stone unearthed recently to the south-east of Jerusalem, and appraises its historical value.—M. S. Reinach furnishes the first of a series of extracts from the works of travellers bearing on the Jews in eastern countries.—M. Moses Schwab brings his work on 'Maqré Dardeqé' to a close.—M. J. Levi controverts the view put forth in the preceding number as to the significance of *Schem Hammephorasch*.—M. Lambert has brief notes on the vocalized plural in Hebrew, on Hebrew vowels, and on two neglected or misunderstood passages in the Talmud.—Several others contribute brief notes on various other subjects of both historical and linguistic interest.—Lastly, M. Jules Oppert and M. J. Halévy break a lance with each other on the subject of

the Semetic or non-Semetic origin of the Assyrian Script.—Turning to the ‘Actes et Conférences,’ we have, besides the financial statement for the past year, and the always interesting summary and criticism of the works published by the Société during the year and of the papers that have appeared in the *Revue*, two *Conférences*, one by the President, M. Ad. Franck, on ‘Oriental Pantheism and Hebrew Monotheism,’ and the other by M. Maurice Vernes, entitled ‘Jephté, le droit des gens et la repartition de la Palestine entre les tribus.’

REVUE CELTIQUE.—This excellent review, which, as may be inferred from its title, is devoted to the study of Celtic literature and antiquities, is under the skilful direction of M. H. d’Arbois de Jubainville, who is assisted by MM. Loth and Ernault, Dr. Whitley Stokes, and many other British and Continental Celtic scholars. The January number, which is the first of the tenth volume, opens with a series of eight ‘Anciens noels bretons.’ They are contributed by M. H. de la Villemarqué, who also furnishes them with a literal translation.—‘The Voyage of Mael Duin,’ which appears above the name of Dr. Whitley Stokes, contains chapters xx-xxiv. of text and translation. Unless we are mistaken, both text and translation appear here for the first time. The incidents related bear considerable resemblance to those recorded in the better known voyage of St. Brendan.—M. R. Cagnat contributes a supplement to a former paper on the Latin Epitaphy of the Saints.—Dr. Nettlau continues his elaborate discussion on the Welsh consonants.—The ancient Celts are known to have made use of chariots in war; but hitherto the arming of them with scythes has been attributed to Cyrus, King of Persia. In a short but learned article, M. T. Reinach seeks to show that chariots armed with scythes were in use among the Celts from a very ancient period, and that Cyrus can by no means lay claim to the invention of this striking but cumbrous engine of warfare.—The ‘Chronique,’ which is chiefly from the pen of M. H. d’Arbois de Jubainville, is full of interesting notes.

REVUE CELTIQUE (April, 1889).—Under the title ‘Gentilices en *ius* employés en féminin dans la géographie de la Gaule,’ M. d’Arbois de Jubainville gives the text of two lectures delivered by him at the College of France in the first month of the present year, in which, while giving some interesting particulars respecting the origin of a number of place names in France, he shows that several of the names of persons in use bear witness to the existence of animal worship among the Celts.—‘Some Irish Translations from Mediæval European Literature,’ by M. M. Nettlau, contains a group of extracts from

MSS. The extracts are printed as specimens of the Irish versions from which they are taken of the adventures of Heracles, Guy of Warwick, Bevis of Southampton, and the Quest of the Holy Graal, with a view to determine whether the publication of the texts to which they belong would in any way further the solution of the many questions connected with their originals in other languages.—M. l'Abbé Eugène Bernard contributes the third prologue and the first three scenes of an ancient Breton mystery on the Creation of the World. The text is accompanied by a translation.—'The Adventures of Nera' is a translation by Kuno Meyer of the Egerton text of the *Echtra Nerai* or the *Táin Bé Aingen*.—In the 'Melanges,' the editor has a number of notes on the name 'Nancy,' and on the etymology of other place names in the department of *Meurthe et Moselle*; M. Ch. Cournault writes on 'War Chariots in Gaul; and M. A. Réville a letter on Julius Caesar and the Gallo-Roman religion.—There is also a short unsigned article on the Irish god Lug.—Under the heading 'Bibliographie' are notices of Professor Hennessy's 'Mesca Ulad, or the Intoxication of the Ultonians'; Dr. Whitley Stokes' 'Tripartite Life of St. Patrick'; M. A. de la Borderie's 'Histoire de Bretagne'; and of the first volume of M. Loth's 'Translation of the *Mabinogion*.'—The 'Chronique' is as usual full of information on matters interesting to students of Celtic literature.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (April).—Contains continuations of the articles on Huygens and William III., already noticed.—'A Seapiece' is a rather poorly executed sketch of the return home of a Dutch civil servant who has become thoroughly acclimatised in the tropics, and who being recalled is overcome by the horrors of the cold climate and friendless reception that awaits him, and ends it all by committing suicide with a favourite ape in his arms.—'The Soldier in Dutch India' is a discussion in two articles by Swart Abrahamsz, of the problem so often ventilated in regard to British India as to the soldier's moral and material welfare. It is confessed that a certain flavour of the old E. I. C. methods hangs about all the arrangements in regard to the colonial army. This old idea, that if you have men who can shoot and can be properly maneuvered, moral character is of no consequence begins to be exploded. It is recognised more and more that in a country like India soldiers are exposed to more harmful and enervating influences than at home, and no greater error is possible than to treat morals as a *quantité négligéable*. As it is, the service is not sought by the best class, many foreigners being enlisted, mostly German,

never English, and for the most part all of them are men attracted by the high premium offered to those who will join—a low class. Then the barracks are often utterly deficient and no provision is made for religious services and everything tends to make the soldier become un-Europeanised and live like a heathen—the worst possible policy. Even the War Office at home has hardly any control over the Indian army. As to native soldiers, their number threatens to decrease, as the Javanese recoil from the severer services of late imposed on the army. As a class, these also are not the best—the lazy, weak or criminal, who have been dismissed from the plantations. What is needed is that Holland should be roused to a sense of her military deficiencies, greater even than those of Spain and Portugal in the colonies, and should aim at such organisations and arrangements as are found among the soldiers of British India.

DE GIDS (May).—‘The last of the Bartlets,’ by J. H. Hooijer, is a charming and pathetic sketch of a solitary motherless child growing up in the dusty library of a recluse father, both of them under the iron rule of an old housekeeper. The last is an admirable picture of her kind, and the whole surroundings, the gloomy country seat, the painfully bare and clean rooms, the study alone excepted, all give emphasis to the picture of the tender-hearted poetic child whose nature is mistaken and and repressed, and who dies without ever having had anyone to love.—An anonymous article on the question of Defence in 1889, strives to spur on the Government to greater energy in the departments of military and naval defence, in the belief that the time has come when small States must no longer be used as instruments of one or other of the great Powers. They must make their weight felt by their thoroughly organised army and navy and no movement is so patriotic as one that contributes to this.

DE GIDS (June).—This number contains an amusing article on compulsory army service, giving in a lively style the experience of a recruit from the day he enters the depot to the day of his discharge. The life of Dutch barracks cannot vary much from that of the soldier elsewhere; to a young man of studious tastes, as many of the soldiers are, when the conscription is in force, the interruption of all personal pursuits and the constraint and monotony of the service are a severe trial. When the Dutch conscript has earned a good conduct stripe he gets off duty two days a week, and can go home on these days to read books and write letters. The writer approves of compulsory service both on patriotic grounds, because Holland must be kept independent and

can be so maintained if her citizens will take the trouble, and because he thinks a year or two in the army is not morally dangerous to lads of any rank of society, but, on the contrary, healthy and bracing.—‘Two Precursors’ are Turgénieff and Zola; they are precursors of the literature which will no longer be romantic, as they are, and in which nothing will be expressed but tangible facts and the spirit of the third and fourth class of society.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT (May).—Dr. P. R. Hugenholtz returns to the defence of his conception of divine immanence, which, while above all particular events and not to be used as an explanation of any of them as if it too were a particular cause, is felt by the good man to explain the universe and his own life, and to be the guarantee of his own freedom, because the purpose of his life, though set for him from above, is yet his own. The title of the paper is ‘The Consciousness of God and the sense of Moral Freedom,’ and Dr. Hugenholtz holds that each of these implies the other.—Daniel Völter writes a long paper in German, on the composition of the four principal Pauline Epistles. He has felt the force of the contentions of Renan in his *Questiones Paulinæ* in this journal, and of Steck’s recent German work denying the genuineness of the Epistle to the Galatians; and while maintaining that the external evidence sufficiently proves the evidence of some Pauline writings, he is willing to allow that the historical difficulties of the four great Epistles are insuperable, and that these cannot be regarded as historical documents as we now have them. He has set to work accordingly to sift out the genuine elements in them. Of Romans he rejects about half, discarding chapters ii. iv. vii. ix. xi., and some smaller pieces. Galatians he rejects entirely. Of the two Corinthian Epistles he makes three genuine ones, finding the supposed lost letter in 2 Cor. x.-xiii., along with some pieces from 1 Cor., and carving the others to his taste out of both the existing ones. It is impossible here to state these extraordinary proposals fully: they are based on the presupposition that the Epistles as they exist do not afford a true and probable history, and the only answer that can be returned to them is the construction of a living history from the Epistles as they are.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Critical Essays selected from the published papers of the late Ezra Abbot. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis. 1888.

Dr. Abbot was well-known in his own country as a man of immense learning, and as an accomplished student of biblical criticism. Here he is probably best known as a member of the American company of New Testament Revisionists. The Essays which have here been selected from his published writings and issued in a collected form will do much to spread his reputation and to enhance it. They are scholarly, eminently painstaking, and of considerable interest to students of theology and New Testament exegesis. The first and probably the most important piece in the volume is an elaborate essay in defence of the Johannean authorship of the Fourth Gospel. So much has already been said on the subject that it is now perhaps impossible to say anything new in connection with it, and the essay is chiefly remarkable as presenting in a tolerably condensed form all that can be said from an historical point of view on either side of the controversy, and of showing the wide extent of the author's erudition, his skill as a controversialist, and the strong grounds on which the traditional opinion rests. The second paper is taken up with a discussion on the distinction between *αἰτέω* and *ἐρωτάω*. After paying a just compliment to the value of Archbishop Trench's work on the Synonyms of the New Testament, the author takes exception to the late Archbishop's views respecting the meaning of the two words in question, maintaining in opposition to him that in the word *ἐρωτάω* there is no implication of equality on the part of the asker with him from whom the favour is sought, and that the assumption that there is, is totally inconsistent with its common use. The main distinction between the two words, he maintains, is that while *αἰτέω* is, in general, to ask for something one desires to receive and rarely for something to be done; *ἐρωτάω*, on the other hand, is to request or beseech a person to do, and rarely to give something. Amongst others we have a paper on the ancient papyrus and the mode of making paper from it, two excellent biographical essays on Tischendorf and Tregelles, a discussion as to the comparative antiquity of the Sinaitic and Vatican MSS., another on the construction of Rom. ix. 5, and another on that of Titus ii. 13, and lastly an essay on the division of the Greek New Testament into verses. Dr. Abbot writes clearly and forcibly, and though his pages are enriched with an immense number of citations and references, they are far from overburdened by them. On the contrary they form one of the most valuable features of the essays.

Socrates and Christ: a Study in the Philosophy of Religion. By R. M. WENLEY, M.A. W. Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London. 1889.

Departing from the usual method of discussing the points of agreement and difference between the teaching of Socrates and the teaching of Christ, Mr. Wenley here approaches his subject from an historical point of view, and after examining the different historical, or rather intellectual, conditions in which Socrates and Jesus appeared, attempts to show that the development of Greek thought and the peculiar character of Judaism necessarily rendered Christ's work different from that of Socrates. The subject is

pretty well-worn, but under Mr. Wenley's treatment, as may readily be inferred, it assumes an air of freshness, and acquires additional attractions. The point of view from which he commences will commend itself to many students of the philosophy of religion. Practically speaking, his work is in the main a critical history of religious thought, from the fourth century B. C. to the promulgation of the Gospel. In this respect it is deserving of high commendation, though here and there just a little dogmatic in appearance, and not without certain faults of style. The first half of the volume deals with Socrates in relation to Greek thought and the subsequent history of speculative philosophy among the Greeks; while the remainder, after a chapter on the interaction of Greek and Jewish thought, is devoted to an account of the development of the latter, and the relation in which Jesus stood to the Jewish thought of His time. In both these divisions, Mr. Wenley works through his subject with great skill, is thoroughly acquainted with the best modern authorities, and writes with no inconsiderable amount of critical insight. It is doubtful, however, whether he has sufficiently appreciated the political and social conditions of the time, and taken sufficiently into account the enormous influence they had on the development of religion, and in preparing the way for Christ. His attention seems, indeed, to have been almost too exclusively fixed on the purely philosophical aspect of his subject to admit of this. One hears a great deal about philosophers and their speculations, but not so much about religion as a practice, and as evidenced in the social life of the period. It may be, as Clement of Alexandria remarks, that philosophy was a schoolmaster to the Greeks to lead them to Christ; but it is questionable whether the teaching of the old philosophers had so great an influence on the thought and aspiration of the people, as is sometimes claimed for it. The probability is that it was scarcely felt or known outside their own peculiar circle. But judged from his own stand-point, and perhaps we ought not to judge it from any other, Mr. Wenley's work is a valuable contribution to the history of pre-Christian religious thought, and to the philosophy of religion. That he has proved his point there can be no doubt. There can be no doubt, too, that he has proved that the work of Christ was incomparably higher than that of Socrates, inasmuch as he introduced into human life precisely that new and higher element which both Socrates and others of the ancient world could only feel after, and that the doctrines of Christianity had their origin not, as M. Havet has maintained, among the Greeks, but with Jesus.

The Bibles of England: A plain account for plain people of the Principal Versions of the Bible in English. By ANDREW EDGAR, D.D. Paisley and London: Alexander Gardner. 1889.

As the title-page indicates, Dr. Edgar, the author of those two instructive and entertaining volumes entitled *Old Church Life in Scotland*, has here attempted to give a plain account for plain people of the different English versions of the Bible. Like similar works, when well done, it has involved a considerable amount of research, and betrays beneath its apparent plainness no little ability and scholarship. Writing for plain people, Dr. Edgar has studiously avoided a number of those minute questions with which students of the translations of the Scriptures sometimes busy themselves, and has confined himself to tracing the history of the different English versions which have contributed to make the English Bible what it is, and to pointing out their distinguishing features. Going back to the times before Wyclif, he treats, though somewhat summarily,

of the various Anglo-Saxon versions of parts of the Bible. Considerable space is then given to Wyclif's or the Lollards' Bible. Tyndale's version is next dealt with, and afterwards Coverdale's, Matthew's, Taverner's and Cromwell's. The Geneva or Breeches Bible has a chapter to itself. Chapters are also given to the Bishops' and the Douay Versions. The Authorised Version is called the 'National Bible,' and the Revised Version of 1885 the 'International Bible.' In dealing with these Dr. Edgar is at times a little polemical. The defects and excellencies of the various versions, however, are pointed out with a clear and sure hand, and one has no difficulty in ascertaining what the author's opinion is as to their character, or in obtaining a distinct idea of the points in which they differ or agree. Large space is devoted, as one might expect, not only to the historical and biographical topics involved, but also to the phraseology of the several versions. The philological portion of the work indeed is almost, if not altogether, as interesting as the historical. The words and phrases selected as illustrations are often curious and striking, though here and there Dr. Edgar has fallen into error. The following words are not obsolete: *chaffar*, *coddis*, *rue*, *keetling*, *stithie*. They are still in use and have only changed their orthography, some of them but very slightly. *Faulted*, however, is a new word, and *anglified* we suspect has been mistaken for *anglicised*.

The Writings of Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland: A revised translation, with Notes critical and historical. By the Rev. CHARLES H. H. WRIGHT, D.D., etc. London: Religious Tract Society.

This is an attempt to popularize the writings of St. Patrick, or rather it is an attempt to make them known to as wide a circle as possible. The Latin and Irish texts are not given. All that Dr. Wright has given in his little, but handsome volume, is a series of translations of the old texts with a popular but scholarly introduction and a series of carefully compiled notes, critical and historical. Leaving aside the introduction and the notes the volume may be said to divide itself into three parts. In the first we have translations of the works of St. Patrick, which are admitted to be genuine—the Hymn or Breastplate, the Confession, and the Epistle to Coroticus. In the second which is entitled 'Doubtful Remains,' we have translations of the sayings of St. Patrick, of his Proverbs, of the Story of Patrick and the Royal Daughters, and of the Vision. In the third part, or the Appendix, we have two translations of the Hymn in metre. The introduction and notes exhibit a familiar acquaintance with the St. Patrick literature, and from a historical or critical point of view, leave little to be desired. The translations, on the other hand, are not always what they might be. *Et cotidie contra Hiberionem non sponte pergebam, donec prope deficiebam*—'and day by day I went forth against my will in Ireland until I all but fainted'—is rendered 'on the other hand I did not of my own accord go to Ireland until I was almost worn out.' This is but one of several wrong translations we have met with.

Caledonia: or a Historical and Topographical Account of North-Britain from the most Ancient to the Present Times with a Dictionary of Places Chorographical and Philological. by GEORGE CHALMERS F.R.S., F.S.A. New Edition. Vol. III., IV. Paisley: Alex. Gardner. 1888, 1889.

These two volumes bring the reprint of this valuable work down to the

end of the second volume of the original edition. The old paging is retained for the convenience of reference; the Editor has inserted a number of additional particulars in the text; here and there he has added a number of references in the notes; and at the end of Chalmers's preface he has promised that when the reprint is finished he will supplement the information it contains with a further series of notes. This looks well. The additions are an improvement and the promised notes should add materially to the utility and value of the work. Both Editor and Publisher may be congratulated on having brought their work thus far; it is to be hoped that nothing will arise to prevent its completion with all possible despatch. In his first volume, it will be remembered, Chalmers gives an account of the more ancient history of Scotland, dividing it into four periods—the Roman ending with the year 446 A.D.; the Pictish closing with the year 846 A.D.; the Scottish finishing in 1097 A.D., and the Scoto-Saxon ending in year 1307 A.D. The subject is by no means an easy one even in the present, and if here and there Chalmers falls into a mistake it is not to be wondered at. He had the honour of being among the first to attempt to write the ancient history of Scotland in a trustworthy manner. In the volume before us, after a somewhat lengthy introduction, he passes to the descriptions of the various shires. The introduction deals with such matters as the discovery and names of the Country; its people, Kings, estates or degrees; its judicatories and divisions; its extent, agriculture, manufactures, wealth, wars, and coins. It has also an interesting section on Chorography. In some respects it may be considered as a kind of supplement to the first volume. Here also, as in the preface, and in the Author's edition of Lyndsay as well as elsewhere, we meet with traces of the controversy which Chalmers maintained against Jamieson as to the origin and character of the Scottish language. More recent research, as we need hardly say, has proved that Chalmers was right, and Jamieson wrong, the latter's theory of the Gothic origin of the language being now entirely given up by all who have examined the question. The topographical history of the Counties begins with the most southern and proceeds to the northern in what Chalmers calls a regular consecution. Those dealt with here are Roxburgh, Berwick, Haddington, Mid Lothian, Linlithgow, Peebles and Selkirk. Each county is treated by itself, and in eight sections; the first being devoted to its name, the second to its situation and extent, the third to its natural objects, the fourth to its antiquities, the fifth and sixth to its establishment as a shire and to its civil history, the seventh to its agriculture, manufacture and trade, and the eighth to its Ecclesiastical history. The mass of information brought together in these various sections is, as all who are acquainted with the work know, something marvellous. Chalmers was assisted by contributors in every part of the country, but his own work in the compilation of the work must have been enormous. His pages are packed full of facts, while his notes show that he was in touch with all the printed and MS. authorities which, at the time of his writing, were known or available. During the ninety years which have elapsed since the work was first issued, new sources of information have been brought to light and new facts eliminated, and there can be little doubt that when the Editor carries out his intentions with regard to it, *Caledonia* will furnish a body of information relating to the history, topography, and antiquities of Scotland, such as the literature of few nations supplies.

Phœnicia. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., etc. London: Fisher Unwin, 1889.

Media, Babylonia and Persia. By ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN. Same Publisher.

These books—the most recent volumes of the ‘Story of the Nations’ Series we have received—can scarcely fail from lack of interest. They deal with subjects which have long had, and which probably always will have, a sort of perennial attraction. As histories they are not all that might be desired, but that is no fault of their authors. Limitations of space and limitations of knowledge are usually insurmountable, though historians have sometimes attempted to surmount the latter by supplying the place of information with stories of their own invention. The histories of Phœnicia and Media leave large room for conjecture, and a writer endowed with a lively imagination might construct for us, not without a show of probability, a very charming and romantic story about either of them. But the temptation to invent history has been yielded to neither by Professor Rawlinson nor by Mdme. Ragozin. Both of them have written cautiously and with an evident desire to tell a simple and unvarnished tale. Phœnicia could scarcely have been placed in better hands. It lies so much in the way of the former studies and writings of Professor Rawlinson that it is almost a subject for wonder that it has not already found a place among his ‘Monarchies.’ Of the drum and trumpet kind of history there is little to tell of the Phœnicians. Unlike most of the peoples of antiquity, who have left a name behind them, they were not warriors, but manufacturers and merchants. What little there is to tell of their wars and sieges, Professor Rawlinson tells and tells briefly; but the greater part of his volume is taken up with an account of their origin, their commercial enterprise, their fields of colonisation, their art and science and articles of commerce. Since Movers and Kenrick wrote, much has been brought to light respecting this ancient people, and Professor Rawlinson has embodied it in his interesting and attractive pages. Mdme. Ragozin begins by giving an account of the Parsis, the discovery of their MSS., the self-sacrificing labours of Anquetil Duperron, and the more scientific work of Eugène Burnouf. She then proceeds to discuss the character of the ancient Scriptures of Persia, and the character and fortunes of the religion of Zarathushtra. The discussion brings her into contact with the Rig-Veda and other Sanscrit writings, and we have a couple of far from uninteresting chapters on Aryan myths and their transformations. Much information is given about the ‘Fire-worshippers,’ their opinions, sacrifices and towers of silence. Properly speaking the volume is a sequel to the author’s two volumes in the same series on Chaldæa and Assyria. The story is taken up at the fall of Nineveh and continued down to the battle of Marathon, thus extending over what is perhaps the most important period in the history of the ancient world. One noticeable feature in this, as well as in Professor Rawlinson’s volume, is the comparatively small space given to wars and campaigns, and the attention devoted to what is of more importance, the development of the arts of life and the growth of civilization.

Charles George Gordon. By Colonel Sir WILLIAM F. BUTLER.

David Livingstone. By THOMAS HUGHES.

Lord Lawrence. By SIR RICHARD TEMPLE.

Wellington. By GEORGE HOOPER.

Henry the Fifth. By the Rev. A. J. CHURCH.

Dampier. By W. CLARK RUSSELL. English Men of Action Series. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

A more interesting series of books than this is proving itself to be can

scarcely be desired. The title itself is taking, and the contents of each volume are as attractive as any thing in the way of history or biography can be. The writers are all men of established reputation, and the 'men' of whom they discourse have left their mark on the history of the world, and still fill a large space in the public eye. As for variety, the titles of the volumes which we have given above are a sufficient indication. Gordon and Livingstone, Wellington and Lord Lawrence, are names inscribed on the brightest pages of English history, and recall scenes of labour and triumph such as are described in the annals of few nations, and memories of which any nation may justly be proud. Here it is impossible to do more than record the most general impressions respecting these six handy volumes. A soldier himself of no small reputation, Sir William Butler writes of the hero of the Soudan, and well he might, with something like enthusiasm, and into small compass has put what is after all a singularly elaborate account of his life. Details are by no means avoided. Gordon's campaigns are described graphically and with considerable minuteness; while his simplicity and nobleness, his singular devotedness to duty, and his utter unselfishness come out on almost every page. Gordon's life was of a rare character, and Sir W. Butler has written it with commendable skill. In Mr. Thomas Hughes, Livingstone has found a sympathetic, and, as need hardly be said, an extremely capable biographer. If Mr. Hughes' work has any fault, it is its brevity. The best biography of the great traveller and missionary is, of course, in his own writings; but those who amid the intense pressure of the present have not the leisure for their perusal, will find in Mr. Hughes' volume not only a faithful narrative of the wanderings, but also a striking presentation of the toils and sufferings and character of one of the noblest men Scotland has produced. There was a child-like trust and a heroism of devotion about Livingstone which has made his name precious to every generous heart. Mr. Church's work carries us back to the time of Falstaff, Hotspur and Agincourt, but is none the less attractive. Henry was undoubtedly one of the greatest soldiers that ever sat upon the English throne, and notwithstanding the demands he made upon the nation for men and money wherewith to wage his wars, he was one of its most popular rulers. The military scenes are graphically described; and, as instancing the care with which the volume has been prepared, it may be mentioned that Mr. Church's description of Agincourt is made after a personal survey of the field of that famous battle. As to the Gascoigne incident, Mr. Church is disposed to regard it as in all probability fictitious. A better short biography of Lord Lawrence it is scarcely possible to frame than that which Sir R. Temple has contributed to the series. He tells the facts of the great Anglo-Indian Official's life clearly, and that is all that was required to invest his narrative with the charms which belong to a life well spent in the discharge of important and onerous duties. In his account of Wellington Mr. Hooper fights over again the battles of the great captain. He is at pains also to defend him against his military detractors, and points out what he conceives to have been the distinguishing features of his character. 'All through his life,' he says, 'it will be found that Duty and Service were his guiding stars.' Besides narrating the military career of the Duke, Mr. Hooper gives an account of his work as a diplomatist and minister of state. The story is well told, and deserves to be widely read, as it doubtless will be. Mr. Clark Russell's *Dampier* carries us back to the days of the famous buccaneers, and is a closely packed record of romantic feats of daring and adventure. There is a freshness about its pages which seems now to have faded away from men's life. Perhaps it is well that it has. But whether or not, we are carried back to

a world very different from the present, in which, along with much that was cruel and reckless, there was a boldness of enterprise, a courage, and often a magnanimity, which it is impossible not to recognise and admire. Here and there Mr. Russell allows Dampier to tell his own story, and not a few of his felicitous phrases are to be met with throughout the volume.

Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola. By Professor PASQUALE VILLARI. Translated by LINDA VILLARI. Portraits and Illustrations. 2 vols. 2nd Edition. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1889.

This new edition of Professor Villari's scholarly and popular work on the life and times of the great Florentine preacher, is remarkable chiefly for the new preface which appears in it. In this Professor Villari undertakes to reply to the criticisms of his English reviewers. By these it is said that since the first appearance of Professor Villari's work many years ago, fresh documents and fresh authorities, including the important contributions of Professor Ranke, have changed the aspect of the question; that, notwithstanding the real excellencies of which Savonarola was possessed, it would now seem to be indubitably proved that, his prophecies were rhetorical artifices ending in imposture; that his policy, which was based on these prophecies, had accordingly no practical value whatever, and was finally the cause of his ruin; and that of all this Professor Villari has taken no account, but has in the new edition of his work been unable to resist the temptation of maintaining consistency at the expense of progress. To this Professor Villari replies: 'This is only a modification of the old theory on Savonarola that I had previously combated, and that is now revived, with the apparent aid of new documents and the weight of Professor Ranke's authority, to which I have always been ready to bow. We cannot here enter upon the controversy, but may remark that, while forming the feature of this new edition, Professor Villari's reply is worth reading, as showing the position in which the matter at present stands, and as showing also how closely the opinions of the two professors approximate.

On Parliamentary Government in England: Its Origin, Development, and Practical Operation. By ALPHEUS TODD. Edited by his son. 2nd Edition, vol. 2. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889.

Two years elapsed between the publication of the first and second volumes of the original edition of this work, and two years have passed since the first volume of this new and improved edition was issued. Of this latter delay, however much he may have complained before, now that the volume is in his hands, no one, we imagine, will be disposed to complain. The delay was necessary, and has rendered the work more useful than it would have been had it been issued at an earlier period, the Editor having taken note of the very considerable changes which in the meantime have been effected both in Parliamentary practice by the new rules of procedure, and in various departments of the Executive in consequence of recent legislation. In other words, Mr. Todd has brought his information down to the December of last year, and has embodied in the volume all that could be embodied in it in connection with his subject. Of the utility of the work it is useless to speak. To the student of Constitutional history, and for all who are interested in the practice of Parliament and the government of the country, it is simply invaluable, and so far as we know without a rival. In the first volume, it will be remembered, after dealing with the history of Parliament, the

Sovereign, and the royal prerogatives, Mr. Todd explained in his concluding chapter the Constitutional procedure in respect to the grant of public money for the service of the State. Consequently in the second volume he begins by treating of the regulations which have been established by law for the purpose of preventing the illegal issue or expenditure of it. This leads him, of course, to define the functions of the Exchequer and Audit departments, the way in which public money is issued, and the various checks prescribed to control its issue. Next we have chapters devoted to the Privy Council and the Cabinet Council, and then to the Ministers of the Crown in Parliament. In the fifth chapter, the constitution and functions of the various departments of State are defined, while the sixth and last chapters deal with the judges in relation to the Crown and to Parliament. As in the previous volume, Mr. Todd's treatment of his subject is historical as well as descriptive and legal, the history of each office or department with which he deals being carefully recorded, and the various Acts of Parliament by which their constitution and operation or functions have been affected enumerated. One interesting and indeed valuable feature of the book is the frequent reference to Canadian or Colonial parliamentary procedure, and, though in respect to Canada by no means so full as, or in any way capable of being taken as a substitute for Mr. Bourinot's volume on Canadian procedure, it conveys not a little serviceable information. In an appendix, the Standing Orders of the House of Commons are given as recently amended. A very elaborate index concludes a work which in arrangement, accuracy, and lucidity of statement, may be taken as a model.

The Swiss Confederation. By Sir FRANCIS OTTIWELL ADAMS, K.C.M., G.C.B., V.C., and C. D. CUNNINGHAM. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

At the present moment, when so much attention is devoted to democratic institutions and forms of government, any work which throws light upon their history, development, and operation, cannot fail to be acceptable to a class of readers which may be said to include among its numbers not only students of constitutional history, but also politicians of every shade of opinion. Some time ago Mr. Bryce gave us an elaborate and masterly account of the great Republic of the North American Continent; in the volume before us we have an account of the older but smaller, and perhaps more absolute, democracy of Switzerland. Few are able to speak with a greater fulness of knowledge on the subject than the two whose names appear on the title page, and no one will be found to question their claims to speak with authority. Though their joint work is less extensive than Mr. Bryce's, in its own way it is equally valuable. For very obvious reasons, it is not likely to be so popular, but to the eye of the student, and probably of the politician, and certainly to those with whom politics is a profession, it will present itself as a work which is in every respect entitled to a place side by side with Mr. Bryce's three volumes on the American Commonwealth. Like most works of its kind, it is partly historical and partly analytical and critical. After a short introductory chapter, in which the history of the Confederation is sketched, we have a chapter dealing with what may be called the central government, describing the three federal authorities, and distinguishing between the federal and cantonal sovereignties. Then follow chapters on the Federal Assembly, Federal Council, and Federal Tribunal. Other chapters deal with the political parties, the Communes, the Cantons and their tribunals, Religion, Education, the Army, Agriculture and Commerce. Three chapters are of special interest; those, viz., on Socialists and Anarchists, the Swiss political

institutions as compared with those of the United States, and the Referendum and Initiative. At the present moment the last of these will in all likelihood prove the most attractive. Referendum, it is explained, 'means the reference to all vote-possessing citizens either of the Confederation or of a Canton, for acceptance or rejection, of laws and resolutions framed by their representatives.' In Switzerland there are two kinds, compulsory and optional. It is compulsory where all laws adopted by the Grand Council or other representative body of a Canton must be submitted to the people, and optional when limited to those cases in which a certain number of votes demand it. Initiative, on the other hand, is the exercise of the right granted to any single voter or body of voters to initiate proposals for the enactment of new laws, or for the alteration or abolition of existing laws. These two institutions have gradually grown up in the Cantons, and spread from one to another till, with a few exceptions, all of them possess either a compulsory or optional Referendum, while a number of them have adopted the Initiative. The Referendum does not extend to foreign relations. In discussing the question whether the adoption of the Referendum and Initiative in Great Britain would be expedient, the authors are careful to observe that 'the conditions of Great Britain are very different from those of Switzerland.'

Carlisle. By M. CREIGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., &c. (*Historic Towns.*)
London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889.

To Scotsmen the history of few towns outside the borders of their native land can have so great an interest as that of the ancient city of Carlisle. First a British town, next Roman, again British, afterwards English, it was twice a Scottish town, and long, even after it was finally taken possession of by the English, it was claimed as being ecclesiastically under the jurisdiction of a Scottish bishop. Nor can Carlisle be of less interest from an historical point of view to Englishmen. For centuries it was one of the bulwarks against the inroads of the Scots. During the reign of Edward I., it was practically for many years the seat of the English Government. Many a battle too has been fought beneath its walls, and many an army has made it its point of departure for the North little dreaming of the disasters that awaited it, while others have started from it in the opposite direction only to meet with a similar fate. In dealing with its history, Professor Creighton has wisely treated Carlisle, not merely as a town but as a centre of provincial life. He has thus brought it into connection with the history of the two countries between which it was long a bone of contention, and given it its due position in the life of the past. His sketch of its history is necessarily condensed, but he has woven into it much of the history of the Border. Battles, sieges, and raids figure largely on his pages, and invest them with something of the romance which belongs to the wild days of Border strife. His sketches of Carlisle as a British settlement, as a Roman town, and as a mediæval city, of Border life and Border warfare are especially vivid, while the story he has to tell of the vicissitudes which befell the Cathedral, which the much harassed bishops and citizens of Carlisle had set their hearts on completing, is almost pathetic. Professor Creighton is himself a native of Carlisle, and he has written its history with an affection and an ability which makes his volume one of the most instructive and attractive in the very excellent series to which it belongs.

The Church of Scotland in the Thirteenth Century. By WILLIAM
LOCKHART, A.M., F.S.A. Scot. Edinburgh and London,
1889.

In this volume the minister of Colinton seeks to state and elucidate certain facts in connection with the Mediaeval Church in Scotland. Though he has little, if anything, that was not known to say, his pages will serve to emphasise the fact that David de Bernham once lived and moved in Scotland, and was a power both in the Court and Church. But seldom mentioned in the present, Bernham was a man of great activity, and of some character. Fordun evidently did not like him, and calls him a hard man. Evidently, too, a number of the clergy did not like him, for he appears not to have hesitated, when he saw occasion, to strip them of some of their wealth, and to give it to others. Berwick was his birth-place, but whether he was a Scotsman or not is unknown. He became Archbishop of St. Andrews, being the choice of both the King and the Pope, in 1239, and died in 1253. His claim to be remembered is his extraordinary activity in consecrating churches. According to the list given by Mr. Lockhart, and first printed in 1886 from a MS. in the National Library at Paris, between 1240 and 1249 he consecrated no fewer than one hundred and forty. Mr. Lockhart's book is not a large one, but it would have been improved by condensation. Space might at least have been found for the complete text of the Pontificale in which the list of dedications occurs.

The Life of Raphael. By HERMANN GRIMM. Translated with the author's sanction, by SARAH HOLLAND ADAMS. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner, 1889.

Though little known amongst ourselves the author of this delightful volume possesses in his own country an established and distinguished reputation as a critic and historian of art. In America also he is known, and by means of his admirable *Life of Michael Angelo*, which forms a companion volume to the one before us, he is gradually becoming known here. Less extensive than Crowe and Cavalcaselle's work on Raphael, Herr Grimm's work is also more popularly written. Biographical details are by no means absent from his pages, but he has devoted himself chiefly to the paintings of the artist, the social and historical conditions amid which they were produced, and the manner in which they were received. He has attempted in fact to answer the following questions: In what relations did Raphael, inspired with his sunny views of life, stand to the commoner world around him? How were the radiant pictures which he gave to the world received? Was he assisted in his work or was he hindered? How powerful was this help or this hindrance, and by whom was it exercised? The discussion of these questions has naturally led him to devote considerable attention both to Raphael himself and to the ideas which were agitated and discussed around him, and to the influence of which he must necessarily have been subjected. At the same time Herr Grimm has endeavoured to fathom the conceptions Raphael wished to embody in his paintings, how far he succeeded, and if unsuccessful wherein the fault lay. Of the material for this, which, as need hardly be said, is ample, careful and excellent use has here been made. As a proof of this we may point to the striking chapter on the Camera della Segnatura, or to that again on the Sistine Madonna and Transfiguration; but more especially to the former. Here the history of the frescoes by which that famous chamber is adorned, is traced step by step from the first sketches to their final completion, and a new meaning is given to The Disputa and the School of Athens. The author is of opinion that the final execution of some of Raphael's principal works did not correspond with the original design. The two just mentioned are cases in point. Herr Grimm's descriptions of Raphael's paintings is simply charming.

The poetry which the youthful artist threw upon his canvass seems to have taken possession of his mind ; and it is doubtful whether the creator of the Sistine Madonna has ever had a more sympathetic or faithful interpreter.

Letters of Thomas Carlyle, 1826-1836. Edited by CHARLES ELIOT NORTON. 2 vols. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1888.

In this fresh instalment of Carlyle's correspondence we have his letters from 1826, or from the second day after his marriage down to February 23, 1826, when he was just finishing the *French Revolution*, and on the eve of becoming famous. His correspondence with Goethe falls within the same period, but having been printed separately it is not here repeated. Following the plan already adopted by him in the previous volumes he has issued of the Letters, Mr. Norton prints each letter usually without omissions, and points out those which have been inaccurately printed or printed only in part by Mr. Froude. The difference is often very great and important. The letters are chiefly to the different members of the Carlyle family ; a number of them are to Mrs. Carlyle. All of them throw great light on Carlyle's character, and illustrate with considerable fulness the work on which he was at the time engaged. In these respects they are extremely valuable, and may be said to constitute, so far as they go, the best biography of Carlyle that has yet appeared. That they bear out all that has been written about their author by Mr. Froude cannot be said. As one reads them it is not difficult to understand the feelings with which the members of Carlyle's family regard the famous *Life*. As it comes out in these letters, Carlyle's character had scarcely a touch of selfishness about it, and judged by what he has here written, few sons, brothers, or husbands, have shown a more tender regard for those to whom they were related, or so profound and active an interest in their welfare. The letters are not wanting in passages of great beauty. They are a distinct contribution to literature, and providing those which are to follow are of the same character, they will go far to alter and indeed to completely change the impression respecting their author which has been produced by Mr. Froude's biography.

A History of Eighteenth Century Literature (1660-1780.) By EDMUND GOSSE, M.A. London and New York : Macmillan & Co., 1889.

This, though the second issued, is the third volume in Messrs. Macmillan's series of Histories of English Literature. The second, it will be remembered, is Mr. Saintsbury's on the literature of the Elizabethan era. Both are excellent illustrations of the wisdom of allowing authors a free hand in the formation of their plans, and in working out their own ideas as to what their books should be. Mr. Saintsbury devoted the larger amount of his space to the less known authors of his period ; Mr. Gosse, in dealing with the period assigned to him, has given the majority of his pages to the consideration of the authors who are better known. Each may be justified. The two periods are different, and require different treatment. It must not be supposed, however, that in Mr. Gosse's pages the less known writers of the hundred and twenty years they cover have been ignored. Very many of them are noticed, and not a few whom we scarcely expected to find mentioned. Strictly speaking, indeed, Mr. Gosse's volume is a history of the literature, and not a mere enumeration, with biographical and critical details, of

the writers of the period, and having seized the characteristic features of this literature, he has dealt with those authors whose writings, whether known or unknown, serve to illustrate the various phases through which it passed. His narratives and criticisms are models of brevity and lucid statements. As to the literary judgments, while independent and evidently founded on a personal acquaintance with the works of the authors on whom they are passed, they are fair, and few will find fault with them. Mr. Gosse has a good word to say for Boswell, and while not without a large amount of respect and even reverence for Johnson, is quite alive to his faults. His notices of Hume, Blair, Robertson, Adam Smith, and, to turn to another class, Pope, Swift, Dryden, Gibbon, and Burke, are excellent; and long as some of them are, we could wish that they had been longer. Scottish literature, or perhaps we should say Scottish writers, are by no means ignored, for besides those already mentioned there are notices of Thomson, Hamilton of Bangour, Allan Ramsay, Robert Blair, Smollet, Ross of Lochlee, the Rev. John Skinner, Robert Fergusson, and, among others, Lady Anne Barnard, the author of 'Auld Robin Gray.' Indeed, as a history of the literature of the last forty years of the seventeenth century and the first eighty of the eighteenth, Mr. Gosse's book is superior to anything we have seen, and the general reader will find it as attractive and interesting as the student will find it useful.

Chaucer: The Minor Poems. Edited by the Rev. W. W. SKEAT, Litt. D., &c., &c. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1888.

Dr. Skeat has at length forestalled Mr. Sweet's 'inevitable German,' and given us an edition of the minor poems of Chaucer, which, besides being as complete as it is at present possible to make it, is in point of editing equal to anything which even Dr. Skeat himself has done. The pieces which he has included in his list are in the main the same as those adopted by Dr. Furnivall in the publications of the Chaucer Society. One piece, however, which was included in the publications of that Society, he has, on the advice of Dr. Furnivall, omitted, that, viz., which is entitled 'The Mother of God.' Five he has printed, viz., 'Merciles Beaute,' 'Against Women Unconstaunt,' 'A Complaint to his Lady,' 'An Amorous Complaint,' and 'Balade of Complaint,' are additions to Dr. Furnivall's list; two of them, 'An Amorous Complaint,' and 'Balade of Complaint,' appearing here in print for the first time. The poems are prefaced by an introduction of over eighty pages, in which an account is given of the earlier editions of the poet's minor writings, and the reasons stated for rejecting some which have hitherto been ascribed to him, and for believing that those now printed may with something like certainty be assigned to him as their author. The text of the poems has been selected with the utmost care, and each page has its full complement of various readings. The notes, as we need scarcely say, are excellent, being rich in information, and rivalling in their fulness and variety those of the author's edition of *Piers the Plowman*. The glossarial index, which is almost wholly the work of Mr. C. Sapsworth, is fuller than usual, and has the advantage of containing abundant references. Altogether the work, if we may be allowed to say so, is highly creditable to English scholarship, and increases the obligations, already heavy, which students of old English literature are under to its learned and indefatigable editor.

Les Mabinogion traduits en entier pour la première fois en Français avec un commentaire explicatif et des notes

critiques. Par J. LOTH. Tome I. Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1889.

Excellent and unrivalled as Lady Charlotte Guest's translation of the *Mabinogion* is, though always and cheerfully acknowledging its many and great merits, scholars have never been able to regard it as altogether satisfactory. Its appearance marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Celtic studies, but it labours under the serious drawbacks of being in many places inexact or defective. Much of the inexactitude is due to the use of an uncritical and often inaccurate text, and the want of proper dictionary helps, while the omissions which occur were made intentionally. Lady Charlotte was writing ostensibly for the entertainment and instruction of the two children to whom her volumes are dedicated, and the passages omitted, though of great interest and use to the student, are not such as are fitted for the eye or ear of children. M. Loth's translation has been, or rather is being, made—for we have here only the first volume—under very different conditions. With the publication of the text of the *Mabinogion* from the Red Book of Hergest by Professor Rhys and Mr. J. G. Evans the formation of something like a critical text has been made possible; and besides his translation is made for students and not for children. Of these new and less irksome conditions, M. Loth has availed himself, and brought to the work he has assumed a scholarship as great as it is rare. The translation is made not exactly from the text recently issued, but from one which he has formed for himself. Nor is the rendering altogether literal. While aiming to be as exact as possible, M. Loth has endeavoured to make his pages readable. In this he has succeeded. There is a charm about these old stories as read in M. Loth's pages, which those who read them cannot fail to acknowledge. The work promises also to be a valuable contribution to Celtic studies in other ways. Scattered throughout the volume are many scholarly notes throwing considerable light on the text, while at the conclusion is a number of pages in which the author indicates the alterations he has made on the Rhys-Evan text, and the passages where his own translation differs from the English version of Lady Guest.

The Divine Comedy of Dante. Translated into English verse, with Notes, by JOHN AUGUSTINE WILSTACH. 2 vols. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., 1888.

Having translated Virgil, Mr. Wilstach here tries his hand at the more difficult task of turning the *Commedia* of Dante into English verse. One can read Dante, feel his intensity and marvel at the wondrous force of his words, but to translate him into English rhyme and retain his force and intensity and brilliant colouring, is a task to which, though attempted by many, few have proved themselves equal. If Mr. Wilstach has failed to preserve that which is peculiarly Dantian, he has failed with a multitude. Some one has said that the words of Dante are like the blows of a sledge-hammer. Mr. Wilstach's are not. His translation is wanting in that force and directness which form so marked a characteristic of the *Commedia*. His use of inversion is not always happy, and his recourse to it is so frequent as to become wearisome. In many places, too, his translation is faulty, being either obscure or uselessly redundant. 'Ed io, ch'avea d'orror la testa cinta,' which Carlyle translates, 'And I, my head begirt with horror'; and Mr. Minchin, 'I, compassed round with horror,' is rendered by Mr. Wilstach, 'And I, who round my head felt wondering curl.' Whether he has read 'error or 'orror' it is difficult to tell, but 'wondering' fails to convey the sense of either, while

the phrase 'felt wondering curl' has nothing whatever to recommend it. A little on Dante writes :—

'Questo misero modo
Tengon l' anime triste di coloro,
Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo.
Mischiate sono a quel cattivo coro
Degli angeli che non furon rebelli,
Nè fur fedeli a Dio, ma per sè foro.
Cacciarli i ciel per non esser men belli,
Nè lo profondo inferno gli riceve,
Chè alcuna gloria i rei avrebber d' elli.'

Mr. Wilstach's rendering is :—

'This miserable mood
Sustain the dreary souls of those whose shame
Is that they lived without praise or blame.
Mixed are they with that choir, nor bad nor good,
Of Angels, not for rebels, imps, and elves,
Not for God, but only for themselves.
Heaven chased them forth to save its zones from soil ;
Receive them not the deeper parts of Hell,
For over them the damned might triumph well.'

The notes which have been added show considerable acquaintance with the literature, and are an improvement on the translation. Mr. Wilstach's style is not always above criticism, having a strong tendency to become stiff and rhetorical, but his notes and discussions certainly throw light upon the text, and are well worth reading.

November Boughs. By WALT WHITMAN. Paisley and London : Alex. Gardner. 1889.

In this volume the author has gathered together a number of pieces both in prose and verse, written at different periods extending over a considerable number of years. The topics are varied, but chiefly of a literary, or biographical kind. There are poems entitled 'Sands at Seventy,' and others with the heading 'Fancies at Navesink.' Then there are prose essays, some of them covering little more than a page, and others extending to several pages on such topics Our Eminent Visitors, The Bible as Poetry, Burns as Poet and Person, Tennyson, Shakespeare, English Books, Slang in America, Abraham Lincoln, and a number of War Memoranda. But the most interesting as well as the most important of the Essays is the one with which the volume opens, 'A Backward Glance o'er Travell'd Roads.' In this the author reviews himself and his work, and notwithstanding all that has been said against his poetical beliefs and methods, reiterates his persuasion of their truth and appeals from the present to the future. Here also he repeats his demand that America should possess a literature peculiarly and exclusively its own, saying, 'No law or people or circumstances ever existed so needing a race of singers and poems differing from all others, and rigidly their own as the land and people and circumstances of our United States.' At the same time he restates his belief that science instead of superseding poetry will only open out fresh and more extensive fields to which the poetic imagination must emigrate. 'Whatever,' he remarks, 'may have been the case in years gone by, the true use for the imaginative faculty of modern times is to give ultimate vivification to facts, to science, and to common lives, endowing them with the glows and glories and final illustriousness which belong to every real

thing, and to real things only.' The papers on Shakespeare and Burns are suggestive, but there is little new in them. On such subjects much that is new can scarcely be expected from anyone.

Life and Labour. Vol. I. *East London.* Edited by CHARLES BOOTH. London: Williams and Norgate, 1889.

This volume represents a vast amount of earnest, loving, and judicious labour undertaken solely with a view to getting at the truth as to the condition, economic, social, and moral, of the poorer classes in one of the poorer districts of London, in order to pave the way for devising wise and helpful methods of improving their condition. It is part of a large undertaking which is to embrace South as well as East London, and many are the hands engaged in it. Mr. Booth and those associated with him in this work have spared no pains to ensure the general accuracy of what they put forward here. They have done their best to verify the statistics obtained from School Board Officers and their own visitors, and from the statements made to them. Mr. Booth has gone and lodged with different classes in the district, and thus in disguise made himself familiar with the inner currents of life there. A vast mass of information has in this way been gathered up as to work, wages, dwellings, manner of living, school attendance, social pleasures, modes of mutual helpfulness, and a variety of other matters, and it is here systematically arranged and so presented as to give a clear and comprehensive picture of life in the district as it really is, while each of the seven fellow workers with Mr. Booth deals specifically with one or more branches of the subject under consideration. Mr. Booth, *e.g.*, gives a general survey of the district, and summary of the work undertaken and the results of it. He deals specially too with 'Sweating.' Miss Beatrice Potter describes the dock labourers, the tailors, and the Jewish community. Mr. D. F. Schloss gives details as to the boot-making industry; Mr. E. Aves treats of the furniture trade; Mr. Fox of the tobacco workers; while two ladies deal respectively with the silk weaving and women's work in general. It is naturally a bulky volume, but there is not a dry or uninteresting page in it. Even the statistical tables are all made interesting by the fulness of information they give and the illustrative descriptions that accompany them. The map and sketch maps are also most helpful to the general reader who may not be familiar with the district. We may also add, as a not unimportant recommendation of this book, that it is written throughout in a calmly scientific spirit. There are no hysterical ravings in it over the miseries or vices of this or that class, and no fiery diatribes directed against systems of labour, or those conducting them. The miseries are portrayed nakedly enough, and vices are laid bare where the exhibition of them may prove valuable to those who wish to work to cure them, and the evils of sweating etc. are not in any way veiled, but there is no straining after effect, or passionate appeals to class prejudices or sentimental emotions. The book will be welcomed, we think, by all classes and cannot but be most useful to all interested in the social problems of the hour.

Penological and Preventive Principles, with Special Reference to Europe and America. By WILLIAM TALLACK. London: Wertheimer, Lea, & Co. 1889.

The author of this volume has been the secretary of the Howard Association for upwards of twenty years, and has here set down with an abundance of illustrations the principles which a long and varied experience has convinced him ought to be applied for the prevention and punishment of

crime. It is almost a pity a less forbidden title was not given to the volume. There is much in it which appeals not only to those who are interesting themselves in the subject with which it deals, but also to the general public. Mr. Tallack is neither a theoriser nor a sentimentalist. The principles he lays down and enforces are for the most part sound and intelligible, such indeed as common sense, backed up by acquaintance with the classes whom they have in view, would dictate. The first principle he lays down is one that is often neglected, or at least forgotten, but one nevertheless of prime importance, the principle namely that 'the proposed means of restricting social maladies do not become encouragements of the evils to be repressed.' His second, again, is the necessity of avoiding the divorce of elements which should always be held in union. The elements he explains are Prevention, Repression, and Reformation. His third principle is an ever vigilant hesitation as to the acceptance of fashionable dogmas or popular conclusions. Some objection may perhaps be taken to the way in which these 'principles' or 'essentials' are put, but there can be no doubt as to what Mr. Tallack means or as to the practical soundness of his conclusions. We are not sure indeed whether the free circulation of Mr. Tallack's first chapter would not itself prove a preventive of many of the evils which he in common with many others wishes to see put down. On some subjects Mr. Tallack speaks with less decision, as for instance in regard to the abolition of the death penalty. For life imprisonment he would substitute imprisonment for a definite number of years and subsequent supervision. The title of the book, as we have said, is not attractive, but the book is on the whole well and temperately written and deserves to be very widely read.

Blackie's Modern Cyclopedia of Universal Information. Edited by CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A. LL.D. Vol. II. London, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dublin: Blackie & Son. 1889.

Punctual to its date this handy volume has made its appearance. It brings down the work to *Con-*, and bears out the promise of the first volume. The articles are short, condensed, and informing. Theorising is happily absent, and the writers of the articles confine themselves strictly to facts. So far as we have been able to examine them, too, the articles are as a rule accurate. They do not of course always contain all that one would like to know; but there is a sufficiency of information in them we should say for most readers. Among other articles of interest in the present volume may be mentioned those under William Blake, Blast-furnace, Bleaching, Blind, Boccaccio, Bohemia, Boiler, Bolingbroke, Bookbinding, Byzantine Art, Botany, Brazil, Bread, Bridge, George Buchanan, Cannon, Chess, Climate, Clock, Clothing. There is a good article on Great Britain, and another on Canada. The legal articles are carefully compiled; but the same cannot be said of the article on Giordano Bruno, which closes with the somewhat startling statement that 'his (Bruno's) doctrines represent the highest level of the thought of the period'!

Outlines of Christian Doctrine, by the Rev. H. C. G. Moule, M.A., is a new volume of Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton's 'Theological Educator' Series. The Editor of the Series, as it is perhaps unnecessary to state, is the Rev. W. Nicol, the Editor of the *Expositor*, while the author of the volume is a presbyter of the Church of England. Originally intended as a Commentary upon the Thirty-Nine Articles of the English Church, with a view to making the work, as he hopes, more generally useful, Mr. Moule has

departed from his first plan, and has here devoted himself to giving a sketch of the main doctrines of the Christian Faith, though always keeping in view the confession of his Church. The work makes no pretensions to originality or completeness. The doctrines expounded are : The doctrine of God ; of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; the doctrine of Man and of the Church ; the doctrine of the Ministry and of the Sacraments. Some attention is paid to the history of the various doctrines, and the work is written from the Protestant Evangelical point of view.

Sermons preached in St. Thomas' Cathedral, Bombay (Macmillan), is a volume of discourses delivered by the Right Rev. L. G. Mylne, the Bishop of Bombay, to Anglo-Indian congregations. The sermons are for the most part practical, and deal boldly and searchingly with such topics as Anger, Gamblers and Gambling, Debt, the Facility of Divorce and the Abolition of Marriage, Missions and their Deprecators, and the work and trials of the Christian Missionary in India. There is much solid thought in the volume, and not a little which must have gone straight home to the business and bosom of those who listened to the sermons.

Mr. Wasson, whose *Essays, Religious, Social and Political*, Mr. O. B. Frothingham has published, and to which he has prefixed a biographical sketch (Lee & Shepard, Boston), was trained for the ministry, but after a short pastorate withdrew from it. Though he renounced authority, Carlyle and Emerson seem to have been his intellectual guides, while in theological matters he appears to have been as erratic or peculiar as either. The Church he renounced, but says that if he had to join any, he would find it necessary to pass by Calvinism and to enter the Catholic Communion. His *Essays* are on such subjects as Authority, Unity, the Social Texture, the Puritan Commonwealth, the New Type of Oppression, the Genius of Women.

In the second part of *The Pleasures of Life* (Macmillan) Sir John Lubbock discourses on Ambition, Wealth, Health, Love, Art, the Beauties of Nature, Labour and Rest, Religion, the Hope of Progress and the Destiny of Man. He discourses upon them too in the same admirable manner that he did upon other sources of pleasure in his first volume. There is the same abundance of quotations, and similar brief and wise reflections. The first volume we gather from the preface has had a remarkable circulation. The circulation of this we should say will not be less, nor shall we be surprised to hear that many of the readers of the two volumes are of opinion that they have found in them a pleasure their author has omitted to mention.

The Rev. G. S. Hatherly's *New Genealogical Scale of the Sovereigns of England* (Simpkin), is a very curious work and must have cost him an immense amount of labour. We believe he is quite within the mark when he says 'it treads no beaten path, and competes with, and takes the place of, no other work.' Genealogists, we should imagine will find much in it that is quite to their minds. It is not a large book, but any one, we will venture to say, might find in it an immense amount of information and amusement ; and if so disposed, he might find in it an inexhaustible store of puzzles with which to amuse or perplex his friends. That Mr. Hatherly is thoroughly master of his subject there can be no doubt. By his various tables he shows at a glance the relation in which the Queen, or any of her royal predecessors up to William I., stand to each other.

Dr. R. W. Dale's *Impressions of Australia* (Hodder and Stoughton), is a narrative of his recent visit to the Australian Colonies, and a record of the opinions he formed respecting the things he saw. In the course of his

travel Dr. Dale came in contact with all sorts and conditions of men, and therefore claims to have something to say in addition to what has already been said by Mr. Froude. Whether a rapid run through the country is sufficient to make either the one or the other an authority on the subject is a question on which there may be a difference of opinion. Dr. Dale, however, may be said to have done the best he could to inform himself, and here and there acknowledges that some of the ideas he went out with turned out to be erroneous. His book is pleasant reading to say the least of it. There is in it also a considerable amount of information, and as need hardly be said, the impressions of its writer are clearly and forcibly put.

In *Lectures on Literature* (Gardner), Mr. M'Cormick has printed three lectures presumably delivered by him as Lecturer on English Literature at Queen Margaret College. The first deals with English Literature and University Education. Here Mr. M'Cormick sets himself to refute the opinions lately expressed by Mr. Freeman on the teaching of English Literature at the Universities. We doubt, however, whether the two are far apart. Mr. Freeman seems to mean one thing by 'literature' and Mr. M'Cormick another. The remaining lectures are on Wordsworth and Browning, the first especially is worth reading.

Magazine readers will be glad to obtain another instalment of Mr. Aubrey de Vere's *Essays* (Macmillan). The pieces contained in the present volume, as the title indicates, are chiefly literary and ethical. One or two of them may be said to be political; as, e.g., those on Proportionate Representation, a Policy for Ireland, and Church Property and Secularisation. The last was written with reference to Ireland and is here reproduced as containing principles which are still applicable and because they deserve to be studied in the present when so much is being said and conjectured in respect to the disestablishment and disendowment of the churches of England and Wales and Scotland. The literary papers deal with Literature in its social aspects the poems of the late Archbishop Trench and those of Sir S. Ferguson. Among the ethical papers there is one on Modern Unbelief. A paper which the author read at a meeting of the Wordsworth Society on the personal character of Wordsworth's poetry forms the conclusion to a very thoughtful and admirably written volume attractive because of its matter as well as on account of its style.

Either from want of health or from the want of time, Mr. Darwin was unable to prepare an edition of his celebrated *Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs* (Smith, Elder), after that of 1874. Since then, however, important researches have been made in connection with the subject, and much has been written about it, not always in favour of the theory originated by Mr. Darwin and long accepted by many as incontrovertible. In the present handsome reprint of the work no attempt has been made to rewrite it. The text of 1874 is given, and in order to supplement, or where necessary correct, it, Professor T. G. Bonney has added a number of foot-notes, valuable as a rule not only as additions to, or as corrections of, the text, but also for the references they contain. Furthermore, at the end of the volume he has added an Appendix of over fifty pages containing a careful summary of the more important arguments which have appeared both for and against the theory propounded in the volume, since 1874. In Prof. Bonney's opinion the validity of that theory remains unimpaired.

Miss Davenport-Hill's *Children of the State* (Macmillan) has been revised and enlarged by Miss Fanny Fowke. The revision, in consequence of recent changes, has been somewhat extensive, and comparatively little of

the original work remains. The central idea is of course the same, and the work is still a strong plea for the boarding out of pauper children. Many new facts and arguments are added, and the progress which the scheme advocated by Miss Davenport-Hill has made since the appearance of the first edition is carefully traced.

From Messrs. Macmillan & Co. we have received Part III. of Green's *Short History of the English People*, with its full complement of maps, tables, and analyses. This part contains Chapters VII.-IX., on the Reformation, Puritan England, and the Revolution. On the handiness of this mode of publication we have had occasion to remark before. Here we need only add that in making the Analyses, Dr. Tait has shown the same accuracy and skill as in the preceding divisions.

A second edition of Professor S. S. Laurie's excellent little work *Metaphysica nova et vetusta* (Williams & Norgate) has been already called for, and its author has endeavoured in this edition to be somewhat more explicit on some points which he treated in the earlier edition with a brevity and conciseness which seem to have so strained the attention of certain readers as to make them complain. His additions, however, do not unduly swell the bulk of the volume, and are, we think, improvements.

In *The Elements of Law, Natural and Politic*, by Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury (Simpkin), Dr. F. Tönnies has printed together Hobbes' Treatise on *Human Nature* and his *De Corpore Politico*. Both these treatises were originally published in 1650, and a second edition of the former was issued in the following year. Hobbes had no hand in their publication, and nothing was said in the Epistle Dedicatory of either of them to indicate that they were parts of one and the same work, except that the first part of the *De Corpore Politico* is said to depend upon a former treatise of *Human Nature*. By printing the two as one work Dr. Tönnies has restored them to their original unity, and to the form in which they appear in several MSS. For his text he has had recourse to no fewer than six manuscript copies, and has corrected many errors in previous editions. As for the purport of the treatise it is sufficient to say that it contains the earliest and shortest, yet at the same time a well matured, sketch of the ideas afterwards set forth in the *De Cive* and *Leviathan*.

Simultaneously with the work just mentioned Dr. Tönnies has issued a reprint of the same authors Dialogues entitled *Behemoth, or the Long Parliament* (Simpkin). Here he has taken his text from what he believes to be the original MS., and has both corrected that of former editions and included many passages which have hitherto been suppressed. Both works are well printed and are of interest to students of the history of philosophy.

Sir Francis Sandford's reprint of Mr. Matthew Arnold's *Report on Elementary Schools, 1852-1882* (Macmillan) will be heartily welcomed by those who knew the latter as an Inspector of Schools and by all who take an interest in the education of the young in the Elementary Schools. In educational matters Mr. Arnold was undoubtedly an expert, and during the later years of his life one of the highest authorities in the country. Here in his reports we have much of the same simplicity and beauty of style which one is acquainted with in his literary works, and not a little that is highly suggestive in connection with the educational history and requirements of the country. The points on which he touches are always important, and he always handles them in a way which few others could. Though dealing with the past few of his remarks can be said to be out of date. Take for instance those on the two systems of inspection in

his report for 1863. Here he points out what many who have witnessed inspections under the two systems can scarcely have failed to feel, viz., that under the old system the inspection was in the hands of an efficient Inspector a powerful stimulus to the intellectual life of the school, but that under the new system the old stimulus and the old interest are gone; the object of the Inspector being to fill up his closely-ruled schedule and of the children to pass, while the thoughts of the teacher are engrossed mainly with the amount of 'grant' he will obtain.

Mr. George Gissing's *The Nether World* (Smith, Elder), is unquestionably an elaborately planned and powerfully written story. We must own, however, that it is not altogether pleasant reading. The world it depicts is that of the alleys and slums of Clerkenwell. Two or three of the characters are lifted up above the rest, but otherwise it is from beginning to end a picture of human vice and misery. The characters we refer to are Sidney, Jane Snowdon and her grandfather. The rest are decidedly well drawn, but most of them are not attractive. Clem, whom Mr. Gissing has painted in the strongest colours, is not a lady in possession of a superfluity of affection or charms. A superfluity of naughtiness she certainly has, and it is to be hoped that few such beings exist. As a picture of what goes on in the nether world of Clerkenwell Mr. Gissing's book is probably a faithful picture. But as a work of art scarcely so much can be said about it. The book is hopeless and pessimistic in the extreme. What little moral goodness there is in it seems to fail entirely of its end. There is little or no encouragement in it to noble living. Still those who wish to know what passes in the nether world, without coming in contact with it, should read it. It may chance to arouse their compassion and incite them to play the part Michael Snowdon desired to play.

French Janet, 2 vols., by the author of *Citoyenne Jacqueline*, (Smith, Elder) is a ghost story, but a ghost story of a rare kind. The plot is remarkable for its simplicity and for the admirable manner in which it is unfolded. There is no straining after effect about it, and assuming that such things as ghosts did exist, the story is a skilful narrative, illustrating the effect which that strange, yet after all, according to some, natural, superstition once had. The characters are natural; Maisie is a fine creation. Her challenge of Pearl Jean, the supposed ghost, is the best scene in the book. Here and there are touches of humour, and altogether the work is deserving of praise, though it is scarcely a book to read at midnight in a lonely house.

Chronicles of Glenbuckie (Douglas) by Henry Johnston is a piece of delicate work, almost photographic in its minuteness of detail and realism. Galt's *Annals of a Parish* is at once suggested, but Mr. Johnston's work will more than bear comparison with it. As a picture of rural life in Scotland at the time of the Disruption, indeed, it will bear comparison with anything which has yet been written. We hope that Mr. Johnston has more *Chronicles* of the same kind to give. For serious history, however, it is doubtful whether he has any special turn. In the one or two passages in which he touches upon it, his prepossessions prevent him from seeing the other side.

Robbery under Arms by Rolf Bolderwood (Macmillan) is a story of life and adventure in the bush and in the gold-fields of Australia in the shape of an autobiography. There is abundance of life and adventure in it, chiefly of the kind indicated by the title. The narrator is supposed to be one of the worst cattle-stealers and desperadoes Australia has produced, and as may

readily be imagined, he has much to tell of stratagems and spoils and hair-breadth escapes. The volume presents a vivid picture of wild life in the bush, and of the efforts of men to set the laws of civilized society at defiance. Here and there are touches of a gentler life and excellent descriptive pieces. As a sample of Australian fiction the volume has a certain interest, but it can scarcely be regarded as a work of art.

In *Schwartz*, 2 vols. (Macmillan), Mr. Christie Murray has put together four clever stories. The literary workmanship of each of them is excellent. There is not much of a plot in any of them. The story which gives the title to the volume is a sort of psychological study, and in its way very clever. 'Mr. Barter's Repentance' may be commended for its brevity. There is almost sufficient in it to make out, with judicious padding, the orthodox three volumes. But all through, the hand of a genuine artist is present. The stories are none the less skilful because short.

Reuben Sachs (Macmillan), by Amy Levy, is a brief but vivid sketch of a London Jewish family and its kindred. Though a little slow in opening out, the final development of the story is full of interest. Judith Quixano, the heroine, is finely drawn. One cannot help commiserating her lot in becoming the wife of the weak and simpering Lee-Harrison. Reuben Sachs is sketched with a strong hand. His love for Judith, and his worldly ambition, supply the motives of the story, and are handled with great skill. The volume is worth reading also as a sketch of the inner life of the Jewish society of the present day.

Among other books we have also to acknowledge our receipt of the following:—*The Redemption of Man: Discussion bearing on the Atonement*, by D. W. Simon, Ph.D. (T. & T. Clark); *The Way: the Nature and Means of Revelation*, by John F. Weir, M.A., N.A. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.); *What is Truth?* by the Duke of Argyll (Douglas, Edinburgh); *Gifts for Ministry*, by B. F. Westcott (Macmillan); *The Missionary Year Book, 1889*, (Religious Tract Society); *Romantic Ballads and Poems of Phantasy*, second edition, by W. Sharp (Walter Scott); *The Future of the Empire*, by A. Gordon (Simpkin); *Short Biographies*, (Religious Tract Society); *Half-a-Century of Australasian Progress*, by William Westgarth (Sampson, Low); *Letters, Poems, and Selected Prose Writings of David Gray*, (Courier Company, Buffalo); *The Ion of Euripides*, by H. B. L. (Williams & Norgate); *Christianity and Science*, by the Rev. T. Prescott (Williams & Norgate).



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ART. I.—THE SCOTCH FARM-LABOURER.

MORE than a century ago a great literary man who, though himself no statesman, was nevertheless exceedingly familiar with the details of rural life in his own native part of the kingdom, spoke of a bold peasantry as the pride of their country, and declared the nation to fare ill in which, while wealth accumulated, men decayed. This testimony was at once true in substance and forcible in form.

Now, with regard to the peasantry of those portions of Scotland which are affected by the Crofters' Act of 1886 and the Crofters' Holdings Act of 1887 (that is to say, a very large part of the Northern and Western Highlands), it is absolutely incontrovertible that, in many of the districts comprehended within that area, and at frequent periods, the peasantry who constituted a portion of the pride of Scotland decayed in alarming proportions, and in a manner as disastrous to the country's interests as it was fraught with immediate evil consequences to the peasantry themselves. The case of the Highland Crofter has, however, occupied the attention of Parliament and of the nation for a long period, and the English people have become more or less familiarized with the nature of the Crofters' surroundings, and of the dreary lot which is his portion on such part of the barren and rugged soil of his native land as he has succeeded in recovering from the mountainous wilds; so that

there is little necessity for any further accounts of his character, the conditions of his toil, or the hardships incidental to his tenure of the land. Besides, the subject bristles with political and social difficulties with which I have neither the ability nor the wish to deal. I simply desire to give a plain, unvarnished, and trustworthy account of a particular class of the Scotch peasantry, viz., the ordinary farm-labourers, and of that class within a definite area; an area specially restricted to the counties of Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen. I believe that there is a question wider and more significant than even the crofters' question; the question of the social, moral, and political condition of the Scotch peasantry as a whole, but more especially that numerous and important portion of them which is composed of the wage-receiving agricultural population. I propose to describe the farm-labourers as I have seen them while living amongst them, in the hope of making a humble contribution towards a knowledge of their real character, habits, and surroundings.

I shall suppose, then, that the main illustration is drawn from a certain parish with a population of some fifteen thousand souls, a district so peculiarly and literally rural as to boast within its confines but one solitary village or hamlet. The general scenery of this north country parish will require no elaborate description, because such delineation would be rendered unreal, if amplified to any appreciable extent, inasmuch as the said parish, like most of its neighbours, is bald in outline, unromantic in character, and fertile only in soil so far as the productiveness of the land is a result of agricultural patience and skill. Though it is to some extent both hilly and wooded, yet, in the main, it presents a very marked contrast to most of those magnificent highlands and islands which are the homes of the crofter peasantry. The parish is, however, in highly important respects, typical. For instance, every variety of soil and of agricultural holding is to be found within it; on the one hand from the wet, peaty, unfertile bog, to the rich, fat, amply manured, and diligently cultivated field; and on the other from the miserable, paltry, shieling, with its two or three tiny, sombre pastures, to the imposing farmhouse, in the centre of hundreds of broad and carefully tilled acres. Many of the smaller crofters are themselves agricultural labourers on the

large farms; and connected with such holdings will be found also, as a rule, the best and most competent class of the rural labourers.

The parish in question extends for some fifteen miles in length, by ten in breadth, and its soil is the property of several land-owners, the most wealthy of whom is a well-known peer, and the least important, the possessor in his own right of a little strip of land limited to the extent of thirteen acres. The countryside is not altogether devoid of the beauties of natural scenery. Here and there lovely dells intervene, which even a Burns could not despise, but in the main its appearance discloses agricultural enterprize as distinguished from romantic picture. But it is well stocked with farm-labourers, men whose character and habits it is my chief purpose to describe.

In doing so it will be right to begin at the beginning; in other words, to give some account of the pedigree and the education of these sons of the soil. The youngster whose lot it is to be trained to the hardy life of a farm-labourer is generally the offspring of parents who have been, or are themselves farm-labourers. Frequently, however, the children of the smaller crofters, and occasionally even those of the less important farmers, are compelled to go into service and earn such livelihood as the scanty acres cultivated by their fathers are incapable of securing for them. In nearly every case they are nurtured in penury, and inured from their infancy to the sternest hardships. The farm-labourer's cottage is, in some instances, well built, and its roof rendered proof against the howling wind and the wintry tempest, but in others it is little better than a mere hovel. The stiff breezes have played sad havoc with its covering of thatch, so that when the heavy rain comes down, or the whirling hail beats against it, the storm is felt all too literally within the walls of the cheerless habitation. To escape from such a dwelling to the cosyneſs of the well-warmed schoolroom is a real boon and relief to the family of the farm-labourer. In nearly every parish within the counties with which I am more particularly dealing, there is now ample accommodation provided for all the young folks who are supposed to attend the country school. The Boards have adequately discharged their duties since they came into existence

some years ago, and if they have erred at all, it has been on the side of lavish, as opposed to niggardly expenditure. Before the days of Lord Young's Act, however, there was a very different state of things in the parochial schools. Some of the buildings were good, but many were rickety, and within the latter, as in the huts of the agricultural labourers, the winds of heaven made themselves felt; on the floor in the morning there was an occasional snow-wreath; and the gentle patter of the rain formed a frequent accompaniment to the sound of the drawling voices of the north country pupils. Yet, as I have said, the schoolroom was a cosy place in winter. A huge fire roared in the chimney, the fuel at times consisting of coal carted from the nearest town, but more usually of the homely peat, or a great bundle of logs obtained surreptitiously from a neighbouring wood. When it is stated that the master of this establishment was accustomed to take things easy, often indeed preferring to read his newspaper by the hour rather than drill the mysteries of reading, writing, and 'rithmetic into the somewhat thick craniums of his youthful scholars, and that a nap, induced no doubt by the stuffy atmosphere of the heated room, was of almost daily occurrence, it will readily be understood that the thinly-clad and under-fed child of the farm-labourer regarded the parish school as by no means such an uninviting place as it might otherwise have appeared by reason of the dreary rudiments which were communicated within it. In the teaching which is given in the Public Schools, as they are now called, the School Board and the Government Inspector have between them wrought wonders, so that what has been lost of old-world attractiveness alike in the buildings, the teacher, and his method, is more than compensated for by the discipline which is maintained and the improved education which is communicated by the schoolmasters. Prior to the School Board régime, many of the parochial schools received both male and female pupils, and the little community constituted a sort of rural democracy. On the same bench there sat not infrequently the small land-owner's son and the child of the parish pauper. When the master was on the scene he governed as an absolute monarch, but when the pedagogue's dreaded frown was withdrawn, it became a question of the rule of the strongest, if

not of the fittest. The somewhat slender refinement of the better sort of scholars was, I am afraid, too often neutralized and rendered inoperative by the rugged semi-barbarity of the rougher and more uncouth members of this rising democracy. Yet, on the whole, a kindly spirit was developed; a spirit which was carried to a marked extent into adult life, for at school the future masters and the future servants had come to know, and, without at all infringing upon their proper mutual spheres, to understand and respect one another.

In the schoolroom the boys were placed at one end and the girls at the other, the interior of the building being bisected by a passage, extending from the main doorway to the fire-place. I speak now of some years ago, the sexes having been duly separated by the reforming School Board, and attached in numerous instances, to rival establishments erected at considerable distances from each other within the same parish.

The adult farm-labourers of the present day are the product of the old state of things. It may be thought a paradox but nevertheless it is perfectly true, that they are one and all absolutely illiterate, and yet none are without a smattering of education. They are able to read and to write; they have been drilled by the schoolmaster to a certain extent in grammar, geography, and history; some have even been indoctrinated in the rudiments of Latin; but the bucolic influences to which these agricultural labourers have been subjected since leaving school, have driven from their memories the greater portion of their slender education. Untouched by the spirit which is at work in the urban centres, social, political, or religious questions have for them no interest, and the sole remaining part of the primary culture which was instilled into their minds by the loquacious pedagogue is this simple ability to read and write. In their own way they discharge the simple duties of life, but to nearly everything that is beyond the scope of primitive natural affection they are blind and callous. The rising generation are now sent to school in obedience to the requirements of the Education Code, at the latest, at the age of five; but, in the olden times many of the children of the agricultural toilers did not appear in the schoolroom till the ages of seven, eight, or nine. They were, in addi-

tion, most irregular in their attendances, and the cases of young men and young women of sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen who were unable to read a difficult sentence, to write legibly, or to spell with any degree of accuracy, were numerous, and as a consequence, there were always—especially in the winter time—several big, burly young men, and stalwart young women to be found in attendance at the country schools. The help of such persons was of course in great demand, during the summer and autumn, for turnip hoeing, peat cutting, harvesting, potatoe ingathering, and such like, and the hard pressed struggling parents were compelled to send their sons and daughters into service, in order to eke out the means of a scanty livelihood. When, however, the bitter winter set in, with its cold, and frost, and snow, there was less need for the assistance of such persons on the various farms, and as a consequence the young men and women (the former in greater numbers) returned to their fathers' houses and renewed their attendance at the parochial school. I can recollect one such establishment where even bearded men were to be seen puzzling their brains through the dreary winter time in improving their acquaintance with reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and geography. At such periods, as many as seventy pupils were crammed into a room capable of seating comfortably less than forty, and it required considerable tact and firmness on the part of the schoolmaster to maintain order in such a heterogeneous community, yet the respect in which the rural dominie was held, was generally so great that his rule was acquiesced in with remarkable submissiveness. Shakespeare speaks of the divinity which hedges a king, but the divinity, or certain allied qualities, which seemed to surround the unpretentious parochial teacher, secured an amount of humble obedience to his dicta, which only those can really understand who have been fellow scholars with these great burly sons of the soil. Occasionally the turbulent revolutionary spirit did manifest itself, and then, indeed, there was huge astonishment, and much fear and quaking, in the hearts of the younger generation. When rotten eggs were shied at the roof of the schoolroom; when insolent ejaculations were shouted to the schoolmaster over his garden fence; when two or three youthful giants threatened to thrash the dominie with his

own ferule, and—but for the divinity which hedged him—would assuredly have done it; when such things occurred there was not only a shock within the little building where the pedagogue ruled, but a sort of electric thrill of horror pulsed through the whole country side. In such squabbles the autocrat was almost invariably in the right, and it is to the credit of the rural folk that they, with scarcely an exception, vindicated his conduct and supported him in the discharge of his disagreeable duty. The injunction of one of old is, 'Let patience have her perfect work,' and the schoolmaster was compelled in the exercise of his functions as general instructor, to exemplify the Apostolic command. It was very trying to flesh and blood to lose a promising pupil when the spring set in and to have to take him in hand afresh at the end of the year. The dreary round, the common task, had all to be undertaken again, with what cheerfulness the teacher might be able to assume in such cheerless circumstances.

In most of the country towns in the north of Scotland there are certain days known as 'fein' Friday,' 'hairst Monday,' and such like. In the little urban centre adjoining the parish of which I have been more especially speaking, there were three great hiring markets for farm-labourers in the course of the year. These were the 'fein' Friday,' immediately before Whitsuntide; 'hairst Monday,' occurring about four weeks before the anticipated commencement of the local harvest; and 'fein' Friday' again, the week before Martinmas. Thither flocked all the male and female farm-labourers who were desirous of obtaining fresh engagements, and by ten or eleven o'clock a huge concourse of people anxious to be feed, and a very large number of employers in need of hands for the farm work during the coming season, had assembled in the town's square and in the main adjoining thoroughfares. I am speaking of these markets in the past tense, but they are not bygone institutions alone, inasmuch as they still enjoy a vigorous existence. The men generally take their stand in the street, or along the square, in little companies of twos and threes; the women in similar dispositions; and in the vast assemblage there may be observed not a few fathers keeping watchful eyes on the movements of certain awkward youths whose services they are eager to dispose of for the next six months—or for the

period of harvest, as the case may be; several mothers, likewise, with strong red-cheeked girls bent on obtaining a similar market; but one and all noisy, hearty, laughter-loving beings; rude of manner, and ruder still of speech; quarrelsome to a degree; yet on the whole brimming over with the milk of human kindness. Hiring and feeing are, however, serious matters, and it is not until this, the chief business of the day, is over, that the mirth and fun grow fast and furious. The negotiations are conducted on both sides with a very cunningly assumed nonchalance. As a specimen, the following dialogue may be transcribed:—

Farmer: 'Are ye for feein', chield?' Labourer: 'Maybe I am, an' maybe no.' Farmer: 'It's a braw day.' Labourer: 'It's nae ill at a'.' Farmer: 'There's three pair (of horse) on oor place.' Labourer: 'I ken that.' Farmer: 'My folk generly bide three or fower terms wi' me.' Labourer: 'I've been sax at the "Tanzie."' Farmer (scratching his head): 'We'll nae 'gree, I'm thinkin'.' Labourer: 'It's gae like.' Farmer: 'An' hoo muckle wages may ye be askin'?' Labourer: 'Ou, jest the ord'nar run; I'm nae partikler.' Farmer: 'Are ye guid at the pleuch?' Labourer: 'I've had fower prizes, if that's a test o' skael.' Farmer: 'Ye'll nae suit me, I'm thinkin'.' Labourer (who is conscious of his importance): 'Like eneuch.' Farmer: 'Weel, man, what's yer fee?' Labourer: 'Aye, but what for, ye ken?.' Farmer: 'Ou jest second horseman.' Labourer: 'Aucht poun' ten; nae a farthin' less.' Farmer: 'Ah! I thocht we widna' 'gree.' Labourer (edging off): 'Vera weel, vera weel.' Farmer: 'Bide a wee, man; ye ken hoo to crack yersel', nae doot; yet I'll say aucht poun'; will ye hae it?' Labourer: 'I canna decide; fat arles d'ye gie?' Farmer: 'Deil a penny mair than a shillin'.' Labourer: 'Ower little! I wus' ye guid day.' Farmer: 'Bide a wee; I'll say the half-crown.' Labourer (after meditating for a few seconds): 'Gie's the siller.' Farmer: 'Here it is; mind ye come the second day after the term.' Labourer: 'A' richt.' And so the engagement is made.

In order to appreciate the meaning of the foregoing conversation, it is necessary to understand that the farmer and the labourer are very well acquainted with each other's characters, and in all probability had each mentally decided to enter into

relationships one with the other, and both therefore had a shrewd idea as to what the issue of the negotiations would be. The farmers, of course, prefer to engage those men of whose capabilities they are previously cognizant, and the ploughmen and other hands naturally choose to be feed by persons of whose good treatment of their servants they are pretty fully aware. It is always customary to give and receive a certain small sum by way of 'earnest' or 'arles,' and indeed the taking of such a payment is equivalent in its way to accepting the Queen's shilling from the recruiting sergeant.

When the main business of the day is over, the period of saturnalia sets in with a vengeance. All over the Market Square there are numerous ricketty stalls groaning under the weight of huge quantities of treacle candy, lozenges, and miscellaneous sweets made of the vilest compounds, and in the purchase of such (for the farm-labourer, whether male or female, is a very sweet-mouthed animal) the whole of the 'arles' speedily disappears, and a considerable portion of the hardly-earned half-year's wage to boot. The booth of the itinerant showman who exhibits the marvel of marvels in the form of a headless trunk, or a human head detached from the body, is also crammed with gaping spectators, whose feelings find vent in such expressions as 'Saw ye ever onything like it,' or, 'Weel, noo, wha wad hae thocht it,' or such like. The young lads and the women imbibe unlimited quantities of lemonade and similar non-intoxicants; the men prefer a more potent liquor, and betake themselves to the public-house, where they sit over their glasses of whiskey—'critur,' as they prefer to call it. By and bye the centre of the little town becomes a scene of the wildest uproar. Drunken men rush hither and thither; dames shriek and children scream; quarrels are rife; stalls are crushed in the general hubbub; the clamour of a babel of voices is carried on the breeze all over the town; and it is only the fall of evening that puts an end to the rustic revelry, merriment, and din. It is a somewhat delicate subject upon which to touch, but any description of 'fein' Friday' and its concomitants which failed to include an allusion to the notorious immorality which usually attends it, would be lamentably incomplete. At the same time it will be enough to

say, that while the county of Banff especially has an unenviable notoriety on account of the foremost place which it occupies in respect of its statistics of illegitimacy, one cannot err in tracing a large percentage of such cases, directly and indirectly, to the debasing orgies of the feeing market.

The farm-labourer, as already stated, is engaged for periods of six months, either from Whitsuntide to Martinmas or Martinmas to Whitsuntide. The wages are very fluctuating, lads getting from £2 to £5 per half-year, women £2 to £6, and men from £5 to £10 or £12, with, of course, food and lodging in each case. At twelve o'clock on the term-day the farm-labourer is a free man, and he then generally takes two or three days' rest before entering upon his new situation. His movables can easily be packed into a large canvas bag or stowed away in a lumbering chest, and a man or woman has never any difficulty in obtaining a comrade's assistance in the task of transporting from one farm to another, or to the Railway Station, the said ungainly chest. Attached to some of the smaller farms there are only two male labourers, a man and a lad, with one female servant; on a few, and these the most important, establishments, as many as a dozen male and half-a-dozen female workers will be found; but in the larger number of holdings the staff of labourers consists of three men, two women, and a lad of from thirteen to eighteen years of age.

The hours of the agricultural labourer in Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen, are lengthy, far more so than those of the mechanic who plies his handicraft or his trade in the country town. The latter is engaged for a maximum of ten hours per diem, but the poor farm-servant toils and moils in all weathers, thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen, out of the twenty-four, hours. At half-past five in the morning, both in the cheerful bright period of summer, and the dark, chilly, and sleety days of the boisterous Highland winter, the foreman leaves his bed, rouses his fellow-servants in the rude dormitory, and then walks across the farm-yard to call the maid-servants, this being a part of the duty which he is expected to discharge. If the time of year be winter, he then with the other ploughmen proceeds to groom the horses, provide them with their morning provender, and subsequently to clean out the stables. Ere this is done the maid-servants will have lit the

kitchen fire, made the porridge, and spread the table for breakfast. The table, need it be said, is guiltless of any damask covering, presenting only the appearance of a long, clean, shining, board, alongside of which are placed two unbacked forms, serving in lieu of chairs for the accommodation of the farm-labourers. On the table may be seen two huge basins filled to the brim with oatmeal porridge, each of these dishes being flanked with a large trencher, bearing an enormous quantity of oat cakes. For every expected participator in the rude but homely meal a bowl either of stone or wood is ranged along the edge of the table, well filled with good fresh skimmed milk, and on the dresser not far off there is a copious supply of the same liquid kept in reserve in a big tin can. At six o'clock, or fifteen minutes later, the farm-labourers make their appearance from the stables and the byres, take their seats around the wholesome porridge, and without any ceremony whatsoever attack the victuals with might and main. Half-a-dozen tin or horn spoons are not infrequently thrust simultaneously into the porridge bicker; but the pangs of appetite drown any squeamish feelings of nicety which might otherwise arise, and generally within the space of ten minutes the capacious basin is emptied. The feast, however, is not yet ended, inasmuch as the bowls receive a fresh addition of milk, the oatmeal cakes are set upon, and a considerable time elapses ere the meal is completed. Breakfast over, the male labourers return to the stable, the barn, or the byre, where sundry additional duties have to be discharged, pending the dawn of the winter's morning. As soon as the daylight has fairly set in, the persons whose labour lies in some portion of the outlying farm-land set out, grumbling probably, as is their wont, at the biting chill of the raw winter's day. Work goes on till the hour of eleven, but then a respite comes. By the time the various servants have trudged homewards, and the horses have been unharnessed and fed, it will be nearly twelve o'clock, the arrival of which hour is the signal for the mid-day meal. Punctual to the minute, the foreman and the rest of the workmen appear within the kitchen, and woe betide Jenny or Jessie or Maggie, if the food is not duly placed on the table for the famished toilers, to whom the keen air and hard work have given voracious appetites. With hands innocent

of any ablution they once more surround the table, and forthwith proceed to make havoc of the fare. The food is not of the savoury sort, but some atonement for inferiority of quality is rendered by the prodigious quantity which is displayed. Of what then do the viands consist? I cannot recollect that I have ever witnessed a farm-labourers' week-day dinner party—at any rate in bleak and barren Banffshire—of which one or other of the following dishes did not constitute the staple article of food. I refer to milk-broth, made of barley, milk, and a little cream; milk-porridge, compounded of oatmeal and milk; potato soup; plain boiled potatoes in their jackets, to be peeled with horny fingers, and eaten to an accompaniment of salt, mustard, and oat-cake; mashed potatoe, with an admixture of milk, salt, pepper, and onion, also to be eaten to the oat-cake accompaniment; one or other of these dishes, I say, with plenty of skimmed milk, and oatmeal bread *ad libitum* to follow, forms the chief meal of the Scotch farm-labourer in the district to which this paper chiefly refers. In the time of harvest, when the agricultural labourers dine in the field by the side of the newly erected 'stooks,' a copious supply of home-brewed ale is allowed to the various hands, and the beverage comes as a welcome change from the everlasting milk. Butter, eggs and cheese, are produced on Sundays alone; and it is then and then only that butcher's meat is served in the farm-servants' kitchen. A bit of beef, or a piece of mutton is all too like an angel's visit; when it does appear, its presence constitutes an event, as does also the production of a barn-door fowl or a piece of pork. Not infrequently the mutton broth alone reaches the kitchen board while the savoury shoulder or the ample leg is retained to grace the parlour table for the benefit of the master and mistress. In a similar manner good kail-broth, a compound apparently akin to that decoction in which the shoulder or the leg of mutton has been boiled, but in reality brewed from a huge shin or sirloin of beef obtained by the good wife from the butcher's shop in the nearest market town as a veritable rarity for the unsophisticated palates of the rustic labourers, sometimes appears. But such an event is reserved for the 'Sawbath' only; if the poor drudge who enters the low roofed, soot-bespattered kitchen, for his mid-day

meal, were to see such a thing as a good dish of kail broth, a joint of beef, or even a gammon of boiled bacon on the shining board, he would be no less surprised than if he had come in contact with the veriest cataclysm in nature. And yet, perchance—especially if the vegetarians be right in their doctrine—the North country farm labourer is just as fortunate as his brother worker in the sunnier south of England, whose noonday or evening meal is eked out by huge quantities of oily, fat, unwholesome bacon or ham. At the same time I fear that this beef-worshipping, mutton-loving, pork-eating, ham-devouring community, will be too ready to compassionate the Highland farm-servant whose staple articles of food consist of porridge, potatoes, milk, and oat-meal bread. Dinner is over by half-past twelve, and then the men servants leave the table and proceed to one or other of the farm-buildings, where they usually squat on a heap of soft straw until one o'clock, which is the appointed period for the resumption of their arduous labours. Precisely to the hour the foreman gives the signal for renewal of work, which goes on till six o'clock, unless the period of the year be the depth of winter, when the shortness of the day curtails the hours of labour, at least for those whose work is out of doors.

At 6.15, or 6.30 at the latest, supper is on the table, and the jaded farm-labourers are again served with some vegetarian article of diet. But in the summer season, when the fish-wife comes up from the neighbouring seaport with her creel, or the local 'cadger' goes round amongst the farms with his pony and cart, and manages to cajole the 'gudewife' into purchasing a suitable supply for the farm-servants' board, as well as a portion for the parlour table, the empty stomachs of the tired labourers are regaled with what is to them, men and women alike, a great dainty, viz., good fresh herrings probably caught in the Moray Frith in the hours of the previous night. Supper fitly closes the serious business of the day, but still there remains something to be done. For the women there is work in the kitchen; and by and bye the cows have to be milked, a task which almost invariably falls to the female servants. The men sit around the kitchen fire and smoke their pipes, making the most of their brief respite from a round of arduous toil. Occasionally a greasy

pack of cards is brought forth, and a hotly contested game of 'three card loo' or 'catch the ten' is entered upon; at other times the draught board (*Scotticé*, dam-brod) is produced as a means of enlivenment, when many games are played between the younger men, the stake being—of course for fun's sake—the possession of some well-known rustic beauty. In summer time, when the evenings are long, the men and lads wander aimlessly about the farmyard, loll around the stable door, lie upon a heap of straw, or betake themselves to a neighbouring farmstead for a chat with their country-chums. Out-door sports are almost unknown, and as a matter of fact the hard-worked fellows are too much worn out with their daily labours to be anxious to join in any recreation entailing much exertion of muscle or limb. It is only upon a rare, a very rare occasion, that a brief spell at cricket is attempted; quoits are now and again taken up; but the sole really popular form of amusement is that which is furnished through the medium of a fellow-labourer who can handle the fiddlebow or the concertina, and discourse the sweet but simple music of the national airs of Scotland. It is only when there is a chance of a good rousing rustic dance that the farm-labourer awakes from his lethargy, and foots it with might and main. A local ball is a great event; but, in such parishes as it still flourishes, the raffle, as it is called, very suitably takes the place of this gathering. This institution has now, however, nearly died out; yet in its pristine days it was the occasion of much jollity and mirth to the agricultural toilers. The raffle was generally got up for the benefit of some poor but deserving person residing within the limits of the parish boundaries. A varied selection of appropriate articles was—or *is*, shall I say?—purchased at the nearest country town, in view of the approaching raffle; such commodities generally consisting of small packets of tobacco, sweets, tea, or embroidery to tickle the fancy of the girls, with a choice of apples, pears, oranges, or whiskey. A douce, sensible man is appointed to preside at a little table, around which the miscellaneous display of good things is placed. A little tin jug occupies the centre of the unpretentious board, and within it the dice are inserted in due preparation for the first 'throw.' The individual stake is one penny; the combined total amounts only

to three or four pence; and the winner has a choice of the various articles for which the raffle takes place. The raffle is held in the barn of some small farmer or humble crofter, and if an open loft exists in the building, it is sure to be occupied by the fiddlers, of whom at least two will be in evidence, and whose duties are neither light, nor their services unappreciated. Dance follows dance, and tune follows tune, until the rafters of the old barn ring again. But, as already hinted, these re-unions are mostly things of the past. Pulpit denunciations and whisperings of illegality have, generally speaking, effectually killed them; though it must be told, in honour of bygone associations, that they have not absolutely died out. They were the innocent opportunities of much genuine mirth and jollity; the old-world glamour was around them; but, on the other hand, it must be owned there was a dark record attached to them,—a tale of the baldest immorality and vice. Yet the raffle *per se* was blameless, and one may freely pass it by with a *pax vobiscum!*

The blacksmith's 'smiddy' is a noted rendezvous of the farm-labourers on a cold winter's evening. When supper is over, the ploughman sets out for the blacksmith's shop, with his 'sock' and his 'cou'ter,' both of which require to be replenished and re-sharpened, and by the hour of 7.30 or 8 o'clock, in that dingy but withal comfortable shelter, there may be seen a large, noisy, voluble throng of country yokels, retailing to one another the latest gossip which circulates through the parish, or discussing with much heat and rude force of epithet the relative merits of leading adepts in the various details of farm work. But harmless gossip occasionally gives place to outrageous scandal, and then, if the blacksmith chance to be a sober, sedate fellow, it requires no little tact on his part to conciliate the assembly, and at the same time maintain his principles and allay the uneasy twinges of his offended conscience. One such son of Vulcan I can well remember. He was a noted man in his craft, but in addition to superb skill with the hammer, was a powerful lay-preacher and leading elder to boot. This good man, however, by the exercise of a discretion which did him the highest honour, succeeded in the most admirable manner and degree in reconciling the decorum of his position as a pillar of orthodoxy, with the *bonhomie* and

tolerance characteristic of the master of ceremonies in a country smiddy. It was not so much by any verbal expression as by an unmistakable change of manner and action, that this worthy man invariably succeeded in putting a restraint upon the free speech and rough behaviour of the uncultured rustics who thronged his smiddy, some of them perched around the flaming forge smoking their well-seasoned 'cutties,' others reclined on the wooden benches, and the remainder, perchance, fain to rest their jaded limbs on the earthen floor. The smith's name was Sandy Ferguson, and the ploughmen would say, 'Sandy's a queer chield in his opingins; he gangs a wee bit ower far, ye ken; but deil be in us, if we can put a spoke in his wheel, try fat we can.'

The North country farm-labourer is a personage *sui generis* in many respects, but in none more so than in the matter of clothing. In his gait he is decidedly akin to the agricultural toiler all the world over. His movements are ungainly, and his whole manner slouching and slovenly. In outward garb, however, he differs very much from the farm-labourer in the south of England. The hideous smock is unknown in Moray, Banff, or Aberdeen; at any rate in the form and the dimensions which characterize it in the sunnier south. In the northern counties, when it makes its appearance, it is a smart tight-fitting article of dress, known as a 'slope,' and constituting a sort of cross between a sleeved waistcoat and an ordinary jacket, only made of white or striped unbleached linen. The trousers are usually of moleskin or corduroy, and, if the slope is absent, a velvet waistcoat, of inferior but well-wearing quality, with moleskin or cotton sleeves, is worn in lieu of a jacket and less substantial vest. Such is the ordinary work-a-day garb, both in summer and in winter, of the farm-labourer; with the addition of a good Scotch bonnet for the head, graced by preference with a large scarlet tassel; and failing the bonnet, a rough straw hat or ordinary peaked cap. There is nothing particularly noticeable in the dress of the female servants, except that the taste for finery and the latest fashions, be they ever so ridiculous, has thoroughly taken possession of their minds. At the term time they are the very best customers at the different drapers' shops in the market town, where they almost invariably deal for cash,

distinguished in this respect from their sturdier brothers, most of whom have running accounts with the local tailors, whose misfortune it is in this manner to contract a multitude of bad debts. For the losses entailed by this system of credit, however, they generally manage to recoup themselves by the exorbitant prices which they charge.

If the agricultural servants are poorly fed, they are certainly still more poorly housed. As a fair sample of the prevailing accommodation for the labourers in the Scotch North-eastern counties the following may be taken as characteristic. On a farm which I shall here call by the name of Bankhead, the servants' quarters may be seen in close proximity to the cow byre,—indeed it divides with that compartment the entire honour of a separate building. If you do not know your whereabouts, you are exceedingly likely to step in amongst the cows, when in search of human beings, and *vice versa*. The roof of the tenement is covered with thatch, which has a woful appearance of dilapidation. On entering the portion set apart for the farm-labourers the first thing that strikes the eye is a large square wooden trunk, known as the 'meal-girnel,' and the use of which is probably indicated with sufficient perspicuity by that word. In a corner of the room to the left, a large collection of picks, spades, and other agricultural tools is placed, as if this were the only available space for such implements in the whole establishment. Directly opposite the door is a little window, twenty-four inches by eighteen, the aperture for the admission of light, save and except a random chink which may chance to show itself in the roof. In the window ledge a cracked looking-glass, the only one in the room, reclines at the oddest of angles; and near it a seldom used and somewhat toothless comb stands ready for service. The only furniture in this damp and cheerless den consists of three big chests, the property of the farm-labourers, and a couple of wooden bedsteads, over which the coarsest of coverlets are placed. When it is added that the floor is so uneven as to constitute a veritable Scylla and Charybdis; that the walls present a solid front of stone and mortar; that to the rafters are attached such articles as horses' collars, saddles, and bridles; a rough but fairly complete idea of the

interior will have been obtained. In winter nights the cold is intense; the snow is sometimes blown through the chinks of the ill-fitting doorway and cast up as a tiny snow-wreath on the uneven floor. In bed the labourers shiver under their scanty covering, until perchance they get up, proceed to the barn, and, fetching from thence a quantity of canvas sacks pile them upon their beds as a protection from the icy chill. This is a true and accurate picture. The house-accommodation of the married men has already been referred to, and further description of it is here unnecessary.

And now as to the last and most important point with which I propose to deal, the problem presented by the intellectual and moral condition of the farm-labourers. Whatever may be lacking to them (and indeed there is much, very much lacking) there is certainly not the original want of a primary education. Had their early training found proper means of maintenance, it would have been in many respects adequate. But the state of intellectual lethargy to which the agricultural toiler speedily succumbs after quitting school is deplorable in the extreme. By and bye the greater portion of his knowledge is lost, and he rises in the morning and lies down at night with neither the desire nor the ability to take any interest in matters which concern his higher welfare; untroubled about religion, or politics, or literature even in that most general of its forms, the circulating newspaper. To this widespread and comprehensive assertion there are no doubt here and there a few exceptions of men who do concern themselves with the means of self-improvement; who are influenced by religious feeling, or political sentiment; and who take in the local or county paper; but, as a class, the farm-labourers are such as I have just described them, and I know no parallel to their dense ignorance and consummate apathy except it be found amongst the individuals of their own class in many districts of rural England. A few years ago there was, indeed, a similar absence of intellectual concern amongst the trawlers of the North Sea, and the depth of ignorance and moral degradation was there more pronounced; but yet in the case of the Scotch farm-labourer there seems to me to exist a not dissimilar state of isolation from the great hopes and aspirations of humanity, and all

intelligent appreciation of the feelings which throb in the hearts, and the questions which agitate the minds, of the great British democracy in the urban centres. The schoolmaster has done his best, but circumstances have been against him; the parish ministers have, let it be supposed, done their duty, though candid criticism cannot but chronicle an immeasurable failure; the political agitator has been amongst them, but as yet with no beneficent result; and the outcome is—well, such a state of dogged ignorance as I have been endeavouring feebly to depict. As to morality, let the statistics of illegitimacy be duly pondered, and it will require little power of reflection or imagination to realize the condition of things which prevails even at the present hour. Every one who knows the moral tone which exists amongst these hard-worked men and women can but say with unfeigned sorrow that a higher sentiment as to the relation between the sexes exists in many savage and untutored communities than amongst this populous and to some extent educated section of the British democracy dwelling in the midst of nineteenth century civilization. What then is the remedy for this general sad state of things? First of all, be it said, there is no heroic remedy. The schoolmaster must toil and struggle, the minister of religion must wake up to the fact that old methods are in many respects effete; he must more and more make his influence as the moral teacher felt, he must be the apostle of the kindly social spirit; the political theorist or platform lecturer may go ahead, whether he be old-fashioned Tory or modern Liberal; the newspaper may push its claims with renewed persistence. If by any means the men—and women too—could be brought to interest themselves in instructive reading, if an institution could be called into existence which would do for the labourers something similar to that which has been done by Mechanics' Institutes for the town's handicraftsmen, a great step in advance would be taken. To my mind, however, the key to the problem is in the solidarity of interest between the farmer and the labourer. Any political theory from any quarter which would seek to dis sever the interests of these two would be fraught with baneful consequences. If the labourer is to be raised intellectually, socially, and morally, the farmer must be an important factor in the

problem. Community of interest ought therefore to be maintained and strengthened. Every available influence should be brought to bear upon the occupiers of both small and large holdings to induce them to take a more hearty and intelligent interest in their servants; to care for their physical and intellectual well-being; and to exercise that gentle stimulus which would effectually draw forth the hitherto latent mental energies of the great body of the workmen. I should not rest this plea upon grounds of sentiment only but upon that unity of interest which I strongly believe to subsist between the employer and the employed in this particular case.

Finally it is well to let the light in upon any unsatisfactory and unpleasant condition of affairs, and if nothing else has been done, I trust the purpose which I set myself, at the outset, of giving an unvarnished account of the North country farm-labourer has been fulfilled. I close in the simple words of the inspirer of Burns:—

‘ Peace to the husbandman and a’ his tribe,
 Whase care fells a’ our wants frae year to year ;
 Lang may his sock and cou’ter turn the glebe,
 And banks o’ corn bend down wi’ laded ear !
 May Scotia’s simmers aye look gay and green ;
 Her yellow hairsts frae scowry blasts decreed !
 May a’ her tenants sit fu’ snug and bien,
 Frae the hard grip o’ ails and poortith freed—
 And a lang lasting train o’ peacefu’ hours succeed !’

ALEXANDER GORDON.

ART. II.—BYZANTINE ECCLESIASTICAL MUSIC.

1. *Tserkovnoyea Payniyea v' Rossie.* Opyt Istoriko-Tekhnicheskavh Izlozheniyah. By the Rev. D. B. RAZOUMOFSKI. Moscow : T. Rees. 1867.
2. *Anthologia Græca Carminum Christianorum.* Adornaverunt W. CHRIST et M. PARANIKAS. Leipzig : B. G. Teubner. 1871.
3. ΜΕΓΟΔΙΚΗ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑ ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΗ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΗ πρὸς ἐκμάθησιν καὶ διὰδοσιν τοῦ γνησίου ἐξωτερικοῦ μέλους τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἑλληνικῆς Μουσικῆς κατ' ἀντιπαράθεσιν πρὸς τὴν Ἀραβοπερσικὴν. Συναρμολογηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ μουσ. Π. Γ. ΚΗΑΤΖΑΝΙΔΟΥ Προϋσταῆως. Ἄδεια τοῦ Ἀδτ. Ἐπιτομῆς τῆς Δημοσίας Ἐκπαιδευσεως ὑπ' ἀριθ. 24. (2 Ζυλχιδῆς 98. 14 Τσιρὶνι Ἐββὲλ 97.) Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Α. Κερουμηλά καὶ υἱοῦ. 1881.
4. *Conference sur la Modalité dans la Musique Grecque.* Par L. A. BOURGALT-DUCOUDRAY. Paris : Imprimerie Nationale. 1879.

IT is generally considered a sufficient answer, and an estoppel of all future enquiry, to inform those who wish to know something of the peculiarities of Eastern Music, sacred or profane, that not only is the system of tonality prevalent in the lands of the sun-rising widely divergent from that which now obtains in Europe, but also that it is impossible to represent the sounds of the Oriental scales by the modern Western notation.

There is a great deal of truth in this answer. Not only is the diatonic genus, although based on the same natural scale, very differently applied in the East to what it is in the West, but in addition there exists an entirely unknown ancient Oriental application of the chromatic genus, which, to most Western musicians, when thoroughly apprehended by them, appeals almost with the force of a new revelation.

So far, our ideal objector is perfectly right. The system of tonality in the East differs from that in the West. But when he urges the incapacity of our modern system of musical notation to represent the sounds of the Oriental scales, we may be pardoned for asking, previously to giving our assent or dissent, whether the words convey clearly the mind of the objector, or whether he does not assume in the distant unknown certain insoluble difficulties which notoriously beset his feet in the well-trodden paths

nearer home? In other words, is it not less the incapacity of our modern system of notation with its thirtyone notes within the compass of an octave, than the folly of attempting with our artificial pianoforte division of the octave into twelve notes only, to represent the various tones of the Oriental chromatic genus, which lies at the root of our ideal friend's objection?

Every pianoforte student knows that there is a great difference of treatment and effect between C-sharp and D-flat, and between D-sharp and E-flat, but that he is obliged to make two black keys do duty for those two pairs of notes. In like manner the other three black keys do duty for six notes, two notes to each key. He knows also that each white key has to do duty for three notes, as, e.g., C-doublesharp, D-natural, and E-doubleflat, which are produced by the white key known as D; and so with each of the other six white keys. This gives us ten notes from the five black keys, and twentyone notes from the seven white keys, a total of thirtyone notes within the compass of an octave, which thirtyone notes, we repeat, are represented on the pianoforte by twelve keys only. To the uninitiated observer it might seem as if the nineteen extra notes credited to the twelve pianoforte keys over and above their own proper sounds were purely imaginary. But the musical student is conscious of a still greater weakness than this. He knows that of the thirtyone notes in the octave, thirty, if not imaginary, are the result of compromise, leaving one only, that, whichever it be from which he starts his calculation, which can be assumed as perfect. If the pianoforte tuner, to make his small number of twelve notes in the octave at all accommodating to each other, has to resort to the division of a certain amount of surplus sharpness which remains after only twelve perfect fifths, which surplusage is styled 'the wolf': how largely increased must not that surplusage or 'wolf' be after thirtyone such perfect fifths have been calculated? This we will now endeavour to point out to the reader.

In the diatonic scale there are two varieties of each of the numeric intervals, minor and major. Thus, of the seconds there are two minor and five major; of the thirds there are four minor and three major; of the fourths there are six minor and one major; of the fifths there are one minor and six major; of the

sixths and sevenths there are the converse of the thirds and seconds.

The one instance of the minor fifth (B:F) is dissonant, and does not at present concern us.

But the major fifth, of which there are six instances, is consonant, and not only so, but, being unvarying, is styled perfect; in this respect differing from the thirds and sixths, which, though consonant, are variable, and hence styled imperfect.

The two notes forming a major fifth are always represented by the proportional numbers 2:3, the vibrations of the air necessary to produce that consonance, whatever be their number, being always in that proportion. It will be a question of pleasant pastime for the reader to work out for himself a series of thirtyone such proportions, adding 50 per cent. each time to the number last recorded, thus, 2:3, 3:4.5, 4.5:6.75, &c.

If he does so, he will find by the time he has worked out the twelfth proportion that he is landed at 259.49267578125, whereas the distance he has traversed, seven octaves, presupposes only the plain number 256. It is this excess of 3.49267578125 over 256 that forms 'the wolf' which perplexes others beside pianoforte tuners; and the reader will find, as he proceeds with his calculation, that the divergence sensibly increases.

But a shorter mode may be adopted for setting forth the difficulty, one which has the advantages over the former mode that it requires but six calculations per octave instead of twelve, and that it confines itself within the boundaries of its octave instead of wandering, like the former, over the whole compass of a modern seven octave pianoforte.

Three paragraphs back we mentioned that the proportion of the two notes forming a major fifth was as 2:3. The second such proportion in the proposed series was as 3:4.5. Let 2 stand for D, then 3 will represent A above, and 4.5 E above that. E is thus two major fifths, or an octave and a major second, above D. Raise D an octave to 4, so as to bring it into the close neighbourhood of E, and D:E will stand as 4:4.5, or as 8:9. 8:9 is the accepted formula for the interval of a tone or major second. A series of major seconds commencing with 8:9, and passing through two octaves, gives us the following curious results:—

C-doublesharp,	32·879125382867641746997833251953125
B-sharp, . . .	29·225889229215681552886962890625
A-sharp, . . .	25·978568203747272491455078125
G-sharp, . . .	23·092060625553131103515625
F-sharp, . . .	20·526276111602783203125
E-natural, . .	18·245578765869140625
D-natural, . .	16·218292236328125
C-natural, . .	14·416259765625
B-flat,	12·814453125
A-flat,	11·390625
G-flat,	10·125
F-flat,	9
E-doubleflat, .	8 (To be read upwards from this root line.)

We here perceive that both of the pianoforte octave sounds, D-natural and C-doublesharp, while exceeding by the amount of their respective fractional decimal the plain double and quadruple of the E-doubleflat from which the series sprang, yet profess neither of them to have attained the octave limit, but bear in the nearer instance the title of augmented seventh, and in the remoter instance that of triply-augmented sixth. Thus the wider the intervals increase in actual distance, the narrower becomes their scale nomenclature. Curious anomaly this! And yet for those widening intervals with gradually contracting names the pianoforte, the modern musical be-all and end-all, has no sympathy, but forces all alike into its iron mould of twelve sounds only in the octave. That instruments of the Violin family have greater freedom in this respect; giving the performer control over the notes produced, is no doubt one reason for the growing popularity of those instruments among ladies as well as gentlemen; and their influence, when once fairly established, will unquestionably and deservedly be permanent.

Yet improve or change our instruments as we may, the fundamental difficulty still remains unsolved, and we fear will ever so remain: how to proportion whatever intermediate intervals we have or may have so as to lead upward or downward to a true octave. We have seen how wide of the mark twelve major fifths land us. Six major seconds have answered our purpose no better, leaving us short of the octave though with extra vibra-

tions. Three major thirds, whose proportion is 64 : 81, when read upwards :—

A-sharp : C-doublesharp

F-sharp : A-sharp

D-natural : F-sharp

produce exactly the same result as the upper of the two octaves in the previous table of major seconds ; while four minor thirds, of the proportion 27 : 32, also read upwards :—

C-flat : E-doubleflat

A-flat : C-flat

F-natural : A-flat

D-natural : F-natural

produce the contrary effect of an increased nominal interval, the diminished ninth, with a reduced number of vibrations. Thus, while in the previous cases a nominal seventh gave us a sharpened octave, in this last case a nominal ninth makes compensation by giving us on its part a flattened octave. This is difficulty No. 1, —how to produce, by evolution from within its boundary limits, a true octave.

Difficulty No. 2 is of another kind. It is,—how, having possession of a true octave of which we are able to give no account, except that it is the result of a double number of atmospheric vibrations, to produce, by involution from its boundary limits, the place of any interval within the octave. Until we can discover the central point of an octave which shall bear the same proportion to both its limits, we shall never be able to settle the places of the intermediate sounds except approximately. As the octave stands in the proportion of 1 : 2, it is evident that with our present powers we shall never be able to work out a true solution. The same question under other forms—to ascertain the proportion of a diagonal to the sides of a square ; or the proportion between the sides of two squares, the area of one being double that of the other—has caused many a student's head to ache long previously to the musician even knowing his share of the difficulty, much less attempting to solve it.

Before saying our last word on this subject, we will allude to the second objection urged in the first lines of this paper, and

ask: Can the difficulty of representing the sounds of the Oriental scales by the modern Western notation be much greater than those we have been discussing, or can the failure be more conspicuous? We think we see our way to quite as fair an approximate result as has been thus far attained with Music which, because familiar, we consider better adapted to our means and requirements. Of course, the result we propose is only approximate, but that, we again assert, is all that any system of Music has thus far attained.

In the following *Table of Comparative Vibrations* of the thirty-one notes within the compass of an octave, the inequalities we have already pointed out are rendered palpable to all. We see, in illustration of difficulty No. 1, the great differences of effect in the two or three notes bracketed together under one pianoforte key, how that nominally lower notes, if sharp, are sharper than nominally higher notes on the same key; and *vice versa*, that nominally higher notes, if flat, are flatter than nominally lower notes. *E.g.*, C-doublesharp is appreciably sharper than D-natural or E-doubleflat, though nominally lower than both; and E-doubleflat is to the same extent flatter than D-natural or C-doublesharp, though nominally higher than both. In the same way with the black keys: C-sharp is sharper than D-flat, though nominally lower; and D-flat is flatter than C-sharp, though nominally higher. We see also, in illustration of difficulty No. 2, how unequally the different internal notes are spread over the range of the octave limits. 'The Wolf' is here to be found in each note wherever we choose to search for it, proving the great necessity of the pianoforte tuner's empirical mean sound of the twelve keys which make up his octave.

We may mention, in conclusion of these preliminary remarks, that the following *Table of Comparative Vibrations*, specially calculated, has been based upon the old normal diapason of 512 vibrations per second in the open tube of 12 inches, which gives to the notes of the diatonic scale the following numbers:—

D 576	G 384
C 512	F 341 $\frac{1}{3}$
B 486	E 324
A 432	D 288

which numbers have been multiplied by 4·17942208512, the lowest common term comprehending all the thirtyone notes of the octave without a remainder.

TABLE OF COMPARATIVE VIBRATIONS

Of the Thirtyone Notes within the compass of an Octave.

PIANOFORTE KEYS.	NOTES.	COMPARATIVE VIBRATIONS.
1.	3. C-doublesharp, .	2440·19119519584
	2. D-natural, . .	2407·34712102912
	1. E-doubleflat, .	2374·94511599616
12.	31. C-sharp, . . .	2285·09902503936
	30. D-flat, . . .	2254·34243432448
11.	29. B-sharp, . . .	2169·05884017408
	28. C-natural, . .	2139·86410758144
10.	27. D-doubleflat, .	2111·06232532992
	26. A-doublesharp, .	2058·91132094649
9.	25. B-natural, . .	2031·19913336832
	24. C-flat, . . .	2003·85994162176
8.	23. A-sharp, . . .	1928·05230237696
	22. B-flat, . . .	1902·10142896128
7.	21. G-doublesharp, .	1830·14339639688
	20. A-natural, . .	1805·51034077184
6.	19. B-doubleflat, .	1781·20883699712
	18. G-sharp, . . .	1713·82426877952
5.	17. A-flat, . . .	1690·75682574336
	16. F-doublesharp, .	1626·79413013056
4.	15. G-natural, . .	1604·89808068608
	14. A-doubleflat, .	1583·29674399744
3.	13. F-sharp, . . .	1523·39935002624
	12. G-flat, . . .	1502·89495621632
2.	11. E-sharp, . . .	1446·03922678272
	10. F-natural, . .	1426·57607172096
1.	9. G-doubleflat, .	1407·37488355328
	8. D-doublesharp, .	1372·60754729766
3.	7. E-natural, . .	1354·13275557888
	6. F-flat, . . .	1335·90662774784
2.	5. D-sharp, . . .	1285·36820158464
	4. E-flat, . . .	1268·06761930752
1.	3. C-doublesharp, .	1220·09559759792
	2. D-natural, . .	1203·67356051456
	1. E-doubleflat, .	1187·47255799808

The Music of the Eastern Churches, Orthodox and other, as indeed of the Eastern nations generally, Christian and non-Christian, is based primarily upon the chromatic genus containing two semitones in the tetrachord. The diatonic genus containing one semitone only in the tetrachord is also in use, but is seldom sustained exclusively for any length of time in practice, being blended, sooner or later, to a greater or lesser extent, with the chromatic genus.

Upon the nature of the tetrachord, and the position it occupies in the octave scale, depends the character of the Mode, or as it is commonly styled in Great Britain—'the Key.' As we have already several times used the word *key* in a mechanical sense, applying it to the finger levers of the pianoforte, we prefer, rather than affix to the word a second sense, and write of 'major keys,' 'minor keys,' 'keys of D, F,' etc., to use either or both of the words *scale* and *mode*, which are equally widely accepted, and far more worthy of acceptance.

Of the diatonic tetrachord with one semitone only, there are three varieties: (1) that in which the semitone occupies the lowest interval; (2) that in which it occupies the central interval; and (3) that in which it occupies, as in most modern music, the highest interval, which is styled, when so occupied, the leading interval. These three varieties of tetrachord, whose differences of character are evident to all, have each two instances in the octave, forming the six minor fourths of a former paragraph, as set forth in the following:—

EXAMPLE I.



where the second instance of each variety occurs on the second staff, immediately underneath its prototype.

An octave consists of two tetrachords. The three diatonic tetrachords with one semitone each of the above example, when

interblended one with another, give nine distinct diatonic octave scales, of which five consist of natural notes only, and four have need of the transposing characters, sharps and flats. Of these four latter, two forms are given in their respective staves, in each of which one tetrachord is natural, the other transposed. The nine octave scales in the following example are set out differently in ascending and descending; the ascending scales lying between their more normal limits; those descending lying between the limits of a common octave—D:D. This latter arrangement shows more plainly to the unpractised eye the actual differences in the various scales.

EXAMPLE II.

1 and 1. Common Octave.

(1) 

2 and 1.

(2) 

1 and 2.

(3) 

2 and 2.

(4) 

3 and 1.

(5) 

3 and 2.

(6) 

1 and 3.

(7) 

2 and 3.

(8) 

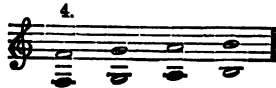
3 and 3.

(9) 

Beside the three varieties of the diatonic tetrachord given above, there is still a fourth variety, differing essentially from its

three companions. Those three, with their duplicates, each formed a minor fourth, and each contained within its limits two tones and one semitone. As we shall shortly see, much depends upon the relative position of those two tones and one semitone. But in this fourth tetrachord there is no semitonal interval. The three intervals are each in extent one tone: hence the common name of *triton* given to this major diatonic fourth. It is unmistakably dissonant.

EXAMPLE III.



This tritonal tetrachord or major fourth, blended with the three tetrachords previously given, furnishes us with seven additional diatonic octave scales, of which seven two only consist entirely of natural notes. The remaining five are assisted by sharps and flats, and have, as in Example II, two instances in each staff. The descending scales have also the previous common octave limit.

EXAMPLE IV.

4 and 1. Common Octave.

(10)

4 and 2.

(11)

4 and 3.

(12)

1 and 4.

(18)

2 and 4.

(14)

3 and 4.

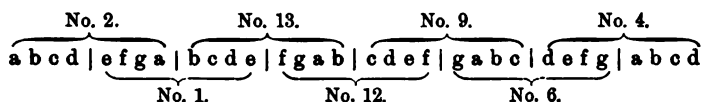
(15)

4 and 4.

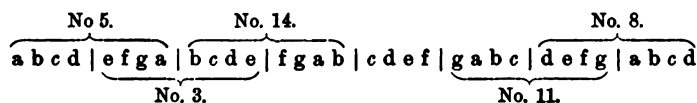
(16)

The first remark we will make in reviewing the above sixteen diatonic octave scales, is, that excepting the last, No. 16, they obviously divide themselves into three classes : (1) that in which all the notes are natural ; (2) that in which one sharp or one flat is needed for its normal definition ; and (3) that which has similar need for two sharps or two flats.

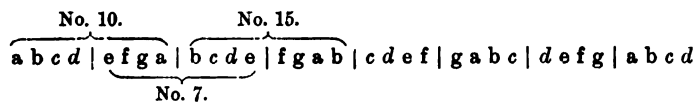
Of the first class, all the seven possible tetrachords are made available in the formation of seven diatonic scales, thus :—



Of the second class, five diatonic octave scales only are possible ; two, those commencing with f and c-sharp, being precluded on account of the tetrachord *c d e f*, which forms a diminished fourth belonging to the chromatic genus. Omitting the alternative scales in Examples II. and IV. with one flat, we append those with one sharp, and designate the sharpened note by an *italic* letter.



Of the third class with two sharps or two flats, there are possible only three diatonic octave scales, those commencing with a, e, and b. The scales commencing with f and c-sharp are precluded by a second variety of the diminished fourth—*c d e f* ; and those commencing with g and d-sharp by yet a third variety of the diminished fourth—*d e f g*. These two latter varieties of the diminished fourth, as we shall presently see, though chromatic in the modern sense of the term, form no part of the Oriental chromatic genus.



The differences of character observable in these three classes of diatonic scale are traceable entirely to the relative disposing

of the semitones in the two tetrachords. In the first or natural class the semitones occur after intervals of three and two tones alternately, thus :—

f g a b c d e f g a b c d e f, &c.;

in the second class they occur after intervals of four tones and one tone alternately, thus :—

f g a b c d e f g a b c d e f, &c.;

while in the third class the two semitones occupy adjoining positions after intervals of five tones, thus :—

f g a b c d e f g a b c d e f, &c.

The greater and lesser dimensions of the tones and semitones we have endeavoured in this paragraph to illustrate by greater and lesser spacings between the letters; and to show the gradually increasing groups of three, four, and five tones, have commenced each class of scale with f.

As a small mnemonic of these three classes of diatonic scale, it may be as well to point out: that while the three normal forms, Nos. 9, 8, and 7, commence in the sharp series with C, D, and E; in the alternative series with flats each of the three alike commence with C.

We will remark next upon the above sixteen diatonic octave scales, that they are supposed to vary in degrees of purity. And though this may seem to many a mere fancy, yet a little reflection will show that there is more in the supposition than is at first evident.

No one, for instance, will deny that the last scale on the list, No. 16, which we passed by in our previous remark, is thoroughly unworkable, and worthy of the place it occupies. The causes of its unworkableness are (1) that the two tritonal tetrachords of which it consists are incapable of junction, the initial note of the second tetrachord (f or c-flat) being actually lower in pitch than the final note of the first tetrachord (e-sharp or b); and (2) that it contains no semitonal interval, the chief ingredient of character.

The least perfect of the remaining fifteen scales which possess character are unquestionably those which admit one instance of

the tritonal tetrachord of Example III., and of these there are two varieties: (1) those which have the triton in the upper tetrachord; and (2) those which have the triton in the lower tetrachord. Those scales which have the triton in the upper tetrachord are not merely top-heavy in appearance, but are lacking in the consonant major fifth; which lack has always been regarded as an imperfection, though little heeded as such in practice. With this least perfect class in its two varieties we will commence our list.

1. *Scales having the triton in the upper tetrachord.*

Nos. 15, 14, and 13.

2. *Scales having the triton in the lower tetrachord.*

Nos. 10, 11, and 12.

The scales formed of the tetrachords with a semitonal interval in Example I. increase gradually in importance from (1) that which has need of two sharps or two flats, to (2) those which have need of one sharp or one flat only; thence finally to (3) those which consist solely and simply of natural notes. We resume our list with the first two of these three classes.

3. *Scale with minor fourth tetrachords needing two sharps or two flats.*

No. 7.

4. *Scales with minor fourth tetrachords needing one sharp or one flat.*

Nos. 5, 3, and 8.

Of the scales which consist solely and simply of natural notes, and have no need of sharp or flat, there are two varieties: (1) those in which the two tetrachords differ; and (2) most perfect of all, those in which the two tetrachords are of the same form. These varieties complete our list of gradually increasing degrees of purity.

5. *Natural scales with tetrachords differing in form.*

Nos. 6 and 2.

6. *Natural scales with tetrachords similar in form.*

Nos. 9, 1, and 4.

Another property possessed by the above sixteen diatonic octave scales, which calls for remark, is the capacity of each for

treatment in Double Counterpoint. Even No. 16, unworkable in practice though it be, possesses this property in the most important numeric interval.

In the scales Nos. 4, 5, 7, and 16, the respective pairs of tetrachords are the exact converse of each other. This fact causes these four scales to adapt themselves naturally to the exigencies of Double Counterpoint in the *Octave*, thus:—

No. 4.	No. 7.
d c b a g f e d	e d c b a g f e
d e f g a b c d	e f g a b c d e
No. 5.	No. 16.
a g f e d c b a	b a g f e d c b
a b c d e f g a	b c d e f g a b

Double Counterpoint in the *Ninth* is formed in three instances by the junction of the scales Nos. 2, 3, and 15 with Nos. 6, 8, and 10, in contrary motion, thus:—

Nos. 2 and 6.	Nos. 3 and 8.
a g f e d c b a	e d c b a g f e
g a b c d e f g	d e f g a b c d
Nos. 15 and 10.	
b a g f e d c b	
a b c d e f g a	

Double Counterpoint in the *Tenth* is the product of the junction of scales Nos. 1 and 14 with Nos. 9 and 11:—

Nos. 1 and 9.	Nos. 14 and 11.
e d c b a g f e	b a g f e d c b
c d e f g a b c	g a b c d e f g

And lastly, one instance of Double Counterpoint in the *Eleventh* is furnished by the junction of the two remaining scales:—

Nos. 13 and 12.	
b a g f e d c b	
f g a b c d e f	

One advantage of this superior wealth (more than double that

known to the West) of the Oriental diatonic genus, and its Double Contrapuntal facilities, is, that an Eastern musician has no temptation to take a melody based upon one scale or mode, and treat it, on his own private judgment, as if based upon another scale or mode. He would never, for instance, think of taking the well-known Gregorian Chant of the 1st Tone, based upon scale No. 4—

aa g a | a g f gg a

and treat it as if it were based upon scale No. 9 transposed from C to F, and commonly called F major with one flat. Neither would he take its Double Counterpoint equivalent—

aa g a | a g f gg a
gg a g | g a b aa g

and treat it as if based upon the scale of G with one sharp. But he would hold both to belong to their parent scale, the natural scale of D, as in No. 4, the first as a dominant form, the second as a subdominant inversion, and attack them boldly in obedience to the laws of that scale, thus:—

EXAMPLE V.

“GREGORIAN TONE I.; FIRST ENDING.”



Double Counterpoint in the Octave of the same.



Double Counterpoint in the Eleventh of Basso.

But we beg pardon: we are anticipating somewhat; and as a question of fact the Eastern Church does not know this particular Chant, though its parent scale is familiar enough to her. The evil protested against, that of injudicious admixture of Modes, must be held responsible for the digression.

In proceeding now to classify the above diatonic scales ecclesiastically, we will, as a first step, ask the reader to compare

attentively the two following, well-known, excellent Psalm tunes. The former of the two is better known in England by the name 'London New,' but we prefer to retain its older name 'Newtown,' which that learned musician, the late Rev. W. H. Havergal, in his Preface to *Old Church Psalmody*, 1847, now unfortunately no longer in print, tells us 'was probably called from Newton, the appendage to "the auld toun o' Ayr."'* Mr. Havergal further asserts that 'the Scotch lay fair claim to its composition.' Of the latter tune nothing can be said to increase its fair fame, and since Mr. Havergal's *History of the Old Hundredth Psalm Tune, with Specimens*, London: Sampson Low & Son, 1854, nothing further can be expected in elucidation of its origin.

EXAMPLE VI.

From the "Scotch Psalter," 1635.

Harmonised by REV. W. H. HAVERGAL.

"NEWTOWN."

The musical score for 'Newtown' consists of two systems of two staves each. The first system is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The melody is on the upper staff, and the accompaniment is on the lower staff. The second system continues the piece, ending with a double bar line.

From "DAY'S Psalter," 1663.

Harmonised by REV. W. H. HAVERGAL.

"OLD HUNDREDTH."

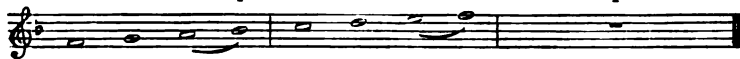
The musical score for 'Old Hundredth' consists of two systems of two staves each. The first system is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The melody is on the upper staff, and the accompaniment is on the lower staff. The second system continues the piece, ending with a double bar line.

* This mixing up of Newton and Newtown is Mr. Havergal's own, and it is too late now to get his explanation or correction. *The Penny Cyclopaedia*, 1835, gives the name repeatedly in two words, as New Town (AYR).

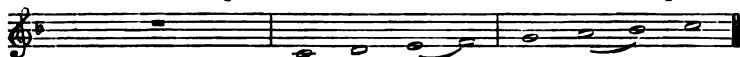
These two tunes are here set in what most musicians would style the same 'key of F' major.' In general harmonic effect there is little or no difference between them. Both commence and finish upon the same tonic, which tonic is governed at the close by the same dominant harmony in the same quint position. It is true the greater number of notes of double length in the latter tune causes it to be a little more time-taking, and so to appear somewhat heavier; and this is a very fair description of the difference which distinguishes the latter tune from its more rapid and sprightly precursor. But the real cause of the respective sprightliness and heaviness of these two tunes is not in the mere difference of time consumed (the tunes stand respectively in note length as 3 to 4), but in a far more deep-seated fact, the fact that *the compass* of the two tunes is not the same. Both commence upon the same note, F: but while 'Newtown' ascends to F an octave higher, 'Old Hundredth' ascends to the dominant, C, only. But the three notes wanting to the upper compass of the latter tune are supplied downward, for whereas 'Newtown' does not descend below its commencing note, 'Old Hundredth' descends to the dominant on C below. So that the compass of the two tunes is as exhibited in the following:—

EXAMPLE VII.

Tonic octave compass of "NEWTOWN." Scale No. 9 transposed.



Dominant octave compass of "OLD HUNDREDETH." Scale No. 6 transposed.



We ask the reader to notice particularly the difference in the two scales in this last example. Both are scales of the same tonal class, but the latter is evidently a development of the former. But a development in which direction, upward or downward? Ostensibly downward, as the latter descends three notes below the tonic, and would be styled by Western musicians a *hypo* or *plagal* of the former scale. But looking at the two scales as they stand in their tetrachordal relation, we see at once that, in spite of the lowered pitch of the latter (the notes where agreeing in name

being an octave apart), and in spite also of the inferior position claimed for that latter by the titles *hypo* and *plagal*, the development is clearly upward. The three bar-measures each contain a tetrachord, and the growth is to the right hand in an upward direction, as follows :—

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{No. 9, transposed.} \\ \overbrace{\text{f g a b} \mid \text{c d e f} \mid \text{g a b c}} \\ \text{No. 6, transposed.} \end{array}$$

This upward growth of its plagal scales it is which characterises the Gregorian development of the older musical system founded upon the scales Nos. 4, 1, 12, and 6, formulated by, and named after, the great St. Ambrose of Milan. A few words will serve to explain this Gregorian development, a clear appreciation of which is necessary for the true understanding of the Oriental application of the diatonic genus.

In previous paragraphs we pointed out the relative degrees of purity of the different scales, and proceeded to show their capacity each for Double Counterpoint. The sixth, or highest class of purity, the two tetrachords of each octave scale being similar, was claimed for Nos. 9, 1, and 4 ; the highest order of Double Counterpoint, that in the Octave, was the property of Nos. 4, 5, 7, and 16, the two tetrachords of each being converse. The one scale which combines both these merits is No. 4. No. 4 is the 1st Tone of both the Ambrosian and Gregorian systems of scales, and is styled *The Dorian Mode*.

Scale No. 1, also of the sixth or highest degree of purity, yet unable to form of itself a Double Counterpoint without the concurrence of No. 9, is the 2nd Tone Ambrosian and the 3rd Gregorian, and is styled *The Phrygian Mode*.

Scale No. 12, of the second degree of purity only, with dissimilar tetrachords, one of them being the tritonal dissonance, and with capacity for only the most distant numeric order of Double Counterpoint, forms the 3rd Tone Ambrosian and the 5th Gregorian, and is styled *The Lydian Mode*.

Scale No. 6, of the fifth degree of purity, with dissimilar tetrachords, but both possessing the semitonal interval, and with the capacity of concurring with No. 2 to produce the second order of

Double Counterpoint, is the 4th Tone Ambrosian and the 7th Gregorian, and is styled *The Mixolydian Mode*.

These four Ambrosian Tones are, in the Gregorian system, regarded as of primary importance, as, in fact, the only 'authentic' Modes. They did sole duty in the West, for it is impossible to say how long, previous to St. Ambrose's time as well as after. An extension of each scale was, however, at last found necessary to regulate the growing mass of musical matter, which already in Pope Gregory's time by its tendency to increased compass had outrun the limits of the authentic or primary Modes, and the following plan of extension was adopted.

The four Ambrosian Modes are thus constituted, in alphabetical order:—

1. The Dorian Mode, d e f g | a b c d
2. The Phrygian Mode, e f g a | b c d e
3. The Lydian Mode, f g a b | c d e f
4. The Mixolydian Mode, g a b c | d e f g

and a very little consideration would be sufficient to show the reforming Pope Gregory or his advisers, that to take the first Phrygian tetrachord e f g a, and append it to the detached second Dorian tetrachord, thus: a b c d | e f g a, is in effect to make a new scale, which is really from a Western point of view, a Doriophrygian Mode. The same process applied to the first Lydian and second Phrygian tetrachords would produce a Phrygiolydian Mode or scale: b c d e | f g a b; and so with the first Mixolydian and second Lydian tetrachords: c d e f | g a b c. But in naming these new scales, which, as we have seen, are each a portion of two adjoining scales, it pleased their projector or projectors to ignore altogether the source of their new upper tetrachord, and claim relationship with the scale only which furnishes the lower tetrachord. Hence it is that—

The Doriophrygian, a b c d | e f g a has become *The Hypodorian Mode*,
 The Phrygiolydian, b c d e | f g a b has become *The Hypophrygian Mode*,
 The Lydiomixolydian, c d e f | g a b c has become *The Hypolydian Mode*.

The Modes of the Gregorian system, formed thus of the four Ambrosian and the three composite scales just given, are regulated

in the following order, the new Modes each following the parent whose name it bears:—

1. The Dorian Mode (No. 4).
2. The Hypodorian Mode (No. 2).
3. The Phrygian Mode (No. 1).
4. The Hypophrygian Mode (No. 13).
5. The Lydian Mode (No. 12).
6. The Hypolydian Mode (No. 9).
7. The Mixolydian Mode (No. 6).

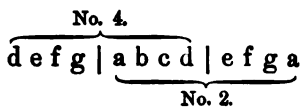
With the 8th and the so-called 9th Gregorian Modes we have here nothing to do, since they are, as scales, merely repetitions of Tones 1 and 2. And so of any further extension of the numbers: they can be obtained only by repetition of some of the foregoing.

The great point we wish to be borne in mind is, that the Western hypo or plagal Modes are a development to the right hand, in an upward direction.

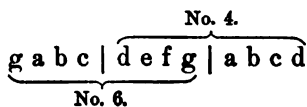
In the East the exact opposite is the case. Even in the secular books of instruction authorised by the Ottoman Government for use in the Turkish Empire, the title of one of which is at the head of this article, though they agree with the Western order of Tones commencing with D as the basis, and so proceed to E, F, and G, for the second, third, and fourth Tones, as in the Ambrosian reckoning, yet they never swerve from the ancient Greek ecclesiastical manner of development, which is *to the left hand, in a downward direction.*

In illustration of this we will take the Dorian Mode of the West which corresponds to τὸ Διωνυκιάχ of the secular Araboperso-turkish system (τὴν Ἀραβοπερσοτουρκικὴν), and compare the respective development of their hypo or plagal Modes.

The Dorian mode forms its plagal upwards, thus:—



τὸ Διωνυκιάχ forms its plagal downwards, thus:—



We see from this example, that while the Dorian Mode took its upper tetrachord, and appended to it the tetrachord next above it in pitch, to produce its plagal: Τὸ Διονυκιάχ took its lower tetrachord, and prefixed to it the tetrachord next below it in pitch, and thereby produced its plagal, which is named Τὸ Γεγκιάχ, and is the lowest scale of the Arabopersoturkish system.

The same method of treatment is adopted with the other three primary modes, and the total result of the secular Oriental diatonic system of scales is as follows (to be read upwards):—

Name.	Number.	Compass.	Gregorian equivalent.	Number.
Τὸ Νεβά, .	4th Tone,	G to G,	The Mixolydian Mode,	7th Tone.
Τὸ Τζιαργκιάχ,	3rd Tone,	F to F,	The Lydian Mode, . .	5th Tone.
Τὸ Σεγκιάχ,	2nd Tone,	E to E,	The Phrygian Mode, . .	3rd Tone.
Τὸ Διονυκιάχ,	1st Tone,	D to D,	The Dorian Mode, . .	1st Tone.
Τὸ 'Ράστ, .	4th Plagal,	C to C,	The Hypolydian Mode, .	6th Tone.
Τὸ 'Αράχ, .	3rd Plagal,	B to B,	The Hypophrygian Mode,	4th Tone.
Τὸ 'Ασηράν,	2nd Plagal,	A to A,	The Hypodorian Mode, .	2nd Tone.
Τὸ Γεγκιάχ,	1st Plagal,	G to G.		

But it is with the Oriental ecclesiastical element in Music that we have now most concern. And here not only does the same rule obtain which we have just illustrated in the Oriental secular school, of forming the plagal Modes by adding to the side (τὸ πλάγιον) in such a way as to produce a *hypo* never to be confounded with a *hyper*, in this respect alone marking a broad line of severance from the West: but we find in addition an entirely different set of primary or fundamental Modes with quite another order of intermodal progress.

The Western order of intermodal progress, as well as its plagal development, were both upward.

The Oriental secular order of intermodal progress was upward, but its plagal development was downward.

The Oriental ecclesiastical order of intermodal progress, as well as its plagal development, are both downward.

Thus, the Western (Gregorian) and Oriental secular Modes both read upward, as follows:—

7th Tone, The Mixolydian Mode, G to G,	Τὸ Νεβά, . .	4th Tone.
5th Tone, The Lydian Mode, . .	F to F, Τὸ Τζιαργκιάχ,	3rd Tone.
3rd Tone, The Phrygian Mode, . .	E to E, Τὸ Σεγκιάχ, .	2nd Tone.
1st Tone, The Dorian Mode, . .	D to D, Τὸ Διονυκιάχ,	1st Tone.

While the Oriental ecclesiastical Modes read downward, as follows :—

Oriental Ecclesiastical Modes.	Compass.	Gregorian equivalent.	Number.
1st Tone, The Dorian Mode. . . .	E to E,	The Phrygian Mode, . . .	3rd Tone.
2nd Tone, The Phrygian Mode, . . .	D to D,	The Dorian Mode, . . .	1st Tone.
3rd Tone, The Lydian Mode,	C to C,	The Hypolydian Mode, . . .	6th Tone.
4th Tone, The Mixolydian Mode, . . .	B to B,	The Hypophrygian Mode, . . .	4th Tone.
1st Plagal, The Hypodorian Mode, . . .	A to A,	The Hypodorian Mode, . . .	2nd Tone.
2nd Plagal, The Hypophrygian Mode, . . .	G to G,	The Mixolydian Mode, . . .	7th Tone.
3rd Plagal, The Hypolydian Mode, . . .	F to F,	The Lydian Mode,	5th Tone.
4th Plagal, The Hypomixolydian Mode, . . .	E to E.		

The Dorian and Phrygian Modes respectively are here found to take each other's place and exchange notes ; so do the Lydian and Hypolydian Modes ; so also do the Mixolydian and Hypophrygian Modes. The Hypodorian Mode remains the same in both systems, though the parent Dorians themselves vary ; and the Oriental Hypomixolydian Mode is unrepresented in the Gregorian system.

EXAMPLE VIII.

The Dorian Mode. 1st Tone.

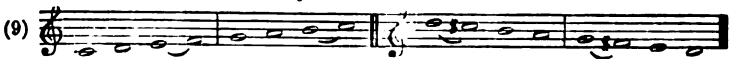
Common Octave.



The Phrygian Mode. 2nd Tone.



The Lydian Mode. 3rd Tone.



The Mixolydian Mode. 4th Tone.



The Hypodorian Mode. 1st Plagal Tone.



The Hypophrygian Mode. 2nd Plagal Tone.



The Hypolydian Mode. 3rd Plagal Tone.

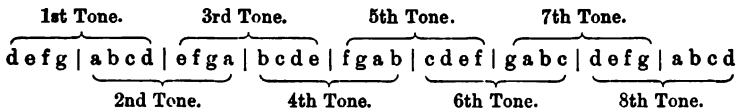


The Hypomixolydian Mode, 4th Plagal Tone, has the same compass as The Dorian Mode, 1st Tone.

This very material difference both in the Modes and their formation may be further made evident in the following examples, which mark the upward and downward intermodal progress and the development of the respective plagal Modes. The upper brackets in both cases denote the authentic, primary, or fundamental Modes; the lower brackets denote the plagal Modes.

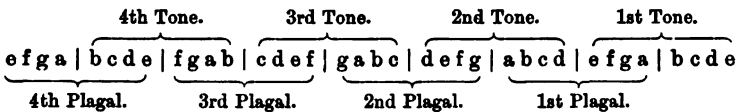
THE GREGORIAN SYSTEM OF MODES.

(Read from left to right.)



THE ORIENTAL ECCLESIASTICAL SYSTEM OF MODES.

(Read from right to left.)



The 8th Tone Gregorian and 4th Plagal Oriental, both named Hypomixolydian, develop each no new feature as scales, being in the one case higher, in the other case lower octave repetitions of their respective 1st or Dorian Tones.

Thus far the diatonic genus of the East has corresponded in the matter of notes with the diatonic genus of the West. The manner of forming the scales of each has differed, so also have the names of the scales themselves: but the individual notes have been the same. They all have been natural notes, and the scales formed by their means have all been natural. The 3rd Tone Oriental and 6th Tone Gregorian are very familiar to modern ears as the Major mode; while the 1st Plagal Oriental and 2nd Tone Gregorian have been generally regarded as the correct form of the Minor Mode, at least in descending.

The aggregate of the degrees of purity in the primary and plagal ranks of both systems undergoes no change. Although as primaries B and C in the Oriental system take the place of F and G in the Gregorian, the loss on B as compared with F is

fully compensated by the gain on C as compared with G. F was already of low rank, the lowest but one; B is simply that one degree lower. G was of the fifth class; C is of the sixth or highest class. The Double Counterpoint facilities also have undergone no change of any worth, for the inversion of C with E, though of the *tenth*, is quite as perfect, and more agreeable, than that of the *ninth* on G. B and F were already in concurrence.

We now approach the other two classes of scales in the diatonic genus of the East: those classes in which the tonal and semitonal intervals are differently grouped, which therefore have need, in their most normal form, of one and two sharps, or of one and two flats.

Let us briefly recapitulate what was said a few pages back respecting the *three* classes of diatonic scales. (1) When the two semitones per octave occur after intervals of three and two tones alternately, no sharp or flat is needed, excepting for transposing purposes. (2) When the two semitones occur after intervals of four tones and one tone alternately, one sharp or one flat is needed; and (3) when the two semitones occupy adjoining positions after intervals of five tones, two sharps or two flats are needed.

The second class of scales, that which has need of one sharp or one flat, is formed of Nos. 3, 5, 8, 11, and 14. These scales are developed in the following order from right to left, commencing with No. 3. No. 14 is however in an anomalous position, having no parent from which to develop downwards, in consequence of F being an impossible scale in this class, as before explained. It therefore takes the place of a Gregorian hypo by developing upwards from No. 3, but with the more appropriate title of a *hyper*. We select for illustration, as we did previously, the series needing one sharp.



These scales being entirely of a composite nature, even in the upper or primary rank, have of necessity composite names to

distinguish them, formed of the two tetrachords of the primary scales in the descending order, as follows:—

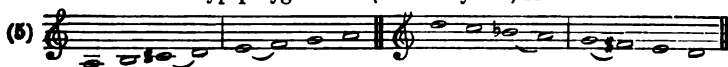
EXAMPLE IX.

The Phrygiodorian Mode.

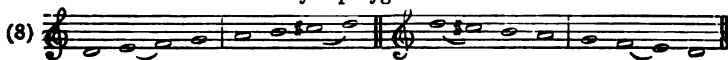
Common Octave.



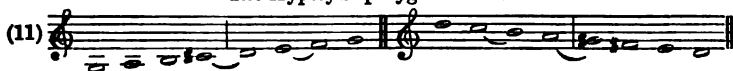
The Hypophrygiodorian (or Doriolydian) Mode.



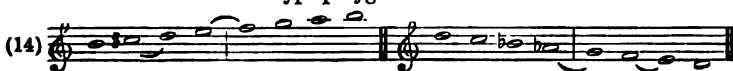
The Lydiophrygian Mode.



The Hypolydiophrygian Mode.



The Hyperphrygiodorian Mode.

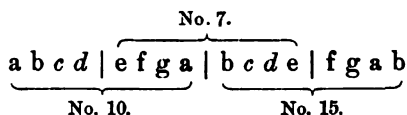


These scales also, it will be remembered, are of different degrees of purity: No 14 being in the first or lowest class, and No. 11 in the class next above, both possessing the tritonal tetrachord; while Nos. 5, 3, and 8 are in the fourth class, and possess each two semitonal tetrachords.

The Double Counterpoint facilities, also, of these scales are very great: No 5 possessing within itself power for the *octave* inversion; Nos. 3 and 8 possessing concurrent power to form the *ninth*; and Nos. 14 and 11 concurring to form the *tenth*.

One scale, moreover, of this second class, No. 8, was, until the last few years, the accepted ascending form of the Minor Mode in all English books of musical instruction.

The third class of Oriental diatonic scales, that which has need of two sharps or two flats, is formed, by three instances only, of Nos. 7, 10, and 15. These scales are developed from right to left in the case of Nos. 7 and 10; No. 15 develops Gregorian fashion, and thus becomes a *hyper*, as did No. 14 in the second class of scales, and for exactly the same reason. We select for illustration the series needing two sharps.

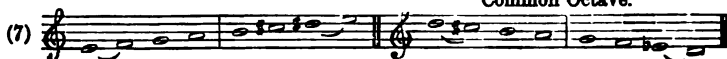


No. 7 being composed of a Lydian and Dorian tetrachord from right to left in the descending order, of necessity takes the compound name furnished by those tetrachords, and imparts the same to its dependant plagal Modes :—

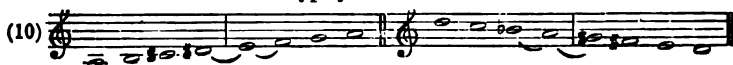
EXAMPLE X.

The Lydiodorian Mode.

Common Octave.



The Hypolydiodorian Mode.



The Hyperlydiodorian Mode.



No. 15 stands at the bottom of the lowest class of purity, and No. 10 stands last in the class above, both possessing the tritonal tetrachord; while No. 7, which possesses two semitonal tetrachords, has the honour of a third class entirely to itself. No. 7 also possesses the highest Double Counterpoint capacity, that of the introspective *octave*, of which capacity the two previous classes of scales furnish only one instance each; and Nos. 15 and 10 concur to form a Double Counterpoint in the *ninth*. The scale No. 7 is now more widely known in modern practice than it was. The first figure of the original Lancers' Quadrille affords a memorable instance thereof, where the D minor passage has an E-flat just before its close. Sir F. A. Gore Ouseley, Bart.,* the

* On Saturday, April 6th inst., one or two days only after penning his name, this dear and highly-valued friend of nearly forty years, whose scientific advice was available on all occasions, passed away suddenly to his rest. A pang, which all those no longer young can understand, may well be credited to the present writer. The kind appreciation of these pages by the learned Professor was a foregone conclusion, justified by past relations, and was looked forward to with great pleasure.

distinguished Professor of Music in the University of Oxford, devotes pages 163-4 of his *Treatise on Harmony*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1868, to its discussion, and singularly enough, failing to trace the scale to its Eastern original, considers the second note of its lower Dorian tetrachord to be a 'new' note. Three times is this epithet 'new' applied to it; but it is highly appreciated notwithstanding, for it is also styled 'pathetic,' and 'remarkable and very beautiful.' So that our third class of Oriental diatonic scales, feeble though it be in numbers, and comparatively low as it certainly is in purity through the five tones in the octave standing together in one group and forcing the two semitones into each other's arms, is evidently not lacking in dignity, being deemed worthy of homage by one who is perfectly competent to appraise the merits even of an unknown musical object.

The paucity of instances in this, the third class of Oriental diatonic scales, reminds us of the four exceptions already alluded to in the words: 'The scales commencing with f and c-sharp are precluded by a second variety of the diminished fourth—*c d e f*; and those commencing with g and d-sharp by yet a third variety of the diminished fourth—*d e f g*. These two latter varieties of the diminished fourth, . . . though chromatic in the modern sense of the term, form no part of the Oriental chromatic genus.' The major fourth of Example III. was formed by three intervals of one tone each; the three minor fourths of Example I. contained each two tones and one semitone; the two diminished fourths at present under consideration contain each one tone and two semitones. It might be as well to remark, before bidding adieu to the diatonic genus and entering on a new phase of the subject, that all semitones thus far alluded to have been diatonic, as *b : c*, *d : c-sharp*, etc., involving two different alphabetical names in each semitone. These, although minor seconds, are major semitones. We shall shortly have to make acquaintance with another kind of semitone, one which keeps the same alphabetical name, but alters its character: as *d : d-sharp*, *e : e-flat*, etc. These intervals of one alphabetical name, and styled augmented primes, are minor semitones. Thus, a certain excepted interval which will shortly appear in this connection, a doubly

augmented second = d-flat : e-sharp, which the pianoforte assimilates to the diminished fourth = c-sharp : f, consists of one tone (d-flat : e-flat) and two minor semitones (e-flat : e, and e : e-sharp). The present diminished fourth tetrachords—*c d e f* and *d e f g*, on the other hand consist, the one upwards and the other downwards, of one tone (c-sharp : d-sharp, or *g : f*) and two major semitones (d-sharp : e and e : f, or *f : e* and e : d-sharp). These two instances of the diminished fourth tetrachord, connected as they are with the third class of diatonic scales, are clearly of diatonic development, and take their place, of right, equally with the dissonant major fourth of Example III., in the diatonic series. They form a fifth and sixth variety of the diatonic tetrachord, as follows :—

EXAMPLE XI.



These two new tetrachords, blended with the four previously given, furnish us with twenty additional scales : the four omitted scales of the third class, formed each by the junction of the diminished and tritonal tetrachords, being allied directly to the diatonic genus, which we quote ; and sixteen others which we request the reader to tabulate for himself. Of these sixteen others, twelve, by their peculiar junction of the tetrachords in the octave, claim affinity with the chromatic genus. The whole of the twenty occupy a kind of border-land, some inclining to the diatonic genus, others to the chromatic. We indicate in each the tetrachords to be joined together, and the initial note or notes most convenient and necessary. When two initial notes are given, the first in order is the higher in pitch.

EXAMPLE XII.

Tetrachords.	Initial Notes.
(17) 5 and 1.	B and E.
(18) 5 and 2.	B and D.
(19) 5 and 3.	B and C.

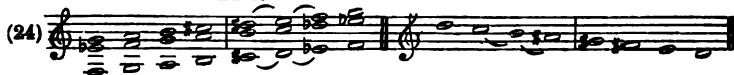
5 and 4.

Common Octave.



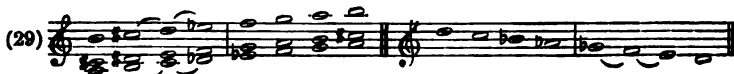
- (21) 1 and 5. B and G.
 (22) 2 and 5. D and G.
 (23) 3 and 5. G.

4 and 5.



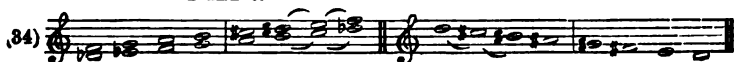
- (25) 5 and 5. B and G.
 (26) 6 and 1. A.
 (27) 6 and 2. A and D.
 (28) 6 and 3. A and C.

6 and 4.



- (30) 6 and 5. G and A.
 (31) 1 and 6. E and F.
 (32) 2 and 6. D and F.
 (33) 3 and 6. C and F.

4 and 6.



- (35) 5 and 6. B and F.
 (36) 6 and 6. A and F.

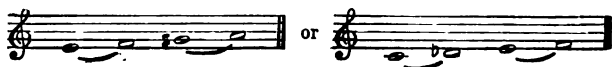
In like manner that we excepted No. 16 in Example IV. as unworkable, on the ground of redundance, so must we except Nos. 25, 30, 35, and 36 on the ground of deficiency: the two tetrachords in each scale being separated by a doubly augmented second, an impossible interval (treated of above) of one tone and two minor semitones. Like No. 16 also, Nos. 30 and 35, though unworkable, have each the form capable of producing Double Counterpoint in the *octave*.

THE immense shadow of the Oriental Chromatic genus, bearing in its hand the grand total of onehundred and eight untransposed octave scales, each differing from all the others, now looms in sight, and familiar as we are with its appearance, we confess to considerable trepidation at its near approach. The whole of the pages of the present number of this *Review*, we dare even to say of a year's issue, would not suffice to exhaust the intricacies of the subject: how then can we hope in an article of moderate length

to treat it with any pretence of justice? We ask our readers to consider for a moment what is included under the term of 'one-hundred and eight untransposed octave scales.' The sixteen diatonic octave scales in Examples II. and IV. are there presented, in the ascending and descending orders, *one* with one initial note; *eight* with two initial notes; and *seven* with three initial notes, each. Had the thirtyone notes within the compass of an octave been utilized as far as they could serve as initial notes, we should have had, instead of thirtyeight forms of these sixteen diatonic scales, no fewer than threehundred and seventytwo. If threehundred and seventytwo forms result from the transposition of sixteen scales only, what a proportionately larger number may be looked for from transposition of the onehundred and eight additional chromatic scales!

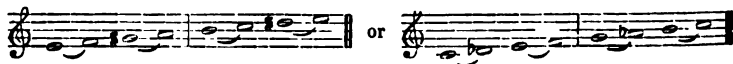
The Chromatic genus of the East is based upon the following primary minor fourth tetrachord:—

EXAMPLE XIII.



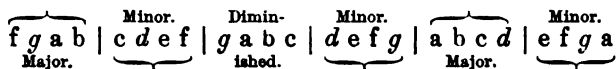
two instances of which joined together form the parent octave scale, which requires two sharps or two flats for its normal definition, and whose four pairs of notes form each of them a major semitone:—

EXAMPLE XIV.



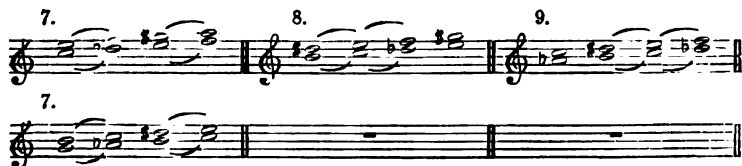
It will be seen that this primary minor fourth chromatic tetrachord contains two semitonal intervals, and one augmented second, an interval of one tone and a minor semitone. The augmented second it is which gives to all Oriental music its peculiar character, and the position of that augmented second in the tetrachord has as great an influence as the position of the semitonal interval in the three diatonic tetrachords of example I. It was the augmented second separating the two diatonic tetrachords of twelve scales in example XII. which gave to those scales the

chromatic affinity to which we alluded. Two other forms of the minor fourth tetrachord are developed by the Chromatic genus, as also two major fourth tetrachords, and one diminished fourth tetrachord, in manner following, taking as usual the series with sharps for our illustration, and reading from right to left:—



We give in the following example the three minor fourth chromatic tetrachords in the order of their development: No. 7, the primary form, with four instances, having the augmented second in the central interval; Nos. 8 and 9, with each two instances, having the augmented second respectively, the one in the highest, the other in the lowest interval.

EXAMPLE XV.



These three minor fourth chromatic tetrachords, blended with the six tetrachords of the diatonic genus, furnish us with forty-five new octave scales, the first instalment of the onehundred and eight chromatic scales. We quote the first thirteen until we reach the parent scale No. 49, and indicate the remaining thirty-two in the space-saving manner resorted to in example XII. We purposely avoid omitting any scale, that the reader may be furnished with all the tonal material available in the rich Oriental musical treasury.

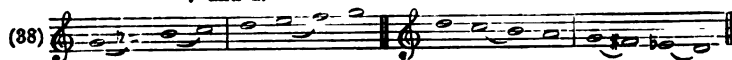
EXAMPLE XVI.

7 and 1.

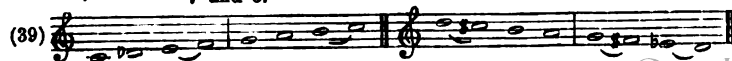
Common Octave.



7 and 2.



7 and 3.



7 and 4.

(40)

7 and 5.

(41)

7 and 6.

(42)

1 and 7.

(43)

2 and 7.

(44)

3 and 7.

(45)

4 and 7.

(46)

5 and 7.

(47)

6 and 7.

(48)

7 and 7.

(49)

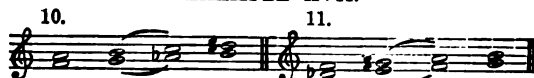
Tetrachords.	Initial Notes.	Tetrachords.	Initial Notes.
(50)	8 and 1. B and E.	(61)	5 and 8. B and E.
(51)	8 and 2. B and D.	(62)	6 and 8. E and A.
(52)	8 and 3. B and C.	(63)	7 and 8. E.
(53)	8 and 4. B.	(64)	8 and 8. B and E.
(54)	8 and 5. B and G.	(65)	9 and 1. A and C.
(55)	8 and 6. B and F.	(66)	9 and 2. G and C.
(56)	8 and 7. B and E.	(67)	9 and 3. C.
(57)	1 and 8. E.	(68)	9 and 4. B and C.
(58)	2 and 8. E and A.	(69)	9 and 5. G and C.
(59)	3 and 8. E and G.	(70)	9 and 6. C and F.
(60)	4 and 8. E and F.	(71)	9 and 7. C.

Tetrachords.	Initial Notes.	Tetrachords.	Initial Notes.
(72) 9 and 8.	E and C.	(77) 5 and 9.	B and F.
(73) 1 and 9.	E and F.	(78) 6 and 9.	A and F.
(74) 2 and 9.	D and F.	(79) 7 and 9.	C and F.
(75) 3 and 9.	C and F.	(80) 8 and 9.	B and F.
(76) 4 and 9.	F.	(81) 9 and 9.	C and F.

The whole of these fortyfive scales are workable, without any exception, and Nos. 49, 72, and 80. are capable each of producing Double Counterpoint in the *octave*. No. 44 is regarded by some in the present day as the ideal Minor Mode, both in ascending and descending.

Two major fourths are developed by the Chromatic genus against one in the Diatonic. Like that one, they are unmistakably dissonant in their external form, beside being chromatic in their internal incidence, the augmented second being respectively, the one in the highest, the other in the lowest interval. They here follow:—

EXAMPLE XVII.



We indicate the forty new octave scales induced by these two major fourth chromatic tetrachords and their blending with the nine tetrachords already treated of, in the same space-saving manner as before.

Tetrachords.	Initial Notes.	Tetrachords.	Initial Notes.
(82) 10 and 1.	A.	(96) 6 and 10.	A and B.
(83) 10 and 2.	D and F.	(97) 7 and 10.	B.
(84) 10 and 3.	F.	(98) 8 and 10.	D and B.
(85) 10 and 4.	A and B.	(99) 9 and 10.	B and C.
(86) 10 and 5.	F and G.	(100) 10 and 10.	B and F.
(87) 10 and 6.	F.	(101) 11 and 1.	A and F.
(88) 10 and 7.	A and F.	(102) 11 and 2.	F and G.
(89) 10 and 8.	E and A.	(103) 11 and 3.	F.
(90) 10 and 9.	F.	(104) 11 and 4.	B and F.
(91) 1 and 10.	B.	(105) 11 and 5.	F and G.
(92) 2 and 10.	B and D.	(106) 11 and 6.	F.
(93) 3 and 10.	B and G.	(107) 11 and 7.	F.
(94) 4 and 10.	B and F.	(108) 11 and 8.	E and F.
(95) 5 and 10.	B.	(109) 11 and 9.	F and d-f

	Tetrachorda.	Initial Notes.		Tetrachorda.	Initial Notes.
(110)	11 and 10.	B and F.	(116)	6 and 11.	A and B.
(111)	1 and 11.	B.	(117)	7 and 11.	B and G.
(112)	2 and 11.	B and D.	(118)	8 and 11.	B.
(113)	3 and 11.	G.	(119)	9 and 11.	G and C.
(114)	4 and 11.	B and F.	(120)	10 and 11.	B and F.
(115)	5 and 11.	B.	(121)	11 and 11.	F and G.

Of these forty scales, eight, Nos. 85, 94, 100, 104, 110, 114, 120, and 121, being composed of two major fourth tetrachords, are, like No. 16 in Example IV., unworkable, and for the reasons there given. But like No. 16, two of the excepted scales, Nos. 110 and 120, are each invertible by Double Counterpoint in the *octave*.

One chromatic tetrachord now alone remains, to complete the Oriental system of tonality. It is that of the diminished fourth form, a form of which we were furnished with two instances by the diatonic genus. Our readers will have observed, that of the twelve differing tetrachords six have been minor (and consonant), furnished equally, three and three, by each genus, and six have been major or diminished (and dissonant), furnished in the proportion of one and two in the diatonic to two and one in the chromatic genus. That final one here follows:—

EXAMPLE XVIII.



This final chromatic tetrachord brings up the total of Chromatic scales to one hundred and eight, and the grand total in both orders to one hundred and fortyfour. The two scales in the second diatonic class which were omitted because of the chromatic diminished tetrachord *c d e f*, we quote in the following example, and give the remaining twentyone scales in the same abbreviated manner as before.

EXAMPLE XIX.

Tetrachorda.	Initial Notes.
(122) 12 and 1.	E.
(123) 12 and 2.	E and G.
(124) 12 and 3.	E and C.

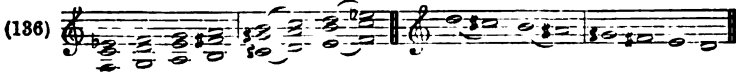
12 and 4.

Common Octave.



(126) 12 and 5. E and G.	(131) 12 and 10. B and E.
(127) 12 and 6. E and F.	(132) 12 and 11. B and E.
(128) 12 and 7. E.	(133) 1 and 12. E and C.
(129) 12 and 8. G and E.	(134) 2 and 12. C and D.
(130) 12 and 9. E and F.	(135) 3 and 12. C.

4 and 12.



(137) 5 and 12. B and C.	(141) 9 and 12. C and a-fl.
(138) 6 and 12. A and C.	(142) 10 and 12. C and F.
(139) 7 and 12. C.	(143) 11 and 12. C and F.
(140) 8 and 12. B and C.	(144) 12 and 12. E and C.

Of these twentythree scales we are obliged to except five, in each of which two cases of the diminished fourth concur. This brings up the number of exceptions to eighteen, which exceptions reduce the working scales to onehundred and twentysix. The five present excepted scales are Nos. 126, 127, 137, 138, and 144, of which only the last, No. 144, is capable of the Double Counterpoint inversion in the *octave*.

It is impossible to remark upon the various ramifications and involutions of which this array of scales is capable. We will only mention that the immediate relatives of the parent scale, No. 49, control the whole. Those immediate relatives are Nos. 88, 98, 109, 117, 129, and 141.

Having thus laid bare the working material, diatonic and chromatic, of the Oriental musician, we will now strive to ascertain what has resulted from all this tonal wealth, and give as briefly as possible a few specimens of such result.

And first, we must mention how very few are the reliable sources of information on the subject of Oriental music, sacred or profane. Three days ago, consulting a friend known to literature, who resided many years in Persia, a glowing account was given of the lengthened religious musical festivals, 'oratorios' they were styled, which it has been his fortune to attend, and of the pathetic and even tear-producing effects of the same. But he could give no clue by which those effects could be reproduced, as everything was either traditional or wrapped up in most

undecypherable manuscript. An Egyptian gentleman of the Mohaminadan faith, whom we had the good fortune, since the commencement of this article, to meet, was most willing to assist the writer with facts, but the thing he needed most light upon was incapable of illustration. The music of the Mohaminadan religious services has, for some reason or other, never been committed to writing, but has passed on traditionally to the generations of Softas and Imaums.* Another literary friend,

* It is not forgotten in this connection that Sir Edward Lane, in his *Modern Egyptians*, London: Chas. Knight & Co., 1837, among his specimens of Arab music gives instances of the 'Call to Prayer' of the Mooeddin, and of the 'Chanting of the [first chapter of the] Koorán.' Also fragments of the Zikkir, 'the repetition of the Name of God, or of the profession of His Unity,' sung by the dervishes. Respecting these two latter, Sir Edward had the opportunity of acquiring information by employing as his private tutors 'two professors of Arabic and of Mohaminadan religion and law': but the instances given by him have rather too modern an appearance to be of any critical value. The 'Call to Prayer' we have ourselves, on many occasions, in Egypt, Syria, and other parts of the Turkish Empire, tried to verify from Sir Edward Lane's book, but must confess never to have heard so simple a form as that given by him. One other remark has been suggested by reference to Sir Edward Lane. He tells us in vol. ii., page 64, that 'the most remarkable peculiarity in the Arab system of music is the division of tones into thirds.' This passage has no doubt been quoted again and again, and has probably in many cases prevented further enquiry on account of the seeming difficulty involved in it, and its contradiction of the pianoforte division of the tone into two parts only. Let us grapple with the difficulty at once. Sir Edward does not say 'division of the tone into equal thirds,' but tells of 'thirds' only. Turn we now to our 'Table of Comparative Vibrations,' in the first part of this paper, and let us take the lowest tone, D: E. What do we there find? That the tone is divided, not into three parts merely, but into *five*. To produce the 'Arab system' of Sir Edward Lane's instructors, instead of adding something we must eliminate two of our present notes. Suppose we do so, removing those whose calculations and origin are most remote, C-doublesharp and F-flat. We then have left the partial and incomplete 'Arab system' of our Author, consisting of D-natural, 1203—E-flat, 1268—D-sharp, 1285—E-natural, 1354. We have omitted the decimals, and the three intervals are indicated by (—) dashes. What we have to take care of in practice, is to do what the Arabs do, and what the pianoforte cannot do, viz., keep the flats between the tones flat enough, and the sharps sharp enough, and we have our 'division of tones into thirds' as well as they.

enjoying facilities for the acquirement of Coptic lore, when applied to less recently respecting Coptic Church music, made reply : 'The Coptic Church music is in a most hopeless state. The Jesuits tried to prepare a book of it, but when I heard last they had met with no one, Catholic or Monophysite, who could tell them which of the notes he sang were regulation, and which his own invention,' etc. These last quoted words give a very true picture of the practical condition in which Music finds itself in the East. The many who cherish it and keep it alive are most of them persons of small education, who know not the great value of the treasure entrusted to their keeping; the smaller but increasing number of educated persons think, most of them, that they show their superiority by affecting to despise the music of their poorer brethren. Hence it is that the Jesuits and most other enquirers can 'meet with no one' to explain matters. Of the poor who cherish, and of the rich who despise their treasure, it may truly be said—they know not what they do.

Our own conversion was brought about in a way little expected. Though we love the music of the East with a passionate ardour, there was a time when such love did not exist. A period of positive aversion preceded those of mere tolerance, calm enquiry, and ultimate acceptance. The period of aversion, however, came to a close after the manner following. Being one day at the country house of a Turkish Cadi, and seated at the pianoforte, the host produced a sheet of manuscript music in European notes, and requested to hear it played. Now, there are manuscripts and manuscripts. Some are easy to follow; others just as difficult. This sample, for difficulty, was about the worst possible. It was badly written, and seemed to be bottom upward whichever way the sheet was held. But discovering at length some method in the madness of the notes, an attempt was made to perform the piece, but with poor result in the performer's estimation. Turning his head to receive the correction thought to be necessary, he saw his auditor in a transport of pleasure, with his hands lifted, and his face beaming with smiles. This visible fact of the music, however strange to his own ears, being pleasure-giving, made the writer determine to ascertain the

secret of this pleasure; and after long effort the secret was conquered. But let no one reading these pages think that that secret can be attained without time and labour. The Orthodox Church and its sacred services are the best school and instruction to which to have recourse; but for thoroughly grounding one's self, the music of the Eastern *people*, of whatever race we are in contact with, must not be disregarded. How great a result will follow patient care, directed by scientific judgment, is proved in the case of M. Bourgault-Ducoudray, who some years ago spent a considerable time in the Levant, at the expense of the French government, in order to acquire a knowledge of Eastern Music. Some of the results of his research may be found in the *Conférence* at the head of this article, which was taken part in by M. Gounod and other eminent French musicians, and in his *Trente mélodies populaires de Grèce et d'Orient*, Paris: Henry Lemoine. Both these works, though brief, are of great value.

The first of the four books now under review, the treatise on *Church Song in Russia*, by Father Razoumofski, authorised for use in the Moscow Conservatory, is of such excellence as almost to justify the remark, that like as Lord Macaulay in preparation for his *History* studied the Dutch language in order better to comprehend the State papers of William of Orange, so may the musician find his interest in the study of Russian to understand his Razoumofski. The book is specially rich in coloured reproductions of the old notation, which, fortunately for the reader, are not left unexplained.

The Latin work by Messrs. Christ and Pararikas is more accessible to the general reader, and is, moreover, a very practical work. It abounds in musical illustrations, and in the Prolegomena gives a sufficiently full explanation of the notation, special mannerisms, and general style of the ecclesiastical phase of Oriental music. We give our first musical specimen from its pages. It forms part of the *Aposticha* at Vespers on Good Friday evening, and was quoted as far as the second double-bar by the musical editor of the quarto Fourth Edition of Dr. Neale's *Hymns of the Eastern Church*, London: J. T. Hayes, 1882. We prefer to give the Hymn entire.

EXAMPLE XX.

SCALE 112. Tetrachords 2 and 11.

"Ο - τε εἰς τοῦ ξύ - λου Σε νε - κρόν, ὁ 'Α - ρι - μα -
 θεῖ - ας κα - θεῖ - λε, τὴν τῶν ἁ - πάν - των ζω - ῆν,
 σμύρνη καὶ σιν - δό - νι Σε Χρι - στέ ἰ - κή -
 δευ - σε· καὶ τῷ πό - θῳ ἡ - πεί - γε - το,
 καρ - δι - φ, καὶ χει - λει, σῶ - μα τὸ ἁ -
 κή - ρα - τον, Σοῦ πε - ρι - πτύ - ξασ - θαι·
 ὁ - μως συ - στελ - λό - με - νος φό - βῳ,
 χαι - ρων ἁ - νε - βό - α Σοι· Δό - ξα,
 τῆ συγ - κα - τα - βά - σει Σου Φι - λάν - θρω - πι.

This ancient melody is framed upon the scale No. 112, consisting of the Phrygian and the second Chromatic major fourth tetrachords, which scale, as it is merely indicated above, we will here quote. The lower or D form it is which we are here considering.

EXAMPLE XXI.

2 and 11.

(112)

The diatonic tetrachord gives a mixed character to this scale. Mixed scales are always named from their diatonic tetrachord.

The present diatonic tetrachord is Phrygian, hence this scale is regarded as a chromatic form of Tone 2 or the Phrygian Mode. The defect in the fifth, it being minor, is in no way palliated. In no single instance is it raised in pitch, and it is, with the exception of the major sixth, the most persistent note in the whole melody. Although the melody is always styled of the 2nd tone, many persons might imagine from its sub-dominant tendency that it belonged to scale No. 38, which may be regarded as (what indeed it is) a plagal hypo of scale No. 112. But not only is it more natural to trace a mixed chromatic melody to the parent scale whose lower tetrachord is diatonic, we must also be satisfied with the fact that the authorities of the Orthodox Church have determined the matter, and nothing further can be said. The melody is in $\eta\chi\omicron\varsigma\beta$.

We have already intimated that the diatonic genus is in use in the East, but seldom for any length of time without cropping out into chromaticism. A short example of the blending of the two styles we now offer, copied from *Specimens of Ancient Byzantine Ecclesiastical Melody*, London: Augener & Co., 1879. The change of rhythm therein is as remarkable as the change of genus. Rhythm is an important matter we have been compelled for want of space to pass by, but we may remark that not only are changes therein very frequent, but that quintuple and septuple rhythms (so uncommon in the West) are frequent also.

EXAMPLE XXII.

Fragment from a CHERUBIC HYMN.

Τὸν Τρι - σά . . . γι, τὸν Τρι - σά - γι -
 ον . . . γι . . .
 μνον.

The following example, from the same publication of *Specimens* as the above XXII., reverts to the chromatic genus, pure and simple; and in presenting it with a four part harmony and also in its original Oriental notation, we bring to a close the present article, which has merely touched in a few places the surface of this great subject. For the transliteration of the Oriental characters into European notation the musical world is indebted to the care and ability of Mr. Evstratios Pappadopoulos, Protopsaltis of the Church of the Panaghia in Stavrodromion, Pera, Constantinople.

EXAMPLE XXIII.

BENEDICTUS. *From the Liturgy of St. Basil.*

Εὐ - λο - γη - μί

νος - - - ὁ ἐρ - χό - - - με

νος - - - ἐν - - - - - Ὁ, - - -

ἐν Ὁ - νό - - - μα - - - τι Κυ -

ρί - - - - - ου - - - - -

Ω - σα - γά ο ἐν

. τοῖς ὁ, ἐν τοῖς ὁ .


ψι σοι οῖς

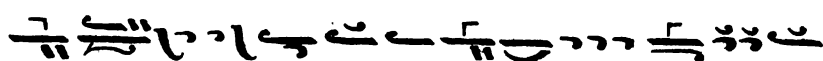
. ἐν τοῖς -- ὁ -- ψι

rall.

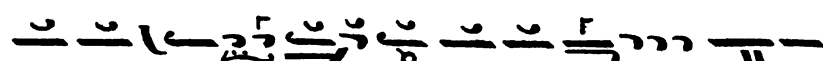
σοις

Ἡ Θεία καὶ Ἱερά Λειτουργία τοῦ Μεγ. Βασιλείου.


 6. Ευ λο γη με ε ε ε ε



 ε ε νο ο ος ο ε ερ χο ο ο ο ο ο με νο



 ος ε ε ε η ε ε ε εν ο ο εν ο νο ο ο

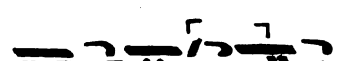

 ο ο μα α α η α α τι Κυ ρι ι ι ι ι ι ι

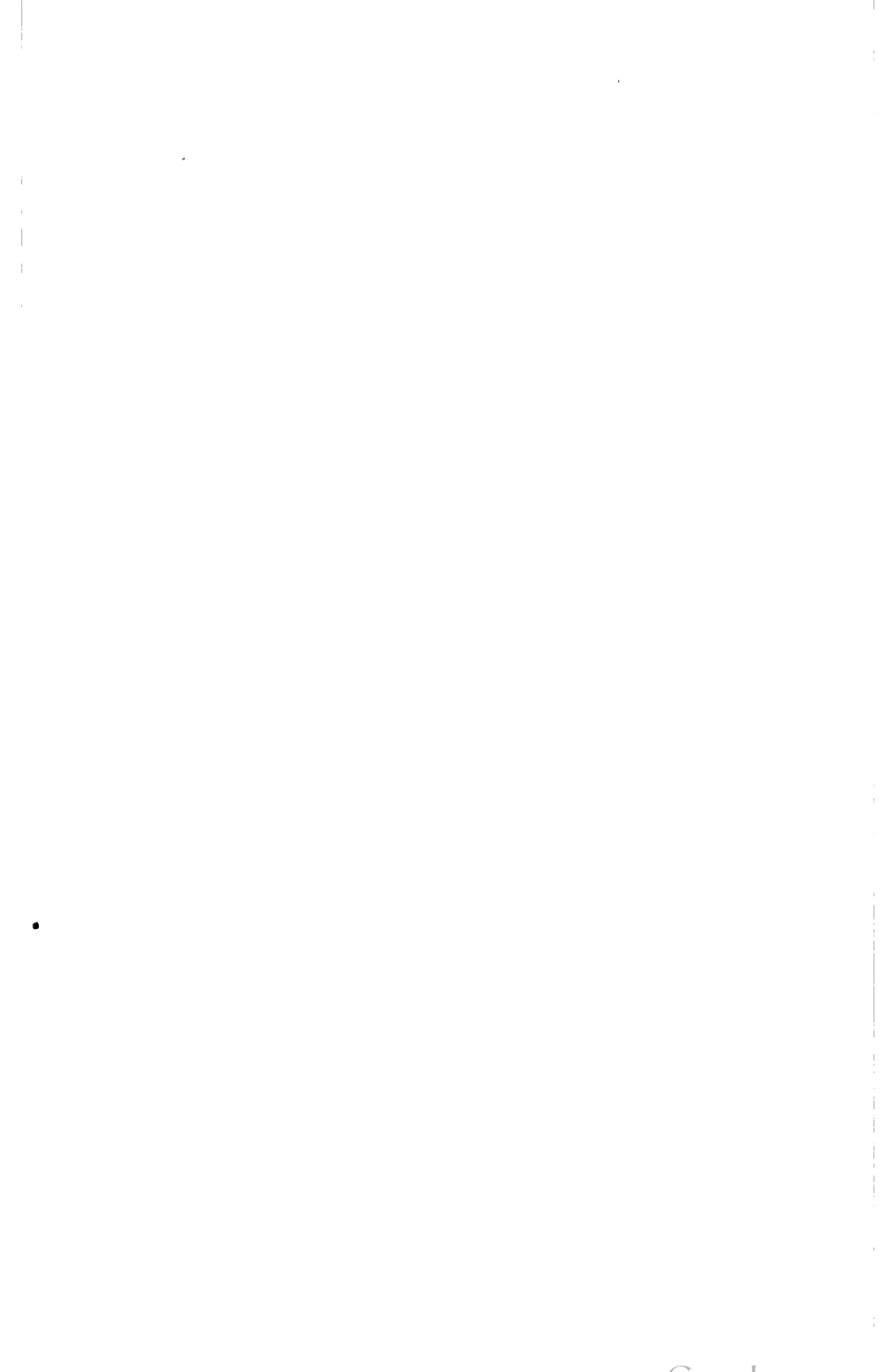

 ου ου ου ου ου ου ρ ω σα γα ο ε ε ε ε


 η ε ε ε εν τοι οι οι οι οι οι οι οι εν τοις υ ψι


 ι ι ι ι ι τοι οι οι οι οι οι οι οι οι οι οι οι


 εν τοι οι οι υ ψι ι ι ι ι ι ι ι ι τοι οι


 οι οι χ οι οι οι οι οι



ART. III.—FLORENCE WILSON.

AN interesting book might be written on the rise and fall of reputations. How one man's fame has come to him during his life, while centuries have elapsed before the worth of another has obtained recognition; how this one's reputation has been brilliant but brief—"up with the rocket and down with the stick"—while his neighbour has slowly and painfully built up for himself a monument more enduring than brass—these, and a hundred kindred problems, would form material for a book which would be as entertaining as a work of fiction, but as sad, we fear, as human life itself.

And when this book comes to be written, as no doubt it will be sooner or later, the story of Florence Wilson, better known among scholars as Florentius Volusenus, will form, we venture to say, not the least interesting chapter of its contents.

For seldom has Fortune played fast and loose with a man's reputation, as it has done with the author of the once famous Dialogue on the Tranquillity of the Soul. Few men who have added anything of merit to literature have been so completely forgotten. In the eighteenth century, Smollett might, indeed, in one of his comedies, couple him with Marcus Aurelius as a philosopher, with some slight hope of having the allusion understood. In the nineteenth, it may be doubted if any but a few Dryasdust scholars, or some fellow countryman of his own, hailing like himself from the banks of the Lossie, has ever so much as heard his name. Yet the mere list of those with whom he is known to have been in relations either of friendship or of business, point to an eminence which was no more to be obtained three centuries ago without merit than it is in our own day. He was the *protégé* of no less than four Cardinals of different nations—Wolsey of England, Lorraine and du Bellay of France, and Sadoletto of Italy. He was the confidential correspondent of Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex. Boece, Vaus, Gavin Dunbar, and Sir John Bellenden had the highest opinion of him, and took an interest in his fortunes. Stephen

Gardiner, the celebrated Bishop of Winchester, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Fox, Bishop of Hereford, and William Pigot, Henry VIII.'s ambassador were amongst the number of his friends. Bartholomew Anneau, Principal of Trinity College, Lyons, went out of his way to eulogize his virtues and his learning to his countryman the Regent Arran. Conrad Gesner, 'the Pliny of Germany,' had the same opinion of his merits. George Buchanan, who knew him intimately, loved him as a brother, and lamented his untimely death in an epitaph as pathetic as it was elegant—

Hic musis, Volusere, jaces carissime, ripam
 Ad Rhodani,—terra quam procul a patria !
 Hoc meruit virtus tua, tellus quae foret altrix
 Virtutum, ut cineres conderet illa tuos.

That with such testimonials to his merits, his memory should have been so soon and so completely forgotten is, at first sight, a very remarkable circumstance.

Yet there are not wanting reasons which may explain, though they certainly cannot altogether excuse, the apparent ingratitude of this neglect. In the first place, we possess nothing but the merest skeleton of his history. He never achieved the elevation of eminence which made the preservation of a detailed record of his career a debt due to posterity by his contemporaries. It was enough if his name was occasionally mentioned in the correspondence of the celebrated men of his time with whom he came in contact. Even of those who befriended him, how few have found their *vates sacer!* Again, the very means he adopted to ensure the vitality of the work on which he based his fame—if such a thought ever crossed his mind at all—has been one of the most effective causes why, in modern times at least, it has been so rapidly forgotten. His *magnum opus* is written in what is now to an infinitely greater extent than was the case in his own day, a dead language; and so far as we have been able to ascertain, it has never been translated from its original Latin. Lastly—and here, perhaps, we have the most potent reason of all—its author was a Scotsman.

It is odd, considering the high average which Scotch mediæval scholarship maintained at the continental universities, and how restless Scottish scholars were in their travels from college to college, how few writers of eminence Scotland has produced till comparatively modern times. Beyond John Duns, now definitely adjudged to Scotland, and John, indifferently surnamed Scotus and Erigena, to whose fame we have, we fear, at the best but a doubtful claim, it is difficult to recall the name of any great scholar hailing from north of the Tweed. It was not all our own fault perhaps. The poverty of our nation practically expatriated its most loyal and dutiful sons. Educated abroad and destined for the Church, they were speedily absorbed in the ecclesiastical crowd which swarmed around the gates of the continental universities. They lost their patronymics, and with them their nationality, in the barbarous terminology of a foreign language. Whatever fame they won in after life was acquired for the country which gave them bread, and in which they had cast their lot. Nor did they lack their reward. All over France,—to give but a single example,—from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, were to be found bishops and abbots and priors, enjoying fat livings, revelling in the good things of this earth, and ashamed of nothing but of the fact that they had originally issued from ‘the land of beggars, of rats, and of lice.’ For, despite the ‘Auncient Allynce,’ on which, when it suited them, our friends across the Channel set so much store, never hesitating to assign its origin ‘to the days of King Achaius, or at least of Robert the Bruce,’ there can be no doubt that Scotland, and everything and everybody Scotch, was systematically decried and assiduously despised by our continental neighbours, even when the bonds of amity were politically at their closest. A French Dauphin had no objection to wear the crown matrimonial of Scotland, nor a French king to trust the defence of his sacred person to a Scotch guard. These were honours conferred on, not by Scotland. They meant nothing more than is implied when a prince of the Blood Royal of our own day accepts the order of the Chrysanthemum from the Mikado of Japan, or the Queen of England that of the Medjidie from

the Commander of the Faithful. The nation had no concern with the personal decorations of their sovereign. They were still at liberty to look down upon the donors of these toys and gew-gaws as utter barbarians, dwelling in outer darkness. And it was precisely thus that France regarded the Scots during the whole period of their political connection with her. Gallic wit was never tired of amusing itself at our expense. Every Scotchman had flat feet and the red hair of Judas Iscariot. He was an incorrigible and ridiculous savage—a *sac à vin*, and a *mangeur de moutons*; very proud and very cowardly; very filthy and very poor. His country was a land which made one shiver even to think of. It was full of ice-covered rocks and impenetrable bogs. It was peopled with sorcerers and witches, and was the chosen home of the Devil. No wonder the wandering propensities of the Scots were so great. They were thankful to escape from their own horrid and inhospitable country. No wonder the Scots were so mean and despicable: for what good thing could come out of a country which produced nothing but thistles, and which could not even support its own few and barbarous inhabitants?

Nor do we feel quite certain that some dregs of this feeling have not descended to modern times. Discounting M. Max O'Rell as a mere frivolous and professional joker, no one—no Scotchman we mean—who reads between the lines of the late lamented M. Michel's *Les Ecossais en France* will, we venture to say, be able to resist the feeling that even when he is most polite to us, the polished and cultured Frenchman is not laughing at us in his sleeve. One feels inclined to sink through the earth when he reflects that he belongs to the sorry and despicable people that magnificent France for centuries deigned to patronize and to countenance. We are constantly reminded of the blessing that France has been to wretched little Scotland. We are bidden admire the hospitality she accorded to the poor truant Scots who came to warm themselves in her sunshine and to fill themselves with her corn and her oil and her wine. And certainly any benefits our ancestors did receive from France, are not lost in the telling of this learned and patriotic Frenchman. We do not blame him for it. There is

undeniable truth in many of the reproaches he so courteously and covertly hurls at our heads. Our national manners in the sixteenth century were not so nice as those of our continental neighbours, and indubitably our poverty was greater. We cite M. Michel merely to infer that if there is anything resembling a prejudice against us as a nation in the nineteenth century, there actually was a prejudice—rightly or wrongly it matters not—against Scotchmen and everything Scotch, on the part of neighbouring peoples in the sixteenth; and to argue therefrom that this prejudice was one of the greatest obstacles to Scotch scholarship deriving its due reward of honour in the world of letters. We have purposely taken the case of a nation which professed to be our friend. Need we say how much stronger that prejudice must have been in the case of a nation which, like England, acknowledged herself to be our ancient and hereditary enemy?

No doubt, in individual cases, as in that of Florence Wilson, there may have been more personal causes at work. We do not hesitate to admit that his reputation at this day might have been greater than it is, if he had not himself been one of the shyest and most retiring of mankind. He had not a scrap of ambition about him. He was content to pass his days as the obscure schoolmaster of an obscure town, in Vacluse. In accepting this office, we find him writing to his friend Dr. Starkey, that he had been influenced less by pecuniary considerations and personal advantage than by the opportunity it afforded him of devoting himself to the study of philosophy, far removed from the bustle of the world, from ambition and from all cares. And though he started in life with the ball at his foot as the *protégé* first of Cardinal Wolsey and afterwards of Cromwell, though all his life he never seems to have wanted willing and powerful patrons, we know of no occasion when he sought or desired any preferment, until we find him, forced by actual indigence, soliciting the influence of Sadoletto, to obtain for him a mastership in the village school of Carpentras. Assuredly, he was either the simplest or the most philosophical of his kind!

The few facts which we know about his career are comprised in very small compass.

He was born about the year 1504. The exact place of his nativity is unknown, but his earliest biographer tells us that the placid Lossie meandered close by his early home, and it may be assumed to have been in the immediate vicinity of Elgin. Of his parents' position in life we know nothing, but they are stated to have been respectable. Judging from the education he received he doubtless owed much to their care and liberality. But he owed more to the place of his birth.

To-day a green country town, with little beyond its old trees and its crumbling ruins to remind us of its venerable past, Elgin in the early years of the sixteenth century was at the very zenith of its ecclesiastical grandeur and glory. For nearly three hundred years—ever, indeed, since the removal of its See and its Cathedral by Andrew de Moravia about the year 1222, from the shores of Loch Spynie to the banks of the Lossie, it had maintained its supremacy as the first Cathedral City of Scotland. Its Chanoury Kirk—*speculum patriae et decus regni* as the Register of Moray calls it—*omnium quae tum in Scotia erant, pulcherrima*, says George Buchanan, avowedly no friend of the Catholic religion either in dogma or in stone and lime—was the centre of an influence which pervaded not only the wild district in the midst of which it was placed, but the whole of Scotland itself. An apostolic succession of men of talents and learning—great statesmen, great scholars, great ecclesiastics, great courtiers and great pluralists—had enlarged the resources of the See and fostered its advancement to the highest degree of importance and dignity. Whether regarded in its material, political or religious aspects, there was not a Bishopric in Scotland, with the doubtful exception of the Archbishopric of St. Andrews itself, which could compare with that of Moray. It was the blue ribbon of ecclesiasticism in Scotland,—the greatest prize which it was in the collation of the Pope to bestow. How strong was the influence which it could exert, how great were its resources, may be appreciated from a mere consideration of the amount of building which was required to house all the dignitaries attached to the

Cathedral service. The Bishop had his own baronial castle at Spynie, but he had also his town house within the Chanonry walls. Here too, within the Precinct—*Collegium*, as it was technically called—enclosed by walls twelve feet in height, covering a circumference of nine hundred yards—were the twenty-two manses or official residences of the Dean, sub-Dean, and Canons. Kings themselves had not disdained to accept their hospitality. Some of them, such as Unthank Manse and Duffus Manse were in existence in the beginning of the present century, and might have been in existence yet but for the vandalism which, till quite recently, has been so active in improving off the face of the earth every landmark of the picturesque Past, and which was as rampant in the old Cathedral city as in other parts of the kingdom. Two, indeed, still survive—the residences of the Dean and sub-Dean, known by the names of the North and South College respectively. But these have long ago been converted into modern mansion houses, and nothing remains to tell of their pristine dignity but the massive thickness of their walls, and the magnificent old trees, which in the drowsy Morayshire summer, cover them with their green and grateful shade.

Nor was the little adjoining burgh—not for four centuries to come to be dignified with the name of city—which had grown up under the protection of the Bishopric, outside the Precinct walls, insensible to the influence of that ecclesiasticism, which, like the sweet perfume of flowers, exhaled from the portcullised gates of the Chanonry, and swept down the long narrow street which, at that time, constituted the sole territory over which the jurisdiction of the municipal authorities extended. Everything was grave, sober and calm as within the Precinct walls themselves. Sacerdotalism was as powerful in the burgh as in the college. Trade there was little or none, except what was required to supply the material wants of the Bishop and his court. But from morning to evening the church bells were forever summoning the pious burghers to prayers. Long processions of richly-robed priests paraded the causewayed streets. Grey and black-gowned Friars met one at every corner, and

the odour of incense mingled not inharmoniously with the peat smoke from the thatched cottages of the citizens.

Here, again, the predominance of the clerical over the secular element may best be understood by an enumeration of the buildings devoted to the different forms of its service.

In what is now the middle of the High Street, but which at the time we are considering was the extreme limit of the burgh's eastern boundary, stood until 1826, when it was demolished to make room for a sham Greek temple—the parish church—a quaint old Gothic building, raised on arches, and with a heavy lumbering old-world square tower, dedicated to St. Giles, the patron saint of the burgh. Built at a time when there was no intention to erect a Cathedral in Elgin, its dimensions had been calculated on a scale to supply the religious wants of the town for a long time to come, and hence it acquired the name by which it was long and affectionately known, of the Muckle Kirk. With the exception of a small chapel dedicated to the Virgin, and erected in connection with the old Royal Castle of the burgh, on the top of the hog-backed green hill—*collis leviter et modice editus*—called probably from it, the Lady hill, which lies to the north of the High Street, there was no other strictly ecclesiastical edifice in the town. But in its immediate vicinity were other buildings of a more or less religious character, most of them possessing chapels of their own. One of these, the Greyfriars' Monastery, whose ruins we still happily possess, was of peculiar beauty, extent, and importance. It was erected in 1409 by Bishop John Innes, for the monks of that particular branch of the order of Franciscans, known as Observantines, which had been introduced into Scotland by King James I.; and its resources were of great extent. Then, at the foot of the Lady hill, on a fertile haugh intersected by the gently flowing Lossie—the most placid, one is almost inclined to say the most sluggish, of all the rivers of Scotland—embowered amidst gardens and orchards, was a smaller monastery belonging to the Blackfriars, of which no traces remain. Not far from the Cathedral, too, stood the Maison Dieu, an establishment of a semi-religious, semi-charitable nature—at once an Hospital and a Preceptory,

where comfort alike spiritual and temporal, was administered with no niggard hand to the sick, the poor, and the aged. At a still greater distance from the town, but near enough to aid in maintaining its religious supremacy, were the two important priories of Pluscarden and Urquhart—the former, with the single exception of Melrose, which it much resembles, probably the most picturesque ruin of a religious edifice which we have in Scotland. Thus, within a radius of less than seven miles, were to be found no less than thirty-two buildings devoted to religious purposes—a wealth of ecclesiastical authority such as, we venture to say, no other district in the kingdom can lay claim to.

Scenes and surroundings like these could not fail to influence a young mind of Wilson's studious and reflective temperament. Whether or not they awoke in him the ambition so common to his countrymen, 'to wag his head in a poopit,' he does not tell us; but from the first he seems to have been destined for the Church, or at any rate for one of the learned professions.

At that time the monopoly of all learning, both secular and religious, lay in the hands of the Church, and naturally it had the monopoly of all education as well. Burgh schools north or east of Aberdeen there were none. Though it is probable that schools of theology existed in connection with the Cathedral, at least from the middle of the thirteenth century, the only means of secular education available to the youth of middle-class Elgin—for the excellent education afforded by the monasteries was the exclusive prerogative of the nobility and landed gentry—was the Grammar School instituted by the Chapter towards the end of the fifteenth century. In the Register of Moray, under the year 1489, is a Statute and Act of Convocation providing for the erection of a suitable building for a *scola generalis*, and for the appointment of a fitting person—a Churchman of course—to be its governor and master. We have but scanty means of ascertaining what was the nature of the education there provided, but we cannot doubt that it included all the ordinary branches of a liberal education as the phrase was understood in those days. Grammar—that comprehensive *grammatica* which embraced the whole lan-

guage and literature of Rome—for Greek was then a sealed book to western Europe—was of course its principal object, but in all likelihood it corresponded to the secondary schools of the present day. At this school Wilson received his early education, and he himself provides us with a pleasant picture of himself and his friend, John Ogilvie, a lad of his own years—afterwards rector of Cruden, and latterly a Canon of Aberdeen Cathedral,—wandering, Horace in hand, along the banks of the Lossie, and philosophizing after the manner of ingenuous youth in all countries and of all ages, on the difficulties and problems of a life of which neither the one nor the other had the most remote conception.

From the Cathedral Grammar School, Wilson proceeded to the University of Aberdeen, the youngest of the three Universities then existing in Scotland, but already under the fostering care of Hector Boece, its Principal, struggling its way into reputation. Alone of all the Scottish Universities, Aberdeen possessed from and after the tenth year of its foundation, through the wise liberality of its founder, Bishop Elphinstone, a properly equipped and salaried official staff, which rendered it ultimately independent of the more or less amateur teaching which all graduates were bound to give in their several faculties for a limited period, to the University in which they had taken their degrees. This staff consisted of thirty-six persons in all, and as they were also members of the Collegiate Church, their duties were at once scholastic and ecclesiastical. We know a little from the *Fasti* of the University, of a few of the men whom it may be assumed were Wilson's teachers.

The Principal was Hector Boece, whom the Bishop had brought from the College Montaigu of Paris, to preside over and to teach philosophy in the infant seminary of his episcopal See. His fame as a historian has thrown his eminence as a teacher into the background, but the *permulti bene docti in philosophia* whom he mentions in his *Lives of the Bishops* as having been educated at Aberdeen under his own tuition and that of his friend and colleague William Hay, are evidence of the success which attended their joint labours. The celebrated John Vaus, the author of the well known *Rudimenta in artem*

Grammaticam, was the *Grammarius* or Professor of Humanity—*‘in hoc genere disciplinae admodum eruditus, sermone elegans, sententiis venustus, labore invictus*—as Hector Boece describes him. Arthur Boece, the Principal's brother was Canonist, and either James Ogilvie or John Lindsay, Civilist.

Of the particulars of Wilson's university career no particulars are recorded either in his own books, or in the few and scanty casual notices of him by his contemporaries. In all probability he took his degree here, but this is mere matter of conjecture. The next we hear of him is in Paris, where we find him leading the ordinary life of a wandering and struggling student.

What Oxford and Cambridge are at the present day, and what even then they were fast becoming, the continental universities, especially those of France and Italy, were in the sixteenth century—the crown of a liberal education. And the Middle Ages had their fashionable branches of knowledge no less than our own times. The type of scholarship which, amongst ourselves, has its be-all and end-all in the classics, in Wilson's day concerned itself with philosophy, and it is hard to say which of these two branches of learning is the most useless in practical life. Amongst the continental schools, those of Paris had, after Padua, perhaps, the highest reputation for this description of knowledge. There was one school, in particular, which had special attractions for students from the far North. This was the Scots College, founded in 1325 by David de Moravia, Bishop of Moray. Attached to this institution were certain bursaries—*bursae de Gresioc*, the *Registrum Moraviense* calls them—to which natives of the old Province had a preferable claim, and it has been conjectured that Wilson may have been the fortunate recipient of one of them. However this may be, it is more than probable that he studied here, and that he here made the acquaintance of George Buchanan, who was also one of its students. It is certain, too, that at this period of his history, he maintained himself, either in whole or in part, by private tuition, and it may be assumed that his scholarship was above the average, for amongst his pupils was the young nephew of Cardinal Wolsey. This lucky appointment he owed to the great Cardinal himself, and

that is really all we know about it. His anonymous Latin biographer tells us that he discharged its duties to the entire satisfaction of his patron; and 'many benefits,' we are told, 'were heaped upon him by the Cardinal.' And doubtless it would in due time have led him to place and power, but for the Cardinal's death in 1530, and the changed fortunes of the family that ensued.

But Wilson's star was still in the ascendant. He had not yet exhausted the proverbial three chances that every man is said to have of making his fortune. He soon found another patron.

Through his relations with Wolsey, he had made the acquaintance of Thomas Cromwell, already a Privy Councillor and Keeper of the Crown Jewels, and from a letter preserved in the Cottonian Library, we find that after the Cardinal's death he obtained employment from him in the capacity of what we should now designate as a special correspondent. His duties appear to have been to pick up information for Cromwell of all that was going on in France. In the letter in question, which is written from Paris, and dated 25th April, either of the year 1531 or 1532, we have an admirable account of the excitement caused in Paris by Father Gérard's * Latin sermon preached before the Queen of Navarre, who was more than shrewdly suspected of being tainted with the heretical doctrines of the fast approaching Reformation. †

'Richt honourable Sir,' it says, 'after humble commendatione at my service [I] besich your Maistership to vnderstand the nouvelles thair is [bot] few heir vorthy to be writtin; notwithstanding suche [as] thair is, I shall schortlie rehers. The doctors of the towne, not all, but Beda, ‡ de Cornibus, § a Cor-

* Pierre Gérard was Principal of the College of Mignon.

† The letter in question is printed in the Bannatyne Miscellany, i. 325, with prefatory remarks by the late David Laing, LL.D. It has been partially destroyed by fire, and many *lacunae* occur. The words within brackets have been supplied by its editor.

‡ Noel Bede (Natalis Beda), Principal of the College of Montaigu from 1502, and Syndic of the University of Paris, was a determined enemy of all religious innovation. But his zeal outran his discretion. An attack

delier and suche, has complened to the King vpon one preacher called Maister Petre Gerarde, wiche preached afor the Quein of Nauarre this Lent in Paris; and as Monsieur de Lange* told me, thai haf noted bot thre articles, or four, the wiche thai juge other erroneus or ellis not to be preached in this tyme, saying that he largith suche generall ground whairvpon he intendith to beild a hous of heresi. Theis be the articles:—

‘*Omnia sunt munda mundis*, and thairfor this *delectus ciborum* should be superstitiose.

‘*Sicut ancilla contrectans panem domine sue immundis manibus offendit dominam, sic nos Deum quicquid operemur sine fide et conscientia munda.*

‘*Sicut non licet uxori mutare, augere vel imminuere, vel commentatione aliqua aut glossa in hunc vel illum sensum trahere testamentum mariti, sic nec licere ecclesie sacras literas sic pro arbitrio suo fingere ac refingere.*

‘The fourt article I harde not.

‘The Kyng has send for Gerard and for certaine doctors, and hes commanded Gerard when that he preachis afor his sister to have ever two honest men, and of judgement, sworne to recite faithfully it that he says, when thai shall be required; the wiche we think bot a small punishment. Thre or iiij was that preached against him be name, and that sediciosly, the wiche is commandit to fre ward amongs thair friendis; and amongs them is thair one Cordeleir, wiche told openly in the pulpits one example of a greate clerk wiche should have come other tymes out of Bohemia to England, and thair, vith great eloquence preached eroneous opinions. The princis and nobles of the realme persuaded be his eloquence, suffereth him; the comons for fear of great men, whobeit thai grongith, yet thai durst not do him no harm. . . . The [people] setting

upon the King's sister, Margaret, Queen of Navarre, was followed by his exile from the University in 1533. He was ridiculed by Rabelais.

§ Pierre d. Corne (de Cornibus), a man of learning but of singular character, who fell under the lash of Rabelais' satire. He is supposed by the late Sir William Hamilton, Bart., to be alluded to in Buchanan's *Franciscans*.

* Probably Cardinal du Bellai.

apart all feir, ordinance, and [respect] of princis, went of their awne zeil and [haif] stoned this doctor to death; and so [that fell] wiche was persaued to be said of God, [ye kill] certaine fleis that eite and poysont the [body]; and so should ye doo, said the [Cordelier] vith this heretic Gerard, wich is now [poysoning] princis and ladyis.

'After this [on that] same day, as he was going on the streit [to the] sermon, he persaved certaine seruandis of [the Quein] of Nauarre, and schew to them that [wich happened], saying thois be this heretics and . . . falois hurt v or vj of thame be his exhortatione. . . . Other matters I defer [to my] cuming, wiche, be the grace of Gode, shall be [in xv] or xvi days. In the meane tyme, I commend humblie Nicholas Fedderstone, my procture of Spelhur, . . . besiching you to help and succurs him in his [neid]. George Hampton's seruand wich arrived [in this towne] yestereven, *hoc est xxiij die Aprilis*, spakke [to me of bookis] to your maisterschip, and being willing [to buy] the same and not having great plenty as [I was wont] of money, I went to Maister Hampton [who spakke] to me and said, with a meruelus leborall [air, I shuld] not laike no money for ony thing that concernith your maisterschip, declairing your great humanite [which was] daylie schaw to him; and so suche new things [as are] heir I shall bring vith me in all haist. [I pray] Gode have your maisterschip in His keeping.'

This letter is remarkable, not only from its being the only one of Wilson's in the vernacular which has descended to us, but also in its reference to a patron, or possible patron, on whose power of advancing his interests he set, as we shall see, greater store than on any other, Wolsey alone excepted. This was Jean du Lange, or Langey, better known as Cardinal du Bellay, a scion of an old and distinguished family of Maine, at that time Bishop either of Bayonne or Paris, as the date of this letter is taken to be 1531 or 1532. He was the second of a trio of brothers who were all celebrities in their day, and who all achieved a certain degree of literary distinction. William, the eldest, Seigneur du Lange, had been Viceroy of Piedmont, and is eulogized by Brantôme as one of

the most excellent captains of the day. He was fond of history, and had written an *Epitome of the Antiquity of the Gauls and of France*, in which he deduced the origin of the Gauls from Samothés, the eldest son of Japhet, and of the French from the Trojans who had escaped the Fall of Troy. But his chief claim to distinction is his *Memoirs of the affairs of his time*, to which he gave the fantastic title of *Ogdoades*, from its division into eight books. Martin, the youngest, was a soldier also, and he, too, had tried his hand at *Mémoires Historiques*, chiefly of the battles and sieges in which he had himself taken part. But the Bishop far surpassed his brothers both in talents and eminence. He was one of those rich, showy and magnificent prelates in which the genius of the French mind delights. More statesman than ecclesiastic, more soldier than statesman, more courtier than both the two combined, he flits across the path of French and English history like a brilliant meteor, yet leaves, as meteors do, no trace or track behind him. The Bishop of Bayonne was, like his brother, a protector of letters, and, as is well known, Rabelais himself was among the captives of his purse and his flesh pots. It may have been Wilson's literary ability that attracted the prelate's attention; it is more than probable it was the relation in which he stood to Cromwell and other distinguished English politicians and churchmen. For the Bishop, at the time when this letter was written, was—and had been since 1527—ambassador for France at the Court of Henry VIII., where, in point of fact, he was at the moment engaged in negotiations of a particularly delicate and important nature.

The King's infatuation for Anne Boleyn had not yet culminated in his secret marriage and the subsequent divorce of his Queen; but matters were rapidly tending in that direction. And alongside, and in close connection with this, ran the menaced separation of England from the Papal See. Through these stormy political waters the Bishop had to steer his bark, and he managed to do it with consummate dexterity. As a Churchman, his aim was to retain England within the Papal fold; as a diplomatist and man of the world, his object was to make himself as agreeable to the King and his mistress as

possible. In a letter penned by Le Grand, he describes the high favour he is in both with Henry and with Anne. The King, he said, spent several hours with him every day, and told him all his secrets. As for the lady, he accompanied her in all her hunting parties. He had received from her the present of a greyhound, a horn, and a hunter's jacket and cap—strange gifts they would be thought nowadays for a Bishop!—and the King always selected for them a proper station, from which, with their crossbows, they might shoot the deer as they ran by.

It was policy, rather than conviction, that led the acute diplomatist to keep on the best of terms with Cromwell and others of the Reforming and, for the time being, the ascendant party; and without detracting from his goodheartedness, it may have been policy also, that led him to include one of Cromwell's *protégés* among his own. In all likelihood, too, Wilson's relations, first with Cromwell and subsequently with du Bellay, may have engendered in his mind that liberality of sentiment towards the Reformers which, while it detracted nothing from his own attachment to the Catholic Church, is so striking, and to our modern ideas, so pleasing a feature in his writings. Referring in his Dialogue on Tranquillity of Mind to Bernard Ochino, Peter Martyr, and Paul Lacisa—'excellent men who have betaken themselves from Italy to Germany—men who oppose the dignity and dogmas of the Roman Pontiff with no less success than zeal'—he eulogizes their eloquence and their sanctity, and has not a stone to hurl at their heresies. Nay, he takes occasion to hold them up as examples to the clergy of the established religion. 'If priests,' he says, 'would but be prudent and lay aside luxury and expense, they might teach the gospel with purity and make Christ's doctrine dearer to the people. If they would but do so, defections of this kind would not exist; nor would men of great talents join themselves so readily to those who are denounced enemies of piety by the edicts of Popes and Kings.'

This is the only passage, so far as we remember, in which he directly expresses himself with regard to either the men or the doctrines of the Reformation. But, of a surety, it was a

subject that much exercised his thoughts, and often and often he seems to have asked himself how he—*Scotus et qualiscumque Christianus*—should comport himself if, as he hoped and intended, he was permitted to end his days in his native land, where Protestantism was already beginning to make great strides.

But to return from this digression. It was not till the end of 1533 that du Bellay was called to put his patronage of Wilson into practical shape. But the time that had yet to transpire was not wasted. It was the busiest—perhaps the happiest—period of Wilson's life. It was his *wanderjahre*, before he settled down to the great work of his life. It was then, probably, that he visited Italy. It was then that he must have visited Spain, if, indeed, he ever did so, which Irving, in his *Lives of Scottish Writers*,* very properly doubts. Then, too, he undoubtedly made several trips to England, where, as we have seen, he had many and influential friends. It is even possible that in one of these, he may have revisited his old home on the banks of the Lossie. On the flyleaf of an old volume of the *Apothegmata* of Erasmus, preserved in the Aberdeenshire family of Forbes of Tulquhon, there is a letter of Wilson's to his old schoolmate, John Ogilvie, the Rector of Cruden, in which he asks him to let him have the loan of a pony, as he purposed going into the country, and had occasion to require one. But we know nothing for certain beyond the fact that if he was ever in Scotland after he first left it, this must have been the time when his visit took place.

In May, 1533, Henry VIII.'s marriage with Queen Catherine was annulled; and in July Cranmer's decision was set aside by the Pope on the ground that the question of the validity of the marriage was pending before the Pontifical courts. And in the autumn the King appealed from the decerniture of the Pope to a General Council. A few months later the French King, whom already Henry shrewdly suspected was playing a double game, despatched the Bishop of Paris, with Henry's sanction, on an embassy to Rome, to treat for a renewal of the

negotiations for a reconciliation between England and the Papal See, which naturally Henry's appeal had for the moment broken off.

To this embassy, Wilson was attached; but in what capacity we are ignorant. The late Dr. Taylor of Elgin, in a meritorious and industrious *brochure* on Volusenus,* to which we are under great obligations, has hazarded the suggestion that it may have been as its secretary. But there is not the slightest foundation for this assertion. There is no reason for believing, indeed, that like Rabelais he was merely one of the Bishop's lackeys. But nowhere can we find any grounds for assuming that he occupied any higher position than that of an ordinary member of the Bishop's suite.

But as things turned out, the mission was equally unfortunate for Wilson and his patron. The former fell grievously sick, and had to be left behind at Avignon. The latter found on his arrival at Rome that the sentence of the Consistory declaring in favour of the marriage, had already been pronounced, and in despair precipitately retired to Bologna.

Wilson's fortunes were now at their lowest ebb. His illness was a protracted one. When at last he recovered, he found himself absolutely without a penny. He had not a friend to whom he could turn for assistance. Worse than that, he was without a patron—an indispensable requisite for worldly advancement in these old mediaeval days. For, in electing to follow the fortunes of the Bishop of Paris, he had broken with another powerful friend, who at one time had seemed disposed to take him under his protection. This was the Cardinal de Lorraine, the Bishop's great rival. From him he was in receipt of a small pension, an earnest, doubtless, of greater favours to come. But it had now ceased, and though in later years Sadoletto wrote appealingly to the Cardinal requesting its renewal, we have no evidence that this was ever done, and the chances are very much against it. And now du Bellay had gone his way, without bestowing a thought upon his

* *A Memoir of Florentius Volusenus*, read to the Elgin Literary and Scientific Association, February 5, 1861. Elgin, 1861.

protégé; and Wilson, who had hitherto never wanted protection, was forced for the first time in his life to face the cruel world by himself.

*Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
Res angusta domi.*

At this juncture, with starvation staring him in the face, he learned that the neighbouring little town of Carpentras in Vaucluse was in want of a teacher for its public school. He determined to make an effort to secure the appointment. It was not such a one, perhaps, as his talents and his antecedents might have led him to expect. But it was a competence. It was respectable. It would afford him leisure to devote himself to his favourite study of philosophy. And he was, at the moment, very sick of the world, its pomps, its ambitions, and its vanities. Better than all, it was in the diocese of Sadoletto, for whom, as a brilliant scholar, an accomplished writer, and a most saintly man, he had long entertained the highest respect and admiration. He had no personal knowledge of the Bishop, and the Bishop had probably as little of him. But wandering scholars were no novelties in these days, and lettered adventurers had—when they had once proved their qualifications—as much chance to obtain vacant preferments, as those whose antecedents were better known. So one forenoon he set out to visit the Bishop, and after a weary walk of fourteen miles, presented himself in the dusk of the evening at the gate of the episcopal palace of Carpentras. The rest is best told in a letter from Sadoletto to his cousin Paul,* who succeeded him in the See.

‘I do not think there is any longer need to seek through your means for a schoolmaster and instructor of the youth of this place. For I will give you a little history, wherein you shall at once acknowledge how far more fortune may oftentimes effect than human counsel.

‘Four days ago I had by chance gone into my library, when already night, and was turning over some books very diligently, when my chamberlain announced there was some one who wished to speak to me. I enquire, “Who is he?” “A person in a gown,” was the answer. I order

* Sadoleti Epistolæ, ad Paul Sadol. Epist. 3.

him to be admitted. He comes in. I ask what he may want, that he would come to me at such an hour (for I was anxious to get quit of the man speedily, and return to my studies). Then he, having entered on his introductory matter in very humble terms, conversed with such propriety, correctness, and modesty, as to hasten in me a desire to question him particularly, and to become more intimately acquainted with him. So having shut my book and turned round to him, I began my queries; of what country he might be, what was his profession, and for what purpose he came into this neighbourhood. Upon which he replies, "I am a Scot." "What!" say I, "do you come from that uttermost part of the earth?" "Even so," said he. "Where, then, have you studied the liberal sciences?" (which question I put to him because his discourse savoured of genius and an elegant Latinity). "I applied myself to philosophical pursuits," said he, "first in my own country during many years; afterwards I studied at Paris, and had there, under my tuition, a brother's son of the Cardinal of York. Subsequently, when his uncle's death occasioned the lad to be taken from me, I betook myself to Monseigneur du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, and was about to accompany him to Rome, had not a severe illness separated me from him, while on our journey." "What, then, do you look for here?" was my question. "In the first place," said he, "a longing to come and see you, which I mainly desired, urged me hither; then, as it had been told me at Avignon, you were in need of some one to teach in your city school, I thought of offering myself to you, in case I should be fit for the undertaking; not being, indeed, so desirous of the office as anxious to make myself agreeable to you; and having, at the same time, understood that whatever function I might enter on near your person, by your discretion, or at your request, would redound to my praise." What think you now? So much did he please me, that very early next morning I would send for Glocerius, the magistrate, and for Helia. I explained to them my expectations of the man, and related everything in regard to him that had so highly gratified me; for, assuredly, we had little chance of finding in any native of Italy this man's modesty, prudence, and propriety of address and appearance.

'Not being, however, content with this, as well Florence himself (for that is his name), as our physician, of whom I have already written to you; Helia also, together with the magistrates, were my guests. Forthwith, after dinner, some discussions are brought on by my encouragement, and while treating of subjects in natural philosophy, our medical friend maintains his argument with tartness, distorting his features, and labouring in deep aspiration. The other is modest and calm, uttering nothing which is not to the purpose, nothing but what is distinctly and accurately expressed—every word, indeed, with skill and understanding. Aye, and when I myself, opposed to the physician in argument, had concluded one of an intricate and difficult nature, in the expounding of which the doctor had struggled hard, our stranger, craving pardon, suggested how, in the

most fit and scientific manner, a solution might be afforded. What further seek you to know? All burn with desire to keep this character among us. The magistrates take him aside. The terms of his engagement are fixed at a hundred gold pieces, and with such satisfaction upon the citizens' part, as I hear, that they all consider the event to be an occurrence of rare felicity for the town. Report, moreover, is circulated of discussions which he has had with the magistrates that are so liberal and ingenuous that nothing can surpass them. Wherefore, I do hope that for the office and its business, we are in the best manner provided. The man has, moreover, what to me is a main subject of pleasure, enough even of Greek literature for the instruction of our boys. In respect then, to this, you may cast away all anxiety.'

And in this quaint town, happy in the friendship of one of the most distinguished, certainly one of the best men, of the sixteenth century, happy, also, let us hope, in his work, he spent the remainder of his life.

We have glimpses of him through collateral sources, during his residence at Carpentras. Conrad Gesner met him here in 1540, whither he had gone to purchase books. He describes him as being at that time in the prime of life, and expresses great hope of the benefits to be derived by the studious from his erudition. How long his residence here extended, we do not know. Neither do we know the exact date of his death. But it was probably in 1547, when he was about forty or forty-two years of age. He was certainly alive in 1546, for we have a letter from Sadoletto, written in that year from Rome, in answer to one of Wilson's which is lost, but in which he had apparently entreated the Cardinal's advice respecting the line of conduct which he should adopt towards the religious discussions which were then agitating his native land, and to which he had, he explains, the intention of immediately returning. The Cardinal's letter is full of expressions of kindness and sympathy towards Wilson, and his advice is wise and sound. He exhorts Wilson to continue in the religion of his fathers, and to make the utmost of the talents God has given him. He censures the conduct of the agitators, who were striving to sow dissensions in the Church, but he has not a word to say against the doctrines they were advocating. And he concludes his letter by reiterating his sentiments of regard and esteem for his correspondent.

Soon after this, Wilson seems to have resigned his appointment, and to have begun his journey to Scotland. But it was not fated he should see his native land again. He took ill by the way, and died, after a somewhat lingering malady, at Vienne, the ancient capital of the province of Dauphiny.

Wilson's works include *Commentatio quaedam theologica quae precatio est in aphorismos dissecta*, published at Lyons in 1539; a posthumous volume of Latin poems published at London in 1619; a synopsis of the Fourth Book of Aristotle's Philosophy, which has never apparently been published; and his celebrated *Dialogus de Animi Tranquillitate*, published originally by Sebastian Gryphius at Lyons in 1543, and of which four editions are extant.*

It is on this work that his fame, once so deservedly great is based; and if that fame is not what we think it should be, it is because this book of his, which embodies the learning, experience, and meditations of a lifetime, has been most unjustly neglected. From a literary point of view, we have no hesitation in placing it on a level with the *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*, and the *Consolations of Philosophy* by Boethius; while, in our opinion, it transcends both of these in the tender and loving sympathy it evinces for weak and erring nature. We may go to the emperor and the statesman for strength and consolation in the great troubles, the supreme crises of life. We can never make either of them the friend, that we can of the obscure Scottish philosopher. He never makes us feel, as both the others do, that in consulting him we are brought in contact with a being superior to all the ordinary failings of humanity. We may admire his learning, if we please, but he makes us admire his commonsense more. We may stand aghast at the extent and variety of his know-

* These are (1) the original edition above mentioned; (2) an edition, dedicated to Robert Ker, Earl of Ancrum, edited by David Echlin, physician to the Queen Consort of King Charles I., published at the Hague in 1637; (3) an edition, revised by Ruddiman, published by Fairbairn at Edinburgh in 1707; and (4) an edition, published under the supervision of Principal Wishart, by Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill, at Edinburgh in 1751.

ledge of the various schemes of philosophy and philosophers, but we can always meet him on equal ground when he appeals to our common Christianity. In the absolute sanity of his judgments, the acuteness of his arguments, and the liberality of his opinion, lie the main characteristics of his work. To these everything else—his theories, his prejudices, his originality even—is made subservient. In them are to be found his principal claim to the attention of nineteenth-century readers.

Unfortunately the space at our disposal renders it impossible to do more than to give the most superficial idea of this admirable work. Its form is that of a Dialogue between himself and his two friends, Francis Michaelis, a patrician of Lucca, and Demetrius Caravalla. The scene is laid in a garden situated on the heights overlooking the city of Lyons—probably in the suburb called Fourvières, which commands an extensive view of the city below and its environs. Here in a shady alley, the three friends have met to while away the warmest hours of the day in sober and improving discourse. They appeal to Volusenus to suggest a subject. He selects that of peace of mind, and at their request, proceeds, with occasional interruptions from his auditors, to explain its nature, its advantage, and the means of obtaining it.

Tranquillity of mind, he argues, is the entire seclusion of the intellect from all disturbing passions. It is not so much a gift as an art—at any rate, any one may acquire it who sets himself steadily to do so, and is fortunate enough to discover the right way. To explain himself more clearly, he discusses the seat and nature of the passions or emotions, distinguishing them from the animal appetites, as well as from the instincts of the brute creation. From that he proceeds to consider the power or faculty of subduing or controlling them. He passes in review the various teachings of philosophers upon the subject, and points out how they ultimately fail in producing that state of mind which they all profess, or at least aim at, being able to secure. Finally, he shows that in the teachings of Christianity alone true peace of mind is to be found; and he concludes with the relation of a wonderful dream or vision which

appeared to him, and from which he learned his own philosophy.

Such is the argument of his book. But the performance is infinitely better than the argument.

So much admiration has been lavished on his latinity, that we shall probably be reckoned hypercritical if we profess our inability to share it. Yet to our mind, Wilson's Latin style is mediocre. At any rate, it falls far short of classical standards. Easy, elegant, and graceful it undoubtedly is, but its ease and its elegance are those of the Middle Ages, not of the Golden Age of Roman literature. It is homely, kindly, and natural, but it wants the majestic rhythm, the stately cadence of Cicero and Tacitus. Not unfrequently we come across Low Latin words and modern forms of expression, which assuredly Quintilian would not have approved. Yet with all these faults, it is impossible to resist its charm. In matter we frankly confess that Wilson's occasional lapses from the strict canons of Roman literary propriety constitute not the least of the attractions of his book. For they are in almost every case, accompanied with a corresponding lapse of that rigid, though dignified deportment which he seems to think essential to the importance of his subject, and his carriage as a philosopher. When he drops his toga, we see the man; and in our opinion, the man is infinitely more attractive than the philosopher. Take the following passage, for example:—

He is speaking, very humanly for a philosopher, of the warmth of feeling evoked in one by the sight of a beautiful face or figure. 'Then,' he asks, 'what happens?' '*Mox hoc animal formivorum (utinam hanc vocem Romanus sermo admittat; non invenio quomodo quod sentio exprimam)—mox hic pulchritudinis helluo homo ad speciem visam exardescit, ad fructum properat atque in se transferre studet.*' Pretty ardent language this, it must be admitted, for a philosopher! But he quickly repents of his ardour. In the very next sentence he is talking of the *summum bonum*, and quoting Lucretius to prove that Love is after all but the vain imaginings of a noxious dream.

Again, he has an effective, if sometimes homely way of lightening up a long passage of sustained argument, and

bringing conviction home to his readers by means of a proverb, a metaphor, or even an epigram. And some of these last rhetorical shafts are as keen and polished as any of our own acute and cultured age. Here are one or two samples. They are culled almost at random :—

Nature is no stepmother to her children.

A man may be honest without ceasing to be religious.

Our eyes are our leaders in love.

If we always thought in syllogisms, we might gain many victories over our passions.

The Future, which is not our own and never may be, we give to virtue ; the Present which is ours, we devote to folly.

Wherein does dead Narcissus, or Adonis, or Ganymede, or Helen, or even Venus herself, differ from those fleshless bones which hang on the gallows of the robbers ?

An advocate who is diffident of his cause, appeals to the passions of his hearers.

Wisdom is the true gold of the soul.

From Love all passions proceed, like rills from a fountain.

We sin, not because we desire to sin, but for the pleasure that is in the sin.

Empty eggs float ; full ones fall to the bottom.

His life, as the proverb says, has had more of aloes in it than of honey.

Far wiser is he who is wise before the blow, than he whom the blow makes wise.

Every one who laughs is not happy.

He buys at a great price what he purchases by prayers ; he buys very basely what he purchases by flattery.

There is not a single spot of earth, which is not impressed by the footsteps of the wicked.

Within our hearts rage all manners of beasts—the Wolf of avarice, the Lion of money, the Sow of lust, the Fox of fraud, the Peacock of vanity, the Dog of selfishness, the Hare of cowardice.

Rare in man is the harmony between brow and soul, between tongue and heart.

Far from being uncommon, such passages abound on every

page. Persons who compile 'Gems of Thought,' 'Laconics,' 'Wise Words of Wise Men,' or the like Ready Reckoners of human intellect, might do worse than lay the humble school-master of Carpentras under contribution.

Equally notable is his holy horror of philosophasters and impostors of every description, whether clad in the flowing robes of Greek or Roman philosopher, or in the habiliments of modern life. Sophists, rhetoricians, scientists, pedants, may look for a short shrift at his hands. It is his zeal and respect for what he regards as true philosophy that makes him lift up his indignant voice against all the play-acting crew. Philosophers, he admits, may err, but philosophy itself—true philosophy, not the sham—is much to be commended. It is *maxime utilis*; it is the wit of life. Nor has he any difficulty in defining its proper sphere. True philosophy, he says, is that which is the handmaid and follower of religion—that which assist humbly in her works, and stands awaiting her precepts. And philosophers, he tells us in another place, are those who show their wisdom, not by their words but in their actions. He is not a philosopher who has read Aristotle and Plato, any more than a man is a lute player, who has learned to play the lute. Finally, to give his argument a practical inclination—and Wilson, like the good Scotsman that he was, is nothing if he is not practical—he provides a simple and infallible test for those who desire to know how far they are deserving of the philosopher's honourable name. 'If your desire for glory cools,' he says, 'if your indulgence in pleasure is diminished, if your lust of gold is allayed—these are symptoms by which you may judge that if you have not yet attained philosophy, you are, at any rate, in a fair way to attain it.'

Scattered throughout the Dialogue are several original poems, all bearing more or less directly on the subject on hand. They constitute to our mind the principal flaw in an otherwise almost perfect piece of literary workmanship. They are full of the false taste, stilted sentiment and crude personification common to ordinary Middle Age poetry. All the rivers and hills of 'the world as known to the ancients,' all the nations of antiquity, all the virtues and vices—every one with

a capital initial to its name—are introduced into them. As for the verses themselves, they are neither better nor worse than one might expect from a Fifth Form boy of an English public school.

We are not sure whether we ought not, in strictness, to include among the defects of the work the celebrated dream, which, in its time, has probably led more readers to peruse Wilson's treatise, than either its reasoning, its piety, or its philosophy. But we willingly pardon the suspicion of false taste which modern critics would be prone to bring against its conception, for the many undoubted beauties of its execution.

As a piece of descriptive writing, we know nothing more admirable than Wilson's picture of the Ladyhill and its environs. It is true in outline, and entirely sympathetic in tone. He has caught the *amabilis mollitudo* of Elgin scenery and climate to perfection. His sketch is drawn by a loving hand, and touched in with a wealth of tender colouring, which shows how in a foreign land and amidst alien scenes, his thoughts ever turned towards the land of his nativity.

The dream itself is the argument of his work put into concrete form. From the philosophy of the ancients he ascends to the philosophy of Christianity, and by merely placing the two in juxtaposition, shows the immeasurable superiority of the one to the other.

It was years ago, he tells us, when his dream occurred. It was in those happy days of his youth, when he and his friend John Ogilvie were still pacing the banks of Lossie, and occupying their summer afternoons in high and solemn discourse. The night after one of their conversations, he dreamed that he was walking in a beautiful meadow full of all manner of flowers. He concluded that it could not be far from Elgin, 'for that corner of extreme Britain is very pleasant both in aspect and fruitfulness. Well-wooded hills surround it. It is near a great loch—the Loch of Spynie—frequented by swans.*

* Since the draining of the greater portion of the Loch of Spynie in 1860, the large flocks of swans that used to frequent it in the winter time have almost entirely disappeared. See 'A Legend of Vanished Waters,' by Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming, *Scottish Review*, July 1884.

And hard by is a magnificent cathedral—*templum magnifice extructum.*’ The meadow lay at the foot of a little hill, whose summit was surmounted by a glorious temple, which seemed to have been built of the purest Parian marble. Round the base of the hill, and right through the midst of the meadow, ran a limpid, fordable river, full of all sorts of fish. And between the river and the hill, and on the other side of the river, as well as on the slope of the hill itself, were trees of every kind—myrtles, laurels, cypresses, and terebinths—whatever these may have been—as well as commoner ones; fruit trees also—apples and nuts, and many others whose very names he did not know. The birds sang in the trees. The wind murmured pleasantly among the leaves. Crystal rills descended from the hills. Everything was fair and smiling in earth and sky. And to add to his enjoyment, he reflected that no hidden snakes lurked amongst the grass or the bushes.

It is impossible for any one acquainted with the locality to mistake this picture. Then as now the gently swelling hills, which enclose the sandstone city on the north, are covered with the dark foliage of the Quarrywood and the Oakwood. Then as now the silent Lossie winds underneath the Ladyhill, through the once green meadow known as the Burrowbriggs, and the speckled trout swim in its indolent waters. The Blackfriars monastery with its manor, its crofts, its gardens and its orchards, have, it is true, disappeared. But on a portion of the monastery lands the modern castellated mansion of Blackfriars’ Haugh has been erected, and with its lawn, its park, its gardens, its shade, and its fruit trees, still preserves, to some extent, at least, the sentiment of the place. And on the Ladyhill itself—where during the long summer afternoons and evenings all the children of the town spend their time in rolling from the top to the bottom—the mark of the scars—*sykes*, as they are locally called—Wilson’s *scaturgines fontium*—are still, it is said, faintly visible.

But there is no temple on its summit, and there never was. That *aedes eximia* has never been but the ‘passing fabric of a vision.’ It never existed but in Wilson’s poetic imagination. Dreams, in the majority of cases, are composed of mingled

fact and fiction,—the relative proportion of these two elements varying according as the memory or the imagination of the dreamer preponderates. And Wilson, having, in the exquisite piece of word-painting above quoted, exhausted his fact, now gives in his description of the *Aedes Tranquillatis*, the requisite modicum of fiction.

The temple which was of great extent, and built with consummate art, was encircled with a wall both high and spacious. At its gate sat an old man of reverent aspect, such as he conceived Democritus, or one of his school, would have looked. Wilson approached him, and asked him what this fair structure was, when the old man, speaking in Latin though with a Greek accent, pointed to the inscription above the door, which, in Greek characters, announced it to be the Temple of Tranquillity. Wilson demanded if he might enter. The old man at first demurred, but finally taking him by the hand, led him within the enclosure. Stopping at an admirably constructed porch, supported by eight pillars, he directed Wilson's attention to the fact that each bore an inscription upon it a little below the epistyle. And proceeding to examine these, Wilson found that each embodied a leading doctrine or precept of one or other of the different philosophic schools. We need not follow Wilson in his dissertation upon them, further than to remark that in them is to be found the whole moral teaching of the ancients. Our duty to Providence and to Man, as it appeared in the doctrine of the best and wisest men of antiquity, is clearly and succinctly set forth; and the result is the elaboration of a system of practical morality, especially beautiful in itself, no doubt, and, to a certain extent, of intense value to humanity, but which our author feels, and makes us feel with him, is wanting in a certain vital and vivifying influence. That influence Christianity alone can give; and kneeling down, Wilson prays for light from heaven to show him the way that leads to peace and rest. His prayer is answered. Looking up, he sees before him another hill, higher than the one on which he is at the moment standing. And on this hill, reached by a strait and narrow path, there stands another temple, infinitely more beautiful, infinitely more

glorious than the last.* And as he approached its gates there met him a man in whose countenance there shone a certain celestial majesty. St. Paul—for it is he—bids Wilson be of good cheer, and pointing to the inscription upon the front of the temple, bids Wilson read it,—‘Blessed are they,’ it says, ‘that dwell in Thy house.’ His guide then tells him that this is the haven of rest, for which he has been in search so long, and draws his attention to the two columns which adorn its entrance. On the one is inscribed the request ‘Know thyself’; on the other ‘Know thy God.’ Finally, pointing to the arch which these two columns support, he shows him sculptured there the image of Christ crowned with thorns, his side, hands and feet pierced with wounds; his body streaming with blood. Above His head appeared the words ‘This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased: hear Him’; and beneath His feet the inscription, ‘I am the way, the truth and the life.’

Then, for the first time, Wilson understood wherein true tranquillity of mind lay; and—he woke from his dream.

Such is the outline of a book, which, in our opinion, is worth a whole library of modern systematic Theology, and the want of an English translation of which is not, we venture to think, very creditable, either to our country or its literature.

CHARLES RAMPINI.

* It seems hardly credible that any one should seriously believe that in his account of either the heathen or the Christian temple, Wilson should have intended to describe, or even had in his mind, the Cathedral of Elgin. Yet this ridiculous opinion is maintained by Mackenzie, in his *Lives of Scottish Writers* (vol. iii. 29), by Mr. Lettice in the *European Magazine* for 1775 (vol. xxvii., p. 87), and by many other inferior writers; and from them it has naturally found its way into many of the guide-books of the district. The idea is too absurd to require serious refutation.

ART. IV.—THE FOURTH OF AUGUST.

Translated from the 'Moniteur' newspaper of August 4 and 5, 1789.

[The following is a full and literal translation of the report given by the official *Moniteur* of the Session of the National Assembly during the night of August 4-5, 1789, at which the Constitution under which France had been governed since her formation as such, the endowments of the National Church, and the private or public rights peculiar to any person, class, city, or province, were abolished at one blow.]

SITTING OF THE NIGHT OF TUESDAY, AUGUST 4TH.

THE Committees having met at about six o'clock for the election of presidents and secretaries for each committee, and for the appointment of an archivist for the Assembly, as well as of members destined to take the place of the new ministers in the committees to which these had belonged, the House was not constituted till about eight o'clock.

At the outset the President ordered the reading of the draft of a decree relating to the security of the kingdom, which, in consequence of a decision arrived at the day before, had been remitted to the drafting committee.

M. Target read it as follows :—

'The National Assembly considering that, whilst it is solely occupied in securing the welfare of the people on the basis of a free constitution, the troubles and acts of violence which disturb several provinces are filling the public mind with alarm and most fatally affecting the sacred rights of property and personal safety ;

'That these disorders can only impede the labours of the Assembly, and forward the criminal projects of the enemies of the public weal ;

'Declares that all former laws are in existence and must be enforced until they are repealed or modified by the authority of the nation ;

'That the taxes, such as they formerly were, must continue to be levied in terms of the decree of the 17th of June last, until a system has been established, in which both the incidence and the levying of the taxes are less burdensome to the people ;

‘That all customary dues and subsidies must be paid as hitherto, until the Assembly shall have otherwise decreed ;

‘That, finally, the laws which have been established for the protection of individuals as well as of property must be universally respected.

‘The present declaration shall be sent to all the provinces, and incumbents be requested to make it known to their parishioners, and to urge them to the observance of it.’

The VISCOUNT DE NOAILLES:—The object of the decree of which the Assembly has just heard the draft, is to allay the turmoil in the provinces, to insure public liberty, and to confirm land owners in their just rights.

But how can it be hoped to bring this about without knowing the cause of the insurrection now manifesting itself in the kingdom? And how can the insurrection itself be remedied but by applying the remedy directly to the evil by which it is caused?

The communes have made certain demands. It is not a constitution they have asked for; no wish to that effect has been expressed by them, except in the bailiwicks. What then have they asked for? That subsidies should be suppressed; that there should be no more sub-delegates; that manorial rights should be either lightened or commuted.

For more than three months these constituencies have seen their representatives devoting their attention to what we call, and to what is, in reality, the commonweal; but, to them, the commonweal seems to be, above all, that thing which they themselves desire and ardently long to obtain.

From all the differences which have arisen amongst the representatives of the nation, the rural districts have learnt to know only two classes of people, on the one hand those who are acknowledged by themselves and are solicitous for their welfare, and on the other, those powerful persons who are opposed to them.

What is the result of this state of things? They have thought it their duty to take up arms against force, and to-day they no longer know any restraint. Consequently upon this complication the kingdom is, at the present moment, wavering between the destruction of society or the overthrow of a government which will be admired and imitated by the whole of Europe.

How is this form of government to be established? By public tranquility. How is this tranquility to be hoped for? By calming the people, by showing them that they are being opposed only in that which it is to their interest to retain.

To secure this tranquility so essential, I propose :—

1. That it be stated as a preamble to the proclamation drawn up by the committee, that the representatives of the nation have decided that taxes shall be paid by all individuals in the kingdom, in proportion to their incomes ;

2. That all public charges shall in future be borne equally by all ;

3. That all feudal rights shall be redeemable, in money, by the communes, or compounded for at an equitable valuation, that is to say, according to the average income for one year, calculated on the income for ten years.

4. That manorial forced labour, mortmain, and other personal servitudes shall be abolished without compensation.

Immediately another noble Deputy, the Duke of Aiguillon, proposed to explain the motion brought forward by the former speaker in greater detail. He expressed himself thus :—

THE DUKE OF AIGUILLON :—Gentlemen, there is no one who does not groan over the scenes of horror which France now presents to his sight. That movement among the people which strengthened liberty, when guilty ministers wished to deprive us of it, has become an obstacle to that same liberty, at the very moment when the views of the Government seem to agree with our wishes for the public welfare.

It is not only brigands who, with arms in their hands, are desirous of enriching themselves in the midst of calamities. In several provinces the whole body of the people have formed themselves into a kind of league for the purpose of destroying mansions, of ravaging estates, and particularly, of seizing the chartularies where the title-deeds of feudal properties are deposited. They are endeavouring at length to shake off a yoke which has weighed on their necks for so many centuries. And, it must be confessed, Gentlemen, that this insurrection, although culpable (for every violent aggression is so) can find its excuse in the vexations of which they are the victims. The owners of

feus and of manorial lands are, it must be admitted, but very rarely guilty of the excesses of which their vassals complain; but the men who transact their business for them, are often pitiless, and the unhappy husbandman, subjected as he is to the barbarous relics of feudal law which still exist in France, groans beneath the constraint of which he is the victim. These rights, it is impossible to close our eyes to it, are a property, and every species of property is sacred. But they are burdensome to the people, and everybody recognizes that they are a perpetual source of annoyance to them.

In this enlightened century, when sound philosophy has resumed its sway, at this happy time when, called together for the public weal and freed from all selfish interest, we are about to apply ourselves to the regeneration of the State, it seems to me, Gentlemen, that, before establishing this constitution, which the nation is so eagerly awaiting, it is necessary to prove to all citizens that our intention and earnest desire is to meet their wishes and to establish as speedily as possible that equality of rights which ought to exist among all men and which can alone insure their liberty. I do not doubt that the holders of feus and the lords of manors, far from refusing assent to this truth, will be willing to make to justice the sacrifice of their rights. They have already renounced their privileges and their pecuniary exemptions; and at the present moment the renunciation, pure and simple, of their feudal rights cannot be asked for.

These rights are their property. In the case of many private individuals they are their only fortune, and equity forbids that the surrendering of any property should be exacted without allowing a just indemnity to the owner who yields the advantage of his personal convenience to the public good.

In accordance with these powerful considerations, Gentlemen, and in order that the people may feel that you are working efficaciously for the promotion of their dearest interests, my proposal is that the National Assembly should declare that the taxes shall be borne equally by all citizens in proportion to their means, and that henceforth all the feudal rights of feus and manors shall be bought up by the vassals of these same feus and manors, if they wish it; that the reimbursement shall be made

according to a rate fixed by the Assembly ; and, considering the indemnity to be granted, I estimate, in my opinion, that this rate should be $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

It is in conformity with these principles, Gentlemen, that I have drawn up the following decree, which I have now the honour to submit to your wisdom, and which I beg of you to take into consideration :

‘The National Assembly, considering that the first and most sacred of its duties is to make private and personal interests yield to the general interest ;

‘That the taxes would be much less burdensome to the people if they were distributed equally amongst all citizens according to their means ;

‘That justice requires that this exact proportion should be observed ;

‘Decrees that those bodies, towns, communes, and individuals who have hitherto enjoyed special privileges and personal exemptions, shall, in future, bear all subsidies and all public charges, without any distinction with regard either to the quota of these taxes or to the manner in which they are levied.

‘The National Assembly considering, moreover, that feudal and manorial rights are also a kind of burdensome tribute which is injurious to agriculture and lays waste the rural districts ;

‘Not being able, however, to hide from itself the fact that these rights constitute a real property, and that every species of property is inviolable ;

‘Decrees that these rights shall, in future, be redeemable, if it be the wish of those affected by them, at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or at such other rate as shall, in each province, be judged more equitable by the National Assembly, according to the tariffs which will be laid before it.

‘The National Assembly orders, finally, that all these dues shall be exactly levied and maintained as in the past, until their purchase has been completed.’*

* The Duke of Aiguillon’s speech did not here terminate. The subsequent part of it was reported in the *Moniteur* of August 5, as will be seen below.

These two motions, brought forward with a feeling of the keenest interest in the fate of the inhabitants of the rural districts, to redress whose wrongs, to allay whose excitement, and to fulfil whose desires, they were intended, were received with a transport of unutterable joy.

One of the members of the Assembly feelingly pointed out how touching it would be for the citizens to learn that as the Members of the Commons had yesterday invoked the zeal of the National Assembly against the acts of violence committed against the persons and estates of the Nobles, so these were to-day, in generous return, giving all classes of the French people so marked a proof of their patriotism.

M. DUPONT DE NEMOURS : A universal disorder has seized upon the State, by reason of the inaction of all the agents of the Government. No political society can exist for a single moment without laws and tribunals to guarantee liberty, personal safety, and the preservation of property. I insist upon the necessity of maintaining and not abandoning the laws, imperfect though they be, which have for their object the preservation of general order.

M. Dupont pointed out that the tribunals charged with the maintenance of public tranquility, in accordance with these laws, existed both in right and in fact so long as they had not been suppressed ;

That it was not possible for the representatives of the nation to reform legislation, until they had determined, by the constitution itself, in what manner the new laws were to be proposed, adopted, and carried out ;

And that it was highly necessary that calm, peace, and justice, having been re-established throughout the whole of the empire, should free the National Assembly from all anxiety, except that which is inseparable from the task of selecting and fixing the elements of this wise and durable constitution, to which it was now devoting itself.

In consequence, he proposed the following motion :

It is declared that every citizen is bound to obey the laws by respecting the liberty, the safety, and the property of other citizens ;

That the tribunals must apply themselves without ceasing to the administration of these laws ;

And that it is enjoined by these laws, as well as by the wish of the representatives of the nation, that the municipal troops and all military bodies render assistance in the re-establishment of order and of peace and in the protection of individuals and of property, whenever they may be called upon to do so by the municipalities and the civil magistrates.

M. LE GUEN DE KERENGAL, *Deputy for Lower Brittany* :
Gentlemen, a great question has agitated us this day. A declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen has been deemed necessary. The manner in which the people are abusing these same rights makes it imperative for you to explain them, and to lay down with a skilful hand the limits which they are not to overstep. They will assuredly hold back.

You would have prevented the burning of the mansions if you had been more prompt in declaring that the terrible weapons which they contain and which have, for centuries, tormented the people, were to be destroyed by that obligatory redemption of them which you were about to decree.

The people, impatient to obtain justice and weary of oppression is hastening to destroy those title-deeds, which are the monuments of the barbarism of our forefathers.

Let us be just, Gentlemen. Let those title-deeds which are an outrage not only on decency, but on humanity itself, be brought to us here. Let those title-deeds be brought which degrade the human species by requiring that men should be harnessed to a cart like beasts of burden. Let those title-deeds be brought, which oblige men to pass their nights in beating the marshes for the purpose of preventing the frogs from disturbing the sleep of their voluptuous lords.

Which of us, Gentlemen, in this enlightened century, would not make an expiatory pyre of these infamous parchments, and would not set a torch to them to offer them a sacrifice upon the altar of the public good.

You will not restore peace to troubled France, Gentlemen, until you have promised the people that you are going to convert every feudal right without exception into a money tax, redeem-

able at will; that the laws which you are about to promulgate shall destroy the very last trace of the evils of which they justly complain. Tell them that you recognize the injustice of these rights which were acquired in times of ignorance and of darkness.

For the sake of peace, hasten to give France these promises. One general cry is making itself heard. You have not a moment to lose. A single day's delay brings about new conflagrations. The fall of empires is heralded by slighter commotions than these. Is it only to a devastated France that you wish to give laws?

(To be continued in our next.)

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

M. Chapelier in the Chair.

CONTINUATION OF THE SITTING OF THE NIGHT OF AUGUST 4TH.

(Continuation of the Duke of Aiguillon's Speech.)

Whilst establishing the rights of man, we must come to an agreement as to what liberty is. Several members of this Assembly consider it useless to discuss the rights of man, urging that they exist in the heart, that the people feel them, and that it is only necessary to set them before them in a manner simple and intelligible. The rights of man have been judged to be the preliminaries of the constitution; they tend to make men free. In order that they should be so, it must be recognized that there is but one people, one free nation, and one sovereign. An agreement must be arrived at as to what sacrifices of feudalism are necessary for liberty and for a good constitution; otherwise there will exist field-rents payable in kind, ground rents, the fees of agents and clerks, rights of multure; we shall always behold the exercise of despotism and of the tyranny of the aristocracy; society will be unhappy; we shall make good laws only when we take as our basis a code which banishes slavery.

It is not necessary, Gentlemen, to go back to the origin of the causes which, one after another, have produced the enthrallment of the French nation, nor to prove that nothing but force and the violence of the great have subjected us to feudal rule. Let us

follow the example of English America, solely composed of proprietors who know no trace of feudalism. Last night I trembled to see, adopted in cold blood, the motion which aimed at the punishment of malversation on country estates. As for me, I am of opinion that, in spite of the justice of this enactment, it ought to have been made inseparable from the destruction of the devouring monster of feudalism, of that most fatal constraint of vassals as regards the grinding of corn, and of the rapidity with which the Agent can, everywhere, by seizing, on the authority of feudal laws with the assistance of illicit and ruinous formalities, on the properties of people of scanty means, whose families depend for their existence on a wretched hamlet and a single field, without the lord of the manor stopping the course of the sharp-practice, to which he gives rise, by bestowing his confidence on persons greedy to become rich through the sequestration of rents and of properties, through extravagant formalities, through warrants and other consequences of chicanery, the expenses of which often amount to 300 livres for a rent of 60 livres. In the end, the Agent gets hold of the vassals' title-deeds, and in settlement of his claims obtains payment from the proprietor, and, by way of payment, is put into possession of an estate. It matters little to the Agent whether the vassal owes or does not owe, whether he has satisfied the feudal claims or not; provided with the Superior's estate papers, he simply looks at the names of the feuars, and within two hours draws up a hundred writs; if he finds twenty persons jointly liable for the feu-duty he draws up as many writs and summonses.

By selling appointments for excessive prices to all his agents and feudal-officers, the Superior obliges them to exceed the tariff of their fixed charges, for the purpose of keeping up a luxurious state at the expense of an ignorant feuar. The millers are in the same condition. The right of multure will therefore be bought up from the lord of the manor, at the rate of 4 or $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, fixing the value of the right of multure at 3 livres* per year and per head, besides the annual payment of three livres until the reimbursement and redemption of the same; and by this means every individual will have the liberty of getting

* The livre was equivalent to the modern franc.

corn ground wherever he may please. This is the only means of staying the course of the oppression of feuars, and of preserving the legitimate rights of superiors. It is one of those which I lay before this august Assembly, for the happiness of the nation. In conclusion, I render homage to the patriotic virtues of the two honourable speakers who have preceded me, who, though great proprietors, have had the courage to publish truths hitherto buried in the darkness of feudalism, and who are so well able to promote the felicity of France.

This speech was loudly cheered.

Enthusiasm seized upon all minds. Numberless motions, each more important than the other, were successively brought forward.

The Marquis de Foucault proposed an energetic motion against the abuse of military pensions. He demanded that the first sacrifice should be made by the nobility, and by that portion of it which lived under the eyes of the Prince, and upon which, though very wealthy of itself, he lavishly bestowed and accumulated gifts, gratuities and excessive salaries, furnished by and taken from the very substance of the rural districts.

The Viscount de Beauharnais proposed the equality of penalties amongst all classes of citizens, and the eligibility of these for all ecclesiastical, civil, and military employments.

M. Cottin represented the people groaning under the tyranny of the inferior agents of the manorial courts, of which he demanded the abolition, as well as that of all the remains of feudal rule which crushed agriculture.

The Bishop of Nancy spoke, after a dispute with one of his colleagues for the right to do so. . . . 'The members of the Clergy,' he said, 'accustomed to the near sight of the poverty and the sufferings of the people, have no other wish than to see these sufferings cease. The redemption of feudal dues was reserved for the nation, whose wish it is to establish liberty. The honourable members who have already spoken, have demanded redemption only in so far as it affects landowners. I come to give expression, in the name of the clergy, to the desires of justice, religion, and humanity. I demand redemption for ecclesiastical holdings, and I demand that this redemption should not turn to the profit of

the ecclesiastical lord, but that the proceeds of it be laid out in investments useful to the poor.'

The Bishop of Chartres, describing the exclusive right of field-sports as a plague to the country districts, which the elements had been laying waste for more than a year past, demanded the abolition of this right, and renounced it, in so far as it concerned himself. He was happy, he said, in being able to give the other landowners in the kingdom this example of humanity and justice.

At these words a multitude of voices were raised. They proceeded from the members of the nobility, and with one accord uttered then and there the same renunciation, subject to the sole reservation of allowing the right of sport to landlords only, and with such prudential measures as might be necessary to ensure the public safety.

All the clergy rose to signify their adhesion to the proposal. This was followed by such a general outburst of cheering and of expressions of approval that the deliberation had to be suspended for some time.

Zeal for the public good having soon calmed this pardonable effervescence, M. de Saint-Fargen set forth certain considerations of benevolence and of justice, in conformity with which he thought it right to stipulate, with a view to the relief of the farmers and landowners, whom so many misfortunes overwhelmed, that the renunciation of privileges and pecuniary immunities should apply to the present year, and that the rural communes should at once feel the benefit of this relief by the appropriation of the contributions of the nobles and other privileged persons, for the lightening of their burdens, in such a manner as the provincial assemblies should deem most expedient.

M. de Richer, referring to the relief which the abolition of manorial courts might lead the people to hope for, demanded that the Assembly should, by its vote, make the administration of justice gratuitous throughout the kingdom, subject to such precautions as might tend to check the spirit of chicanery, and prevent law-suits from being indefinitely protracted.

Several incumbents requested to be allowed to give up their stole dues.

At these words a member of the nobility claimed for this

meritorious class of ministers of religion an increase of their stipends. This called forth repeated applause from the citizens of every Estate.

The Duke de Châtelet proposed that a money-tax should be substituted for the tithes, and that provision should also be made for allowing it to be bought up, as in the case of manorial rights. Whilst speaking in support of preceding motions, he announced that he had given all his vassals the option of immediately availing themselves of the right to buy up their various dues.

The marks of enthusiasm and the outburst of generous sentiments, of which the Assembly was the scene, and which went on increasing in fervour and animation from hour to hour, scarcely left time to consider the prudential measures with which it was fitting to carry out these salutary reforms, which had been demanded in so many reports, in so many touching expressions of opinion and in so many energetic protests from the provincial assemblies, the assemblies of the bailiwicks, and from every other place where the citizens had had an opportunity of meeting together during the past eighteen months.

Some of the members of the nobility offered to give up even their exclusive right to keep dovecotes.

The total abolition of mortmain in Franche-Comté, Burgundy, and other places where it was enforced, was again brought up for discussion.

The Archbishop of Aix, depicting in energetic language the evils of feudalism, proved the necessity of preventing them by the prohibition of any contracts of this nature, which the poverty of agriculturists might dictate at any future time, and by annulling beforehand any clause calculated to call them back in to existence. He recalled the no less fearful evils which the arbitrary extension of taxes, and particularly of so-called demesial rights, of the salt-tax and of subsidies, had produced throughout the kingdom, where the action of the agents had corrupted the loyalty and the uprightness of the sentiments of the people, just as it had affected the sincerity of contracts and of deeds, destroyed ease and stopped the circulation of money.

After these remarks which seemed to exhaust the subject, wide as it was, of the projected reforms, the attention and the feelings

of the Assembly were again awakened and captivated by offers of an altogether new kind.

The Deputies for the provinces, [possessing Home Rule and thence] called Pays-d'Etats, yielded to the impulse of their generosity, or acting under the influence of that of their constituents, as expressed in their instructions, or, perhaps, taking this generosity for granted, and guaranteeing, so to speak, that their constituents would ratify their action, offered to renounce the privileges of their provinces so as to associate themselves with the new *régime*, which the justice of the King and the Assembly were preparing for the whole of France.

The Deputies for Dauphiny initiated this movement, recalling what their province had done at Vizille, with this object in view, and the invitation which it had addressed to all the other Pays-d'Etats to follow its example. At the same moment the Deputies of the communes of Brittany, going up to the table, were about to signify their adhesion, which was variously drawn up, in accordance with the nature of their several mandates, when the President of the Assembly claimed the right which his place seemed to give him, to lay before the nation the wish of his province himself. He set forth the prudential motives which had induced several stewartries, and notably those of Rennes, Nantes, Guérande, Vannes, Dol, Fougère, Dinan, Quimperlay, Carhaix, and Chantelin, to partially tie the hands of their representatives until the day of happiness and security, succeeding throughout the whole of France to days of waiting and expectation, should justify them in sinking the ancient and revered rights of Brittany in those still more solid and sacred rights which the enlightenment of the Assembly was at that moment securing for the whole of the French empire.

Other Deputies for Rennes pointed out how natural it was to assume, and to expect such a promise and such a sacrifice on the part of their town, which had been the first of all to give adhesion to the decrees of the National Assembly, and which had also been the first to signify its wish that legislation and taxation should be determined in the Assembly, so as to compromise no individual rights, but to unite and strengthen them all by general

adhesion at the very moment when the act intended to defend the rights of all the citizens should be passed.

Another Breton Deputy declared that, from that moment, he adhered to the sacrifices of the privileges of his province, not considering himself bound by his instructions. He only stipulated for Brittany the mutual guarantee established by the clauses of the treaty, which united his province to a monarchy of which all the parts were going thenceforth to support, sustain, strengthen and defend each other by a federation, of which the heart of the King himself would be the centre, and the love of the people for him would be the bond.

The Deputies of the clergy of Brittany, impeded by imperative mandates, expressed their regret at not being able to renounce the rights and privileges of their province, and stated that they were going to inform their constituents of the patriotic sacrifice made by other deputies, and to ask for new powers.

Scarcely did the impatience of the Deputies for Provence and Forcalquier allow the members who had just spoken to finish their patriotic declaration. All the members of the stewartries of that province advanced to the middle of the Hall, and there announced that, when their constituents imperatively prescribed to them not to renounce the privileges which the province had enjoyed since its free and voluntary union to the Crown, they, doubtless, did not foresee the happy union of all the Estates; that they knew that their constituents had no less zeal and patriotism than other Frenchmen; that they had no doubt they would hasten to join their interests to those of the rest of the kingdom, and merge their rights in the constitution, which that august Assembly was about to give to the whole of France; and that they were going to give them an account of that memorable sitting, and urge them to send in their adhesion at once.

At that moment a member of the Commons announced the town of Grasse's renunciation of the pecuniary privileges which it enjoyed as a superior.

The Deputy for Arles announced that he had for several days entertained, and had already communicated to his constituents the wish to see them join the deputies of the provinces in this matter.

The principality of Orange insisted only on the retention of a special administration, which was required by its situation in the midst of what was considered a foreign country.

At this point, the Deputies for Burgundy asked to be heard; but they were interrupted by a Deputy of the Clergy of Provence. Referring to what had been alleged with regard to the mandates, he recalled the salutary principle that they could not bind any part of France as to the share of general taxation, which each of the provinces of the Kingdom was to bear, in proportion to its means, although, by virtue of their instructions the consent of constituents was required for a renunciation of the forms of administration, of division, and of the incidence of the several quotas.

The noble Deputy for Dijon guaranteed the consent of his bailiwick in the renunciation of its privileges, reserving to himself the right to inform his constituents of the fact.

Those members of the Commons who were authorised (in the event of a similar renunciation on the part of the other provinces) to make the sacrifice of their privileges, surrendered them into the hands of the National Assembly. Their example was followed by the Deputies for the bailiwick of Autun, by those for Châlons-sur-Saône, Charolais, Beaujolais, for the bailiwick of la Montagne, for l'Auxerrois, and Bar-sur-Seine.

The Deputy of the Commons for l'Auxois also signified full acquiescence, being authorized to do so by his mandate. The Deputy of the Nobility was obliged to await fuller instructions than those of which he was the bearer. The communes of Mâconnais, while renouncing under the same conditions as those of Dijon, reserved to themselves the right, which they had had at all times, of forming a special province, administered by their own States, to which, however, the Assembly was to give a better organisation and a more equitable representation.

The Deputies for Bresse, Bugey, and the principality of Dombes fully acquiesced in the course taken by Burgundy, save the claim inserted in their instructions with regard to the exchange of this principality.

The privileges of the town of Saint-Jean-de-Losne, which had already been surrendered to the National Assembly at a

former sitting, were again sacrificed to the general interest of the Kingdom.

The Deputies for Languedoc in their turn requested to be heard, by the mouth of M. de Marguerites, their spokesman.

The **BARON DE MARGUERITES**:—The representatives of the several stewartries of Languedoc declare that the orders of their constituents impose upon them, in the most imperative manner, an obligation which it is not possible for them to leave undischarged.

The province of Languedoc has long been governed by an unconstitutional and non-representative administration. It has condemned this administration as contrary to its ancient privileges, of which the most precious is that of exercising freely the right of self-taxation and of determining the assessment thereof itself; it demands the establishment of new States of which the form shall be free, elective, and representative, and also of diocesan and municipal administrations, organized on the same principle. Such is the general desire, such is the wish of the province of Languedoc. It has made uniformity or equal division of taxation conditional on the suppression of the present administration and the establishment of new States.

And although their mandates do not authorise them to renounce the special privileges of the province, nevertheless, feeling confident as to the wishes of their constituents, and as to the high opinion which they cannot but entertain of the example of the other provinces, they hasten to declare to the National Assembly that their constituents will, at all times, be anxious to conform to its decrees; that they will subscribe to the general enactments which its wisdom may suggest for the administration of the provinces; and that they will be happy to bind themselves by such sacrifices as these to the general prosperity of the empire.

The Duke de Castries, who held his seat only as the representative of the shrievalty of Paris, united himself to the former speaker in claiming the honour of again surrendering to the representatives of the nation the baronial prerogatives, which they had already renounced in the special assemblies of Languedoc.

The BISHOP OF UZÈS:—It would be a pleasure to me to be the possessor of an estate, that I might make the sacrifice of it by surrendering it into the hands of its inhabitants; but we have received our titles and our rights from the hands of the nation which alone can destroy them; we are not representatives of the clergy; we take our place amongst the States of the province under special titles, and are nothing more than temporary depositaries; we will do whatever the Assembly may decide on this point, and we shall surrender ourselves to its wisdom.

The Bishops of Nîmes and of Montpellier spoke in the same sense. The former added an express request for exemption from taxes and other charges, in favour of artisans and labourers possessed of no property.

The province of Foix, the communes of Béarn, the stewartry of Lannes, and the Deputy for the district of Soulle expressed their regret at not being able to announce anything beyond their own personal wishes and the hope which they entertained of shortly receiving the authority of their constituents, an authority which the Deputies for Roussillon, those for Bigorre and the duchy of Albret (clergy and commons) could do without, as being already empowered to make any sacrifice which could forward the general interests of the Kingdom.

M. Tronchet, in the name of the Deputies of the commune of Paris, also laid before the Assembly an offer, authorised by their mandates, of the most express renunciation of the pecuniary immunities enjoyed by the inhabitants of the capital, and even of the exclusive powers of the Provost of Paris, and of the privilege of a seal possessed by the Châtelet, in the event of the suppression of similar privileges existing in the Kingdom.

Those of the provostry and of the shrievalty signified their adhesion to the declaration, in so far as it concerned them.

The Deputies for Lyons recalled and renewed the similar declarations already made by them at the sitting held in the church of Saint-Louis.

The Deputies for Agen, who had been commissioned to challenge the pecuniary privileges of Bordeaux, were supported

by the Deputy for Bordeaux himself, M. Nairac, who stipulated for the renunciation of the rights and pecuniary immunities of that town, although consecrated by time and by the most incontestable documents, reserving the other rights of the city which his instructions did not as yet allow him to surrender.

The same reservation was made in favour of the privileges of the town of Marseilles, the clergy of which submitted to an equality of taxation, not having, as yet, any powers beyond this point. That of Tullés intimated the sacrifice of its pecuniary privileges, of its stole dues, of its feudal rights, whether they came under the head of dues or any other.

All the Deputies for Lorraine declared, in touching terms, that their province, the last to be incorporated, would never regret the rule of those adored sovereigns who made the happiness of their people, and showed themselves their fathers, if they were fortunate enough to be able, in the midst of public regeneration and prosperity, to unite themselves to their brethren and to enter with all the other citizens into that maternal house of France, which was about to flourish again beneath the influence of justice, of peace, and of the cordial affection of all the members of that immense and glorious family. They expected with confidence that their constituents would sanction and ratify a homage of which the motive was in all hearts, and of which the expression was commanded by universal example.

The Deputies for Strasbourg submitted, on behalf of their constituents, to entire equality in the distribution of taxation, with a single reservation regarding the administration and the privileges of their town, to which they referred these matters, as being set forth in its articles of union, and relating chiefly to its situation, so important and so precious to the kingdom.

The same zeal called forth similar declarations from the Deputies for Normandy, for Poitou, for Auvergne, for Clermontois, for the shrievalty of Turenne, for the principality of Mohon, for the nobility of Châlons-sur-Marne, for that of Dourdan, and of Sedan; the latter introducing a reservation with regard to the privileges of their town, whose trade and whose very existence at the foot of the Ardennes, in a barren soil,

depended solely upon its immunities. The Deputies for the communes of Sedan signified their adhesion to this reservation.

The representatives of the towns of Amiens, Abbeville, Péronne, Soissons, Reims, Verdun (subject to the ratification of the clergy of the district), Sarlouis, Bar-le-Duc, Réthel, Vitry, Château-Thierry, Saint-Dizier, Châlons, Langres, Clermont in Auvergne, Villeneuve-de-Berg, la Voûte in Vivarais, Bourges, Issoudun, le Mans, Poitiers, Cahors, Bergerac, Sarlat, and Etampes joined themselves to the other Deputies.

The Deputy for Aval, in Franche Comté, reserved the rights possessed by the States of his province, of alone granting exemption from the salt tax, the subsidies, the stamped-paper tax, and any other immunity from its jurisdiction.

The Deputy for Amont expressed the same wish and the same regret at being obliged to ask that record should be taken of his resistance to that of the majority; but, in conformity with other clauses in his mandate, he ventured to hope, like those for Dôle, that he would soon see his province readily acceding to the wish of the nation, which he was going to communicate to it.

All the Deputies for Artois imitated the generosity of the other provinces, abandoning, subject to the ratification of their constituents, the special administration of the States, which had been secured by the treaty of union made with Louis XIV.

MM. de Latour-Maubourg, Destourmel, and de Lameth personally expressed their renunciation of that form of government which had made the administration of the country in a certain manner hereditary, and limited it to a small number of noble families of Artois. One of them congratulated himself on having been able to forestall the present moment by renouncing, in the very midst of the States of his province, the ancient prerogative attached to his domains.

The Deputies for Boulonnais signified their adhesion to the declaration of Artois, and were imitated by those for Calais and Ardres.

The governments of Lille, Douay and Orchies also renounced the privilege of having their States, and asked the Assembly for a provincial administration.

The Deputies for maritime Flanders also announced their renunciation of their actual form of administration, and expressed a similar wish.

The Deputy for Cambrésis announced that the three Estates of his province, having always submitted to an exactly equal assessment of taxes, could only acquiesce anew in the just views of the Assembly.

This homage was renewed by one of the Deputies present, in the name of the Duke of Orléans, Baron of Comines, and by the Count of Egmont, Baron of Vaurins.

The Bishop of Coutances also made, in his own name, the sacrifice of the feudal casualty upon death, reserving to his Archdeacons the exercise of theirs, until they should abandon it.

The Duke de Liancourt proposed that the Assembly should decree that a medal should be struck to eternize the memory of the sincere union of all the Estates, of the renunciation of all privileges, and of the ardent devotion of all individuals to public prosperity and peace.

The Assembly entrusted him with the care of superintending the execution of this patriotic wish.

A member of the nobility of Sens proposed that a deputation should be sent to lay the homage of these sacrifices before the King, whose virtues had inspired the idea, and furnished the nation with the opportunity of making them.

Several officers of justice, speaking in the name of the rest, approached the tribune, and endeavoured to make their way through the crowd of Deputies (who, in their anxiety to present their several renunciations, were covering the steps,) and to raise their voices for the purpose of declaring their abandonment of the privileges of their offices, aspiring only to the dignity conferred by duties acceptable and useful to the Nation.

At this moment, one of the Deputies for Franche-Comté, in agreement with those for Provence, proposed the abolition of the purchase of offices. The Assembly welcomed this idea with delight. Several Deputies for the provinces supplemented it by a demand for the suppression of their parliaments.

M. de Fréteau, councillor in the parliament of Paris, seized this moment to offer to the representatives of the nation the respectful homage of the Supreme Courts. He said that after the noble sacrifice which the Monarch had made of the kind of prerogative which he possessed with respect to legislation, there remained nothing for the officers of his Court to offer to the nation, which could be worthy of it and of his glorious example. Scarcely did he dare present it and beg its acceptance, as he now did for himself and his colleagues, of the slight sacrifice of a few vain prerogatives attached to their various offices, the committimus, heredity of offices, transmissible nobility, a few pecuniary exemptions. But that which was in their power, and which they regarded as a sacred duty, of which they would set an example to all, that they did promise through his mouth, namely: a boundless devotion to the administration of the national laws; a daily study and an untiring diligence in learning their spirit; to extend and to secure their empire, and particularly to establish and strengthen in the hearts of those subject to their jurisdiction that profound respect for the rights of man, which had now urged the King, the clergy, the nobility, the illustrious corporations of the great cities, and all the provinces, to all the sacrifices required by the liberty, the security, the honour and the property of all the inhabitants of the Kingdom.

The Deputy for Beaujolais approached the table for the purpose of demanding the reform of the laws relative to the arts' and trades' guilds, in which masterships were established, as well as the improvement and reorganisation of these corporations, in accordance with the principles of justice and public utility.

A Deputy for Blois had previously demanded the absolute equality of penalties to be inflicted on criminals, and also, that the right of all classes of citizens to be admitted to all ecclesiastical, civil, and military employments, should be recognized and declared.

An ecclesiastical Deputy for Lorraine also expressed the wish that, whilst remaining united in heart and mind to the

head of the Church, the suppression of the annates should be decreed.

M. Duvernay, incumbent of Villefranche in Beaujolais, M. Goulard, incumbent of Roanne, and the incumbent of Eglise-Neuve, intimated their intention of relinquishing the benefices of which they were in the enjoyment, and limiting themselves to their cures.

On this point a great number of their colleagues claimed that the provisions of the canon law should be enforced.

Then the Archbishop of Paris arose and moved that the Assembly should order a *Te Deum* to be sung in the Royal Chapel, in presence of His Majesty and all the members of the National Assembly.

M. . . * :—Gentlemen, you must end this sitting as you began it, and as you have carried it on. You must place upon it a last seal worthy of it and of you. I do not know whether my heart is carrying me too far; but, if it should be mistaken, I would attribute it to that enthusiasm with which your patriotism fills it: I do not, however, believe that it is going astray.

Gentlemen, in the midst of those outbursts, of those transports which unite all our sentiments, all our desires, all our minds, should we not remember the King, the King who called us together when National Assemblies had been interrupted for nearly two centuries, the King who was the first to invite us to this happy union which we have just consummated, the King who, of his own accord, has surrendered to us all the rights which his justice recognised he ought not to retain; the King who, in short, came and threw himself into our arms, and who, only this morning, offered us and asked of us a constant and friendly confidence. On this glorious day, let each one reap his reward; let each one take his share of happiness; let public happiness be the final result of it; let the union of the King and the people crown the union of all the Estates, of all the provinces, and of all the citizens.

* According to M. Léonard Gallois, this speech and the proposals which follow it were M. de Lally-Tolendal's.

It was in the midst of the States-General that Louis XII. was proclaimed the *Father of the People*. I propose that, in the midst of this National Assembly, the most august and the most useful that ever was, Louis XVI. be proclaimed the *Restorer of French Liberty*.

This proclamation was instantly made by the Deputies, by the people, by all who were present, and for a quarter of an hour the National Assembly resounded with cries of *Long Live the King! Long Live Louis XVI., the Restorer of French Liberty!*

The sitting had extended far into the night when the President, after having taken the sense of the Assembly, suspended the course of these patriotic declarations, for the purpose of reading over the principal heads of them and getting them decreed by the Assembly, subject to their being subsequently drawn up. This was at once carried out by unanimous consent, due regard being had to the reservations demanded by the oaths imposed and the instructions given by several constituencies.

The following were the Clauses enacted :

Abolition of the quality of serf and mortmain, under whatever name it may exist.

Commutation of manorial rights.

Abolition of manorial jurisdictions.

Suppression of the exclusive rights of field-sports, of dove-cotes, and of warrens.

A money-tax in substitution for tithes. Optional redemption of all tithes of any kind whatever.

Abolition of all pecuniary privileges and immunities.

Equality of taxes of any kind whatever, as from the beginning of the year 1789, in accordance with regulations to be drawn up by the provincial assemblies.

Eligibility of all citizens to civil and military employments.

Declaration of the establishment, within a short time, of the free administration of justice, and the suppression of the purchase of offices.

Abandonment of the special privileges of provinces and

towns. Declaration on the part of Deputies holding imperative mandates that they are going to write to their constituents requesting their adhesion.

Abandonment of the privileges of several towns—Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, etc.

Suppression of [Ecclesiastical casualties such as] the right of first fruits and vacancies, of annates and of the plurality of benefices.

Cancelling of pensions obtained without title.

Reformation of the guilds.

A medal to be struck to eternize the memory of this day.

A solemn *Te Deum*, and a deputation of the National Assembly to the King, to lay before him the homage of the Assembly, and to carry to him the title of *Restorer of French Liberty*, with a request to be present in person at the *Te Deum*.

Cries of *Long live the King!* expressions of public joy, which assumed the most varied forms, mutual congratulations on the part of the Deputies and the people present brought the sitting to a close.

Before adjourning, the President read a letter which had been written to him by the Archbishop of Bordeaux, the Archbishop of Vienne, and the Count de Latour-Dupin, who had been appointed ministers by the King. It was conceived in these terms :

‘ Monsieur le président, having been called by the King into his councils, we hasten to lay our sentiments before the National Assembly.

‘ The proofs of good-will with which we have been overwhelmed from the happy moment of our union, and above all our fidelity to the principles of the National Assembly, and our respectful confidence in it, are the considerations most calculated to sustain our courage.

‘ We shall never lose sight of the fact that in order to meet the wishes of the King we must always have present to our minds this great truth, which the National Assembly has recalled, and which will no longer be proclaimed in vain : that the happiness and liberty of the people are the only founda-

tions upon which the power and felicity of Kings can fittingly rest and attain strength and durability.

‘Be so kind, Monsieur le président, as to be our interpreter to the Assembly, and to offer to it, in our name, the sincere assurance that we wish to exercise no public functions except in so far as we can be honoured by its approval, and retain our devotion to its maxims.

‘We are, with respect, &c.,

‘(Signed) + J. G. ARCH. of Vienne ; + J. M. ARCH.
of Bordeaux ; LATOUR DUPIN.’

(Applause.)

The sitting was suspended at two o’clock in the morning, and adjourned till noon next day.

* * * * *

[The *Moniteur*, for August 7, contains the following notice of the execution of the preceding decree, so far as regarded the address to the King and the Thanksgiving Service.]

Such were the decrees which the National Assembly, in a body, presented to the King, with the greatest solemnity, as the first fruits of its labours for the happiness of France. The day before it had nominated four committees, one to prepare the report on the commutation of tithes, on the liabilities and the affairs of the clergy ; another to devote its attention to the liquidation of judicial offices ; a third to arrange for the redemption of feudal rights ; and, lastly, a fourth to examine into the various drafts for the declaration of the rights of man, and to reduce them to a single one. Scarcely had it reached the ante-room of the palace, when the King came forward to receive the representatives of the nation, gathered about him without any distinction of rank or of birth, like children about the best of fathers. M. Chapelier, President of the Assembly, delivered the following speech :—

‘Sire, the National Assembly brings your Majesty an offering truly worthy of your heart ; it is a monument raised by the patriotism and the generosity of all the citizens. Privileges, special rights, distinctions hurtful to the public good have disappeared. Provinces, towns, ecclesiastics, nobles, citizens of

the communes have all displayed, as though vying with each other, the most memorable devotedness; they have all abandoned their ancient privileges with a joy greater than any ardour with which they had ever claimed them under the influence of vanity. You behold before you, Sire, none but Frenchmen subject to the same laws, governed by the same principles, penetrated by the same sentiments, and ready to lay down their lives for the interests of the nation and of its King. How could this noble and pure spirit fail to receive yet new life by the expression of your confidence, by the touching promise of that lasting and friendly harmony, of which, till now, but few Kings had given their subjects any assurance, and of which your Majesty has felt that Frenchmen were worthy! Your choice, Sire, offers to the nation ministers which it would itself have presented to you. It is amongst the depositaries of the public interests that you choose the depositaries of your authority. It is your wish that the National Assembly should unite with your Majesty for the restoration of public order and general tranquility. You sacrifice your personal pleasures to the happiness of the people. Therefore, Sire, graciously accept our respectful gratitude, and the homage of our love; and may you bear throughout all ages the only title which can add lustre to the lustre of kingly majesty, the title which our unanimous acclamations have bestowed upon you, the title of *Restorer of French Liberty.*'

The King answered: 'I accept with gratitude the title which you give me. It accords with the motives which guided me when I gathered about me the representatives of my nation. My ardent wish now is to secure, with you, public liberty by the much needed restoration of order and tranquility. Your wisdom and your intentions inspire me with great confidence in the result of your deliberations. Let us go and pray Heaven to grant us its assistance, and render it thanks for the generous sentiments which reign in your Assembly.'

The King having proceeded to the church with the representatives of the nation, walking without any distinction of Estates, was present at the august ceremony, having at his right the President of the National Assembly. He was escorted

back to his apartments by the same cortège, in the midst of the acclamations of the people, who, with transports, invoked blessings on the citizen-king and the generous fathers of the country, whose united efforts had just broken their bonds, and destroyed in all its forms the slavery which had for so many centuries disgraced the French Empire.

ART. V.—DARWINISM AND THE ORIGIN OF REASON.

THIRTY years have now passed since the publication of the *Origin of Species*. If it were possible to regard any one work as creating a new order of knowledge, if knowledge, that is to say, were not by its very nature itself a product of evolution, we might assert that the appearance of that celebrated work created a new era in the history of science, the era dominated by the ideas of Mr. Darwin. For the generation which listened with incredulous ears, nay, even with distrust and suspicion, to the theory of evolution in the form in which it was then for the first time propounded, has given place to one which almost refuses a hearing to any other theory, wherever this one will explain some of the facts; a change of opinion so complete as to call to mind, as the only parallel, the passage from the Ptolemaic to the Copernican system. And just as that revolution in the science of astronomy gave birth to new ideas in other departments of thought, so Darwinism has opened up many fresh possibilities beyond the sphere of natural history; and the generation which has grown up under the influence of Mr. Darwin's theory has seen the effects of the famous change in the conception of organic nature spreading, not slowly, but by leaps and bounds, into almost the whole field of science; so that evolution has become as it were the very sap in many a fruitful branch of human knowledge.

As to the truth of that theory and the widespread appreciation of its truth, there is the eloquent fact that even outside the boundaries of natural science, Darwinism has left hardly

a single system of organised knowledge uninfluenced or unaffected by the power and range of its teaching: even the violent opposition offered on the score of religion to the main doctrine of the origin of species in natural selection has so entirely melted away, that theology now professes to find a powerful ally where she had formerly seen nothing but a dangerous foe, recognising in this idea of a gradual evolution through untold ages a conception still more appropriately worthy of a divine power than the separate activity of a multitude of special creations. Sociology and ethics have long been brought into familiar relations with the last results of natural science; and here too the evolutionary principle has come to be looked upon as the breath of life. A theory with such extensive ramifications, weighed and tested in so many varied spheres, might indeed be thought to possess no limits, to afford a sure and certain basis of explanation for any and every system of knowledge, to the nature of which it could possibly be applied. It might also with some show of reason be presumed that in an hypothesis so successful, so generally adopted and of so wide a range, no questions of serious importance could still remained unsolved, and that no disagreement as to the method of its working could be any longer entertained.

It would be going too far to assert this, or to say that the truth of the evolution-theory is universally accepted; still, most if not all of the leaders of scientific opinion embrace the theory in its general outlines as a demonstrated law of nature. But even at the present time, that is, even a whole generation after the theory has been promulgated, and in spite of the wide-reaching acceptance with which it has met, a very slight knowledge of the latest scientific writing reveals the existence of serious differences of view as to the precise means by which the progress of evolution is brought about. One or two of these find their exponent in Mr. A. R. Wallace, who may justly claim the honour of being a fellow-founder with Darwin of the general theory: he has consistently maintained, and was indeed for a long time quite alone in maintaining, that in the whole order of nature in the organic world, (with one most

important exception, to be afterwards noticed at length), natural selection, or the survival of the fittest, is almost the exclusive means in the process of evolution; and that certain other agencies, such as heredity, sexual selection, use and disuse, which Mr. Darwin regarded as playing a definite part in the process, exist indeed, but are strictly subordinate to the general law. A recital of Mr. Wallace's arguments, set forth with great lucidity and abundance of example, appears in his recently published work, to which, in magnanimous disregard of his own intimate connection with the theory, he gives the sole title of *Darwinism*, because he is convinced that to whatever degree his own views may differ from some of his colleague's, his whole work is nothing if not illustrative of the overwhelming importance of the theory of natural selection, a theory permanently associated with Mr. Darwin's name.* Again, Mr. G. J. Romanes has put forward a suggestion of his own in relation to the infertility or sterility characteristic of hybrids; and on this subject Mr. Darwin and Mr. Wallace are also committed to different opinions. The bare enumeration of these points will serve to indicate the nature and extent of those divergent views which, even within the limits to which the *Origin of Species* applied, still remain unreconciled among professed advocates of the theory of evolution; although within those limits it is a matter of general consent that the existence of various opinions does nothing to discredit the main hypothesis.

But in insisting on the agreement which prevails within those limits, it should be remembered what the limits are. In the *Origin of Species* Mr. Darwin did not attempt to apply his hypothesis to an explanation of any deeper problem than that which is presented by the structural differences in the world of plants and animals. To unravel the mysteries of man's mental and moral endowment formed no part of that problem.† Although at the time at which the *Origin of Species* was pub-

* *Darwinism*, by Alfred Russel Wallace, LL.D., F.L.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

† Cf. *Origin of Species*, 6th edition, chap. viii.

lished, Mr. Darwin expressly passed by the problem of the human faculty, he afterwards gave full expression to his well known views in the *Descent of Man*, a work not indeed so epoch-making as the *Origin of Species*, but perhaps in general estimation more important from the very human interest of the question at issue. The origin of the human mind, the source of all mankind's possessions in civilisation, in culture, in art and science, the seat of all appreciation of religious and moral truth—what problem could be more earnest, more engrossing, than this? And in view of the conditions of the inquiry—mind considering its own origin, and that origin, too, under circumstances of which no trace or record is left—what problem could appear, it might be asked, more insoluble? If, then, at the very outset the question seemed to admit of no answer, why, it might be further asked, should we hesitate to confess our ignorance, or to take refuge in one of those poetical myths which ascribe what is by human reason inexplicable to the agency of some unseen and unknown power?

Objections and considerations of this kind have little influence with the scientific temperament, and the triumphant progress of the principle of evolution has long ago reached and attacked this the last stronghold of its opponents. Even those who fully admit the truth and efficacy of evolution as applied to the genesis of the physical organism of man—the highest and most perfectly developed of all animals—and who, when mind is once given, find the explanation of its growth to rest once more upon a similar law of development, pause at the question of the origin of man's distinguishing faculty, and deny the adequacy of any process of evolution to explain the genesis of mind.

The problem has given rise to radical and uncompromising difference of opinion. Mr. Wallace, for example, in the eloquent conclusion to his recent work, remarks that the Darwinian theory 'shows us how man's body may have been developed from that of a lower animal form under the law of natural selection; but it also teaches us that we possess intellectual and moral faculties which could not have been so developed, but must have had another origin; and for this origin we can

only find an adequate cause in the unseen universe of Spirit.* This is the final conviction of an honest and independent investigator of scientific truth, and it is worth while to examine in brief the reasons which he gives for arriving at this opinion ; more particularly because the considerations brought to bear on the problem by Mr. Wallace are of a different nature from those which generally figure in the philosophic and scientific writing of the day.

The argument which underlies most of the reasoning of those who essay to prove that man's intellectual and moral faculties have been developed by modification from the lower animals, is at bottom an argument from analogy. If the physical organism of man has been admittedly developed from that of a lower animal by a process of natural selection alone, the argument from analogy boldly seeks to show that if the highest brutes and the lowest savages exhibit a continuity of intellectual development, this development must have proceeded *pari passu* with the physical evolution, and be occasioned by the same cause, that is to say, be also brought about exclusively by natural selection. This, as Mr. Wallace points out, is a very dangerous method of reasoning ; it assumes ' without proof or against independent evidence, that the later stages of an apparently continuous development are necessarily due to the same causes only as the earlier stages : ' and, as there is ample evidence to prove in the case of man's intellectual faculty, certain manifestations of it are of such a nature that they could not possibly have owed their origin to the method of natural selection. To take the mathematical, musical and artistic faculties as examples ; Mr. Wallace argues that none of them can have been produced by natural selection, for the simple reason that natural selection acts by life and death, and by the survival of the fittest out of a multitude of variations engaged in the struggle for existence ; a process of development which cannot be made to account for the sudden appearance of those faculties in individuals, an appearance sporadic in its character, subject to no law that is known to us,

* Wallace, loc. cit., p. 498.

and exhibiting peculiarities the very reverse of those which govern any process of evolution. At all events, of any of these faculties, so distinctly human in their nature, it is impossible, as Mr. Wallace asserts, 'to trace any connection between its possession and survival in the struggle for existence.'

And further, in those powers which mankind shares with other animals the amount of variation presented keeps within limits common to both; or, what is the same thing differently expressed, there is a similar level of development alike in brutes and men, in so far as their common endowments are concerned. But in the case of the distinctive faculties of man, it is only here and there that eminence is attained, and the difference of level between the few who attain it and the average man is such as far exceeds any conceivable limits of variation. The language of ordinary life testifies to this absence of all common measurement by calling the eminent person 'an inspired or heavenly genius;' and still no one seriously doubts that the faculty which is so wonderful in its productions differs in anything but degree from that which prevails amongst men in general. Faculties, therefore, which are apparently lawless in their appearance, and at the same time so far surpass the average as to be out of all proportion to it, must owe their origin to some source other than natural selection, and cannot be explained by its method. The greater eminence these faculties attain, the more distinctly human they are, the more they show their essential difference from those animal faculties, for the development of which natural selection offers a complete explanation.

Man's mental faculties, then, says Mr. Wallace, cannot have been derived exclusively from his animal progenitors. Some new influence must have supervened at the birth of *intellect*, just as a new force must have come into play at two other stages in the course of evolution, at the appearance of *vitality*, the change from inorganic to organic nature, and at the dawn of *consciousness*, when the organism became charged with sensation. 'Those who admit,' concludes Mr. Wallace, 'my interpretation of the evidence now adduced—strictly scientific

evidence in its appeal to facts which are clearly what ought *not* to be on the materialistic theory—will be able to accept the spiritual nature of man as not in any way inconsistent with the theory of evolution, but as dependent on those fundamental laws and causes which furnish the very materials for evolution to work with.’*

The hypothesis of a spiritual agency supervening at the dawn of mind—which Mr. Wallace calls *scientific* because no other so adequately explains the facts—is a resolution of the difficulty in its very nature unsatisfactory to the ardent student of nature. Such an hypothesis, it will be said at once, savours too much of the old theology, the theology which set itself up against Galileo, for instance; it is too dangerously of a piece with those dogmatic assurances of religion which have at all times been inimical to the spread of scientific truth. In other words, this sort of theory provides us with a mystical and not a real explanation; it is a statement of events more akin to legend than to sober history. Well, be it so. As an explanation, say its adherents, it is not on that account the less rational, so long as the alleged real explanation, which is after all also an hypothesis, can be shown to be insufficient to throw light upon the facts. Call it, if you will, a confession of ignorance, a provisional suspense of judgment; it is nevertheless the creed that must be held to, the hypothesis that must be accepted, until we are fortunate enough to be presented with a better. If the theory of a perfectly continuous evolution were more adequate than this, that is, if it explained more of the facts, we, who at present hesitate, would gladly embrace it as another step on the road from ignorance to knowledge.

This difference of opinion, this reluctance to acquiesce in evolution as applicable to the genesis of mind, is at present very far from disappearing. Let us consider in what the alternative consists, and how far, even in its latest phase, it is a valid hypothesis.

The theory which places the origin of the human faculty in an uninterrupted and homogenous development

* Wallace, loc. cit., p. 476.

from the lower animals ordinarily rests on arguments which have very little to do with the considerations adduced by Mr. Wallace. The advocates of this hypothesis even go farther, and object *in toto* to any such statement of the case. No fair comparison can be drawn, they would probably argue, between certain sporadic and exceptional manifestations of the human mind in a very high state of its development, and the faculties, whatever they may be, which are exhibited by our animal ancestors. The by-products of this extremely advanced state of mental evolution are not the data from which the argument should start ; for the argument from continuity, they say, will have no meaning unless its illustrations are taken, not from the highest, but from the lowest state of the human faculty, where the continuity, if any, will have a chance of being observed.

Of course no one can object to the consideration of any argument at the point at which it has most force, or of the argument from continuity where it is most applicable, that is to say, as high up in the scale of animal intelligence and as low down in the scale of human intelligence as possible ; but any success that argument may have at this point must be afterwards tested by applying the same argument to the later development ; and we must not leave out of sight that the argument from continuity, even if found to be apparently sufficient to account for the transition from animal to human intelligence, will break down if it does not also account for the highest manifestations of the human faculty. If any hypothesis is framed which disregards or throws no light on these phenomena of a later stage, it is surely the outcome of a failure to understand the very conditions of the problem.

The latest phase of the question, and in some respects the most important and painstaking contribution to the theory of evolution of mind by a continuous process of development, is that presented in Mr. Romanes' recent work on *Mental Evolution in Man*,* a sequel to a previous work on *Mental Evolution*

* *Mental Evolution in Man : Origin of Human Faculty*, by George John Romanes, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

in Animals. It is interesting to observe that this volume, though published hardly a year ago, has already become a bone of contention; for it is an indication of the fact that the controversy still prevailing on the theory of evolution is limited, at any rate in its more important aspects, to the question of the origin of mind. Mr. Romanes claims to present 'an exposition of the principles which have probably been concerned in the Origin of Human Faculty'; in other words, he attempts to trace every step in that continuous process by which the human intellect has been evolved. The considerations which, as we have seen, are regarded with so much importance by Mr. Wallace, are conspicuous by their absence from Mr. Romanes' book, where the conclusions drawn are affirmed to rest entirely upon psychology and philology; that is, on the knowledge we have, firstly of the nature of the mind itself, and secondly of the nature and history of language.

Now in this attempt a strong presumption is from the first made out, and perhaps rightly made out, in favour of the position to be proved; and though the question is afterwards to be tested carefully by the last results of the sciences of psychology and philology, the whole weight of an argument from analogy is thrown into the scale, as it were, before the inquiry commences. What more natural, asks Mr. Romanes, than to start with this presumption, when it is admitted that the process of organic and mental evolution has been continuous throughout the whole region of life and of mind, except, as his opponents say, in the mind of man? 'It is improbable,' says he, 'that an interruption should have taken place at the terminal phase.' In this way the burden of proof is from the first thrown upon his opponents. But let us dwell no longer on the dangerous ground of analogy than is necessary to remind Mr. Romanes that the terminal phase in the brute is the initial phase in man, and that the subsequent progress of mind is, as has been previously shown by Mr. Wallace's argument, obviously not governed by the law which applies to the physical organism of animals. Let us proceed at once to an examination of the question on its own merits;

let us examine the constitution of our minds and compare the results we obtain with what we can observe in brutes.

For it is with a difference of mental endowment that we have to do, a difference which Mr. Romanes recognises in common with every one who has given his attention to the matter. It is a difference which we need not go to philosophers to learn. The rough language of every day expresses a similar distinction by saying that the man thinks and reasons, and that the brute does not.

Now what do we mean when we use these words *thinking* and *reasoning*? and how far are we right, or indeed are we right at all, in asserting that no animal but man thinks or reasons? By thinking and reasoning we obviously do not mean every mental process whatever. Perceiving, dreaming, painful and pleasurable feelings, and the like, are all states of consciousness with their seat in the brain; and these are mental processes common alike to brutes and men. They involve a faculty of attending to the impressions of sense, of receiving individual experiences of external objects, in simple language, of being affected by the things about us. It is also a matter of common observation that many animals are possessed of a faculty which cannot be distinguished from memory, and that both in their case and in ours, when the object which affected the sense is no longer present, an impression or memory of it can still remain and be afterwards revived; though how this takes place, either in their case or in ours, is perhaps only one degree less inexplicable than the process by which external objects affect us at all. No one can object to the statement that these affections of sense are not so much thinking or reasoning as the materials on which thought and reason are exercised.

Inference is another mental process which many people assert to be within the power of the lower animals, and certainly no one can refuse the title of thinking or reasoning in some sense to certain mental acts, which naturalists tell us they have observed in animals, acts such as hesitation and the ultimate adoption of a conclusion which a man himself might have taken under the circumstances; in some respects, even,

it cannot be denied that in what is called 'practical inference,' many animals far surpass man.

Shall we say, then, that ordinary language is incorrect in making the difference between men and other animals to consist in the presence or absence of thinking or reasoning? Let us see if there is not a mental process which more appropriately than any we have been considering deserves to be called thought or reason, and which is to be found in man alone.

That it is the power of *abstraction* which marks man off from other animals is, as Mr. Romanes himself admits, a matter of common agreement amongst psychologists of every school; and he quotes an important passage from Locke as containing the clearest enunciation of this truth. 'The having of general ideas,' says Locke, 'is that which puts a perfect distinction betwixt man and brutes,' and speaking further on of brutes, he adds, 'it seems evident to me that they do some of them in certain instances reason, as that they have sense; but it is only in particular ideas, just as they received them from their senses. They are the best of them tied up within those narrow bounds, and have not (as I think) the faculty to enlarge them by any kind of abstraction.'

Now what does the power of abstraction do for us? and if it is that which distinguishes us from brutes, in what manner does it manifest itself? In other words, how are those general ideas of which Locke speaks formed, and what is their use?

We know, of course, that the affections of sense, our individual particular experiences are able to leave an impression on our minds, and that, when a number of individual experiences occur, causing our senses to be affected in the same or a similar way, this power of abstraction enables us to combine in one general idea all that is common to these individual experiences. The method of this power of abstraction is one of the mysteries of our existence; we do not know in what way it works; whether, for instance, we form our general idea by our strength in separating off that which occurs repeatedly in the course of our experience, or by

our weakness in being able to take little or no account of that which is only occasionally present. It is this power of abstraction which gives us our mental superiority. By its agency we are raised out of the sphere of our sensuous experiences into the realm of thought; or, in Platonic language, we become free from the bonds of sense and attain to the contemplation of ideas.

Let us see exactly what it is we do in this process of arriving at general ideas, and how this wonderful power manifests itself. Let me have presented to me several particular experiences, each able to affect my sense of sight in a similar manner, let us say, by appearing *red*. I see, for instance, the red cloth on the table at which I write, the red geranium at the window, and the red sunset in the sky beyond. I take whatever is common to these sensuous experiences or impressions, the glow from the sky, the colour from the flower, the particular shade in which the cloth has been dyed, and I consider this common feature by itself. By this means I have given *red* an ideal existence, that is to say, I have separated it from the objects of which it seemed to be a part. This I can do in one way only,—by giving it a *name*. This quality of appearing red, I can separate off by and in language alone. Red apart from a red object has no existence except for my mind; and there it can exist only when fixed and determined by a name. In plain words, this faculty of abstraction exists only, and can exist only, in and by its manifestation, that is, in language.

Abstraction, then, consists in this process, this activity of our minds, by which we pass from a particular experience, a percept, to a general idea or concept. Starting from an experience common to us and to the brutes, we pass into a mental sphere whither no other animal can follow us; and until a brute can use language, what is not only necessary for the formation of general ideas, but which, used in its true sense, always implies their presence, we shall deny that brutes can think or reason. These general ideas once attained, the progress of thought acts by bringing them into relation one with another; and by this simple process of combining and

separating the whole of our intellectual wealth has been accumulated.

Between particular ideas or percepts and general ideas or concepts there is thus a wide gap, a gap which can be bridged over only by that inexplicable power the mind has of binding together the impressions of sense, a power which we express, even if we do not know it, every time we use the word *intellect*. For intellect is nothing more than *inter-lect*, that is interlacing or combining.

The whole gist of Mr. Romanes' argument rests on the interposition, midway between the percept and the concept, of another process, a kind of stepping-stone by which we can rise from the one to the other; and by throwing light on this intermediate stage, he claims to make it easy for us to see how, in the evolution of mind, we pass from the domain of sense to the realm of general ideas.

Now it is obvious that, if, as Mr. Romanes wishes to make out, there is a continuous evolution from a percept to a concept, an evolution which explains the descent of human intelligence by modification from the psychical phenomena of lower animals, it does not help us much to make the argument start by asserting the existence of the very link which has to be proved. And Mr. Romanes' method is to assert the existence of that link, to call it a *recept*, as distinguished from a percept and a concept,—a *recept* because it is what is *imparted* to us by *the logic of events*. This link once posited, we see it applied with a thorough-going belief in its efficacy to explain the appearance of all those psychical phenomena for which we have hitherto in vain sought to account by any process of development. That is to say, it is made to bridge over the gap not only between percept and concept, but also between indication and predication, and between consciousness and self-consciousness. The germ of a conceptual name, according to this argument, is to be found in a 'receptual' name; the beginnings of predication in 'receptual' predication; the origin of self-consciousness in 'receptual' self-consciousness.

Mr. Romanes introduces us, in fact, to the *recept* as an

intermediary between our old but often divided friends, the percept and the concept. But on seeing a little more of this intermediary, we discover that, though bearing a new and strange name, it is in reality also an old acquaintance. It is that confused mental image, of which Mr. Galton gave an ingenious illustration or metaphor in his 'blended photograph' where by subjecting a sensitive plate to several faces more or less resembling one another he obtained a composite picture intensifying the similar features of all, while the points of difference presented a blurred or undefined appearance.

It is by a similar process, argues Mr. Romanes, that abstraction works before it reaches the stage at which a concept is formed, that is, so long as it is only a recept. This recept, in other words, comes into being very much after the manner of the composite picture; the receptual image is *imparted* to the mind just as the common impression resulting from several faces is imparted to the sensitive plate. It is, of course, only by a very rough and incorrect use of language that this intermediate idea can be described as an image of a *passive* kind, which can be imparted, in opposition to the concept, or the image in the case of which the mind is *active*; for in no class of ideas can the mind be said to be passive, and least of all can it be said to be passive when it attempts to rise above the domain of direct sensuous experience, a process which by the hypothesis must take place in the formation of recepts. A recept does not rise above sensuous experience, unless it is in the nature of an abstraction; and unless in this process the mind be active, it is an 'abstraction' in which nothing is abstracted.*

* It is by a somewhat parallel argument that M. Binet, in a most ingenious little essay, *La Psychologie du Raisonnement* (Felix Alcan, Paris, 1886), attempts to bridge over the gap between perception and judgment. All acts of judgment are by M. Binet's explanation reduced to the level of perceptions, and exhibit an analogous method, i.e., they are both fusions of images, in the case of perceptions, of sensations; in the case of judgments, of percepts. Mr. Romanes claims that this fusion of sensations expresses what he means by a receptual image, and that the fusion of perceptions gives rise to what are ordinarily understood as concepts. M. Binet, however, admits that this explanation, which refers both receptual

Among the distinctions which Mr. Romanes traces between receipts and concepts, the one which is the most important and also the most fatal to his argument arises when he attempts to distinguish between the faculty of abstraction where it is not dependent on language (as he asserts to be the case with receipts), and where it is so dependent (as in concepts); or, as he puts it, between the act of compounding the idea, and the further and distinct act of giving it a name. Mr. Romanes is surprised that this large and important territory of ideation lying between the other two (the memory of a particular percept and the formation of a concept), is, so to speak, 'unnamed ground': so he coins the word receipt to express this intermediate mental process, which he says differs from a concept only by not being joined with a name. This receiptual image, which is afterwards significantly styled pre-conceptual, is then made to perform its duty whenever any gap has to be bridged over between man and brute.

But it seems that this intermediate process, this 'unnamed ground' has, in reality, no independent existence. For the receipt is either an image attached to particular sensuous experiences, that is to say, is itself one of those particular sensuous experiences and never rises above them, being at most a memory; or else it is an abstraction from sensuous experience, an abstraction which can take place only by and in the giving of a name. As Mr. Romanes himself quotes from M. Taine, 'the formation of our abstract ideas is nothing but a formation of names.' If, then, the receipt has a name, it is a concept; if it has no name, it is no more than a percept, a sensation. *Tertium non datur.*

If anyone wishes to test the truth of this remark, let him try to think of any quality at all, or of any idea, apart from the object which presents it, without at the same time naming it. It will be seen that such a quality, such an idea, can have no independent existence for our thought, except in so far as we

and conceptual images to an excitation of the same sensory centre is only 'a transposition into physiological terms' of a psychological process which is itself inexplicable (p. 117).

name it. The Greek language embodies this truth when it uses the one word *logos* to express both the power by which we combine and separate the presentations of sense, and the sign which we use for the result of that process; that is, when it makes words the outward signs of the binding force of the mind.

Mr. Romanes sometimes writes as if a recept and a concept answered to two different degrees of abstraction. There is no such thing as a degree of abstraction, for there is no such thing as a degree of naming; there are only the degrees of connotation and denotation of the name which stands for the abstract idea, degrees which, as the text books tell us, vary inversely. And when Mr. Romanes goes so far as to give the name of *generic idea* to his recept, reserving for the concept the ordinary word *general*, it may well be doubted whether in this 'verbal as well as substantial analogy' he is not introducing the elements of psychological confusion. For he describes a recept as 'generated as it were spontaneously or automatically by the principles of mere perceptual association.' Generated out of what? Out of percepts. But the only way in which we can rise above percepts, or generate anything out of them, is to give names; and to give names, in this sense, is, as we have seen, to form concepts. So that, when he talks of a 'receptual name,' he is only trying to evade the difficulty by putting it further back; for a receptual name (in the sense in which he uses the word) is nothing but a concept; a concept it may be, of very inadequate connotation, that takes note only of salient external resemblances, but still a concept.

There is, however, a sense in which the use of the word 'recept' may be justified, but it is a sense foreign to the purpose for which Mr. Romanes in general employs it, though in one passage (pp. 65-6) he appears to come within measurable distance of this sense of the word. He has ventured, as we have seen, to describe the mind as being in a *passive state* in the case of a recept, and if he had made this *passive state* an antecedent instead of a consequent of the perceptual stage, he would have been nearer the true psychology of the matter. For it is only in regard to *sensations* that the mind can, with

any approximation to truth, be described as in a passive state; and even then it cannot be entirely passive. The true order of mental process is *recept*, *percept*, *concept*, as may be seen clearly by taking as an illustration the condition of the mind in which it most nearly approaches a passive state. When the eyes of a new-born baby first open upon the world, it is extremely probable that the earliest impression it receives, its first *recept*, is a confused blur, which differentiates gradually into light and shade. Light and shade are thus its two first *percepts*, though to subsequent experience they in their turn become *recepts*, which again differentiate into further *percepts*, into distinction of the various objects about it. And when an object is presented which the child has never seen before, but externally resembling some former experience, it receives a similar sensation, and extends to it the name given to its former experience. In other words, it takes note of external resemblances only, just as an adult does in the presence of an unfamiliar object. How often one hears it said: 'I don't know what that can be; it looks like such and such a thing.' The sovereign and the bright farthing have, for the mind that takes note of external resemblances only, the same value; if that value is named, it is something that *glitters*, a very low order of concept, but still a concept. As Dr. Ward* puts it, 'thinking starts with such mere potential generality as is secured by the association of a generic image with a name; so far the material of thought is always general.'

One's whole life is thus a long process of differentiation, of separating, of analysing, *recepts* into *percepts*. By sifting the impressions of sense and recombining their results ideally, that is, by means of language, we pass to concepts; so that the progress of knowledge, from a psychological standpoint, is but one more illustration of that well-worn phrase, *thesis*, *analysis*, *synthesis*. Only to those animals who are possessed of language is a *synthesis* possible.

Of course it is clear that if we are to understand by this word *language* the sign-making faculty in general, we shall

**Encyclopædia Britannica*. Ninth Edition, s. v. Psychology.

have to allow that other animals besides man are possessed of language. But if by language we mean *logos*, speech, the power of making signs as the marks of abstract ideas—and this is the true use of language—we mean a faculty to which no animal but man has ever yet attained.

Now it is an attribute of a conceptual name that it can constantly increase its connotation, and Mr. Romanes considers that what he calls 'receptual names' can also undergo a similar extension of meaning. As has been pointed out, a 'receptual name' is nothing and can be nothing but a concept; but let us nevertheless consider Mr. Romanes' example. 'A talking bird,' he says, 'will extend its denotative name,' (*i.e.*, a name of the receptual kind), 'from one dog in particular to any other dog which it may happen to see;' and he argues that if a parrot's intelligence were greater than it is, it would extend the same receptual name to images and pictures of dogs. It is well known that a parrot can be taught to say 'bow-bow' when it sees a particular dog, or can perhaps imitate the dog's bark without any teaching; and if a parrot says 'bow-bow' to a different dog, that is sufficiently explained by the memory of the former dog being revived, and with it the sound with which it was associated. No one can pretend that in this extension of name the parrot approaches a conceptual use of it, or rises at all beyond the limits of revived sensuous experience.

It should never be forgotten, and there is no harm in repeating the fact in any discussion of this nature, that in talking of the mind of animals we are led purely by analogy; that our illustrations are taken chiefly from domesticated pets, probably of a kind which has long lived in the company of man, and that in looking into their faces we are very apt to read our own thoughts.

When Mr. Romanes passes to the case of a very young child, and when he finds that it presents mental phenomena similar to those which he observes in dogs and parrots at an age at which it can exhibit no power of conceptual thought, he proceeds to argue that because the child afterwards attains this power, therefore this power differs only in degree from faculties possessed by the lower animals;—a method of argument of

which it need only be said, in the words already quoted from Mr. Wallace, that it takes for granted that 'the later stages of an apparently continuous development are necessarily due to the same causes only as the earlier stages.'

In dealing with the evidence which the science of language constitutes in support of the evolutionist position, Mr. Romanes again uses an argument from analogy, and strongly and rightly insists upon the probability that as the *growth* of language is everywhere subject to a gradual development, so also it must owe its *origin* to some process of evolution; or, in Geiger's words, 'language diminishes the further we go back in such a way that we cannot forbear concluding it must once have had no existence at all.' And Mr. Romanes is careful to illustrate this law of development, as far as concerns the growth of language, by a useful summary of the various views held on the subject by several well-known philologists. But he goes on to assert that, as the result of his arguments, 'we have a proved continuity of development between all stages of the sign-making faculty;' and that therefore there is no distinction of kind between the sign made by an animal and the fully developed language of man. Here again what distinction there may appear to be is bridged over by the untenable hypothesis of a 'receptual sign,' as something distinct from a conceptual name.

For in asserting that the kind of classification with which receipts are concerned is that which lies nearest to 'the automatic groupings of sensuous perception,' and that those roots of language which have been discovered by the researches of philologists, present the names for actions and processes immediately apparent to the senses, Mr. Romanes is only expressing in a roundabout way a fact which nobody doubts, the fact, namely, that the first concepts, or, as he likes to call them, the first named receipts, are of a very low order of connotation. If the science of language has proved anything, it has proved *ad nauseam* the *growth* of concepts, the gradual extension of their meaning, and that accordingly there must have been a time at which concepts conceived or connoted only those features which could be easily seen and recognised.

Mr. Romanes admits that in discussing the origin of language, in the true sense of the term, it is important to observe that the protoplasm, so to speak, is not the *word* but the *sentence*; that is to say, that language begins in predication, in a sign conveying a conceptual meaning. This sentence-word, once formed, can be and is afterwards modified by tone, gesture, demonstrative and pronominal affixes, which again differentiate into what we call 'parts of speech.' Now, it is a remarkable fact that this sentence-word, which is the simplest element of thought, the last residuum in the philological crucible, turns out to be a concept. Mr. Romanes attempts to explain away the significance of this fact by asserting that these radical concepts are ultimate only in the sense of being primeval: for, as he says, only those words which had some degree of connotative extension would have had any chance of surviving at all. To this it may be answered that no onomatopoeic theory is sufficient to explain the origin of other than perceptual signs. It is as futile to assert that these can develop of themselves into concepts as it is to plant nails and expect them to grow.

The question, then, of the origin of the human faculty is thus brought back to the origin of concepts. It is indeed no explanation of their origin to assert, in opposition to the evolutionist theory, that they arise in that binding power of the mind, the outward manifestation of which is language; or that concepts are the fruit of the *logos*, and that the *logos* is a conceptual faculty; for this is either mere tautology or an argument in a circle.

There is, however, a theory as to the nature and origin of concepts which has claimed some general attention in the last two or three years, chiefly perhaps from the fact that Professor Max Müller has made himself the champion of it. It is the theory put forward by Professor Ludwig Noiré—whose recent death is a great loss to all genuine philosophical study—and systematically propounded in his *Logos: Origin and Nature of Concepts*, published in 1885.* In Professor Max Müller's *Science*

*The general argument of this work soon afterwards formed a subject of

of Thought, Noiré's theory is eloquently defended as the only explanation of the origin of language at all adequate to explain the facts; and since this distinguished writer stands out for the identity, or, at any rate, the inseparableness of language and thought, it certainly looks as if he would regard this theory as throwing as much light as can be thrown upon the true origin of thought, and as so far solving the question of the origin of the human faculty. And in his most recent work, the Gifford Lectures on *Natural Religion*,* he brings the same subject up again in the evident assurance that this theory alone comes near the truth of the matter. Still, an expectant reader, a reader, let us say, who is on the look out for any traces of the true evolution of mind, cannot help detecting here and there, if not a little uncertainty, at least some reluctance to pronounce clearly that here we have the missing link in the development of distinctively human intelligence. It is true that Professor Max Müller speaks of the theory of Noiré's as 'accounting for 'the first germ of conceptual thought,' as explaining 'the natural genesis of concepts': but he adds that the theory is 'the only one which approaches or touches the hem of the problem that has to be solved, namely, how concepts arose, and how concepts were expressed.' (p. 374). And in another passage he makes use of language which can hardly be called positive. 'No doubt,' says he, 'it is a suggestion and no more, for who would dare to speak with positive certainty on matters so distant from us in time, and still more distant from us in thought? All we can say is that such a suggestion would fulfil three essential conditions; it would explain the simultaneous origin of concepts and roots; it would account for their intelligibility among fellow workers; and it would explain what has to be explained, viz., conceptual, not perceptual language; language such as it is, not language such as it might have been. If any one has anything better to suggest, let him do so; if not, *his utere mecum.*' (p. 211).

a detailed notice in this Review. Vide *Prof. Noiré on the Origin of Reason*, by T. B. Saunders, *Scottish Review*, April, 1887.

* *Natural Religion*. The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1888. Longmans, 1889.

Let us bear in mind how this theory approached the question which it set before itself to solve. Noiré started by recognising the broad result of philological analysis, namely, that the simplest elements of language are conceptual signs. Now these conceptual signs cannot have come into existence at all except in direct connection with some particular acts or objects, for the simple reason that all our knowledge, though not entirely derivable from sensuous experience, is ultimately concerned with it. What particular acts or objects, then, would be most likely, by their very nature, to supply the conditions for the rise of concepts, and at one and the same time to call forth the sign which is not only their manifestation but their very essence? Those, said Noiré, which involve common creative labour, acts in which several would join at once for the purpose of doing something together, acts such as digging, striking, weaving, in which the product of common labour would be seen growing under the very labour itself, and would be intuitively recognised as the result of common action. No acts would be so likely as these, concluded Noiré, to render inevitable what is the essence of conceptual thought, a consciousness of the manifold as one; and since it is characteristic of men engaged in a common work to relieve their feelings and stimulate their efforts by the utterance of cries, these cries would tend to become associated with the labour and with the product of it. Cries like these would have a predicative meaning, that is to say, they would bind together the activity itself and the result of the activity; and as at the beginning no distinction would have been made between the subject and the object of the work, the cry would be the simplest element of thought, a sentence-word, a conceptual sign.

And Noiré went even further than this, asserting that a sentence-word thus formed would arise under ideal and universal conditions. By this he meant that the whole process and every part of it would be an act of *will*, issuing in particular sensuous experiences, some temporal, some spatial, some causal. The cry, for instance, is a particular sensuous experience, audible and temporal in its nature; the object

produced is another particular sensuous experience, existing in space and visible; the activity is intuitively recognised as something causal; and all three are acts of will, and acts of will undertaken in common with others and followed by a common result. The manifold of all these sensuous experiences or presentations is brought together, by an ideal intuition, under one unifying sign, the cry which accompanies the work; a cry uttered by all, understood by all, the repetition of which would mean that the whole process is reproducible at will. Here then, said Noiré, is the origin of a true linguistic sign, a manifestation of the logos.

Now, as was briefly pointed out in the detailed explanation of this theory,* there are two assumptions on which it rests. It is quite true that no theory can afford to dispense with assumptions; but it is also true that no theory is worth anything which presupposes the existence of that of which it seeks to show the origin. Noire's two assumptions are these: the existence of the social instinct, and the presence of what he calls 'ideal intuition.' What is the bearing of these assumptions on the theory itself? a theory, let us remember, which professes to explain the origin of concepts, or, at any rate, the conditions under which they can arise.

To examine one of these assumptions only, it will be obvious at once that *an ideal intuition* is the very process which has to be explained, and that to assume it as part of the agency which gives rise to concepts is to argue in a circle. What is an ideal intuition, coming into play in the origin of concepts, if it is not that binding and separating force of the mind which penetrates through sensuous experience to underlying unity? This binding and separating force is a mental process, let us admit, which only manifests itself in the concept, and then only in and through a sign; but it is logically prior to the concept. In Noire's explanation its existence is confessedly assumed; and so we are forced to the conclusion that the theory offers no real explanation of the rise of conceptual thought.

* *Scottish Review*, loc. cit., p. 374.

Now Professor Max Müller, the advocate of this theory, is very frank in his avowal of sympathy with the historical as opposed to the theoretical treatment of these questions,* and consequently when he applies the Historical Method to an inquiry into the origin of concepts, he is evidently justified in asserting that in such and such conditions may probably be found their origin. By 'origin,' however, he must here mean 'first manifestation,' origin in the historical sense; he cannot mean origin in the theoretical sense, that which was not a concept, but out of which concepts developed. We may, it is true, speak of a spring as the *fons et origo* of a river; but we must go behind the spring to find out the real source from which the river flows.

It is, doubtful, indeed, whether any real explanation of conceptual thought, any explanation, that is, which does not involve an argument in a circle, can ever be possible; and of this doubt Noire's attempt is a striking confirmation. Into the terms of any theoretical definition some such word as *intuition* is sure to be introduced; or, in other words, an explanation of the processes of the mind will ultimately rest on something without which thought is impossible, some condition precedent to all experience,—which is just the very characteristic of the mind which is all-important, and which cannot be explained.

The first dawn of conceptual thought, the first germ of the logos, these and similar expressions can be taken, as far as Noire's theory is concerned, only in the sense that this is the furthest we can get back in the inquiry. What has to be explained, what Mr. Romanes and others maintain that they do explain, is not so much the dawn of conceptual thought, as the light which makes the dawn, conceptual thought, the act of ideal intuition, itself; how this could have been developed, and was developed, out of something below it in the hierarchy of psychical phenomena. If Noire's theory is put forward as a solution of that problem, as an explanation of that difficulty, it is a solution which itself requires to be solved. Perhaps no solution is possible. But in acknowledging that the difficulty

* *Natural Religion*, p. 212.

still remains, in spite of all that has been written on the matter, it would be untrue to go further and maintain that nothing has been done towards removing it; for even a clear statement of the difficulty is a step in advance. So much, at any rate, has been already achieved. Zoology has taught us how small is the structural difference between man and his alleged simian ancestors, and psychologists have made clear in what his mental superiority consists. We know where we are, and what it is exactly which has not yet been explained.

T. B. SAUNDERS.

ART. VI.—THE TERRITORY OF THE HELLENIC KINGDOM.

[Translated with the sanction of the author from the *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique* I. 2.]

WHEN King Otho mounted the throne of Greece he was still in his boyhood. He was an upright Prince, animated by excellent intentions, a lover of justice, and thoroughly devoted to his adopted country. If he had been placed in ordinary circumstances, in an organised society, and surrounded by the traditions and elements of stable government, he might have been an ideal King. But he did not possess the qualities necessary to rule a people new-born from a long and bloody war. His capacity was not great enough to meet the difficulties of the task imposed upon him. He did not realize all the hopes which his new subjects had formed of him, and he did not possess the art of making them forget faults, of which he was not always alone guilty. His childlessness denied him the happiness of founding a dynasty on which the Hellenes might have placed their hopes and so consoled themselves for the disappointments of the present by the expectations of the future. He yielded without resistance to the revolution which dethroned him. If it had pleased him to do so, he might have found partisans enough to have endeavoured to repossess himself of power. But he gave Hellas a last proof of his love for

her by deliberately sparing her the woes of civil war. He left the land of his adoption with words of farewell full of majesty, and good wishes for her happiness which were dictated by a sincere affection. The Hellenes have not forgotten his weaknesses; but they are ever recalling his good qualities with more and more of appreciation. They remember of him, above all, how he loved their country; and his memory is dear to them.

The heart of Otho became Hellen. He identified himself with his subjects, he was soon penetrated with their natural aspirations, and to realize these was his unceasing aim from the hour of his accession to that of his abdication. He felt, like all the rest of the Hellenes, that the formation of his kingdom was not the full emancipation of their race. During the thirty long years of his reign he seized every opportunity which seemed to offer him a chance of repairing the injustice inflicted upon those who had fought and bled for freedom, but to whom the Powers of Europe had refused permission to enjoy it. Unhappily, he did not possess the ability necessary to surmount the double difficulty with which he had to contend; on the one hand, in the weakness of his small and still disorganized State, and, on the other, in the hostility of the Powers, who were again worshipping with redoubled devotion the malign fetish of the Integrity of the Turkish Empire, and were less than ever disposed to allow Hellas to grow to her natural proportions.

The free Hellenes of the new kingdom were not, however, the only Hellenes with whom it was necessary to reckon. Those who live in the dominions of the Sultan, and more especially the inhabitants of the border-provinces and of the islands, have always looked upon the Hellenic kingdom as the centre round which they are destined sooner or later to gather. Whatever may have been the errors committed by her Statesmen, whatever may have been the faults of her policy, domestic or foreign, free Hellas has always been for the enslaved Hellenes, more than ever Piedmont was for the Italians, the stay of their hope for unity.

Otho had hardly attained his majority when risings took place in Epiros and in Crete. They were crushed, one after

the other, but without destroying the hope of an happier future.

These hopes were rekindled in 1840, on the outbreak of the long foreseen struggle between the Sultan and his great Vassal in Egypt. Crete then thought that the hour for her deliverance had struck. The population rose like one man. The Cretans made themselves masters of the whole island, with the exception of the fortresses into which the Turks had shut themselves. The ambiguous conduct of an English Consul inspired hopes of the moral support of England. But the Ambassadors at Constantinople hastened to condemn the insurrection, while the English representative repudiated the action of his Consul; a large Turkish fleet brought fresh reinforcements; and the rising was drowned in blood.

The occasion was lost. Only hope remained.

Nothing can give a better idea, not only of the constancy, but of the scope of Hellenic aspirations than the memorandum which was placed before King Otho by Alexander Maurokordatos in 1848. This memorandum does honour both to the wisdom and to the political foresight of its writer, and it shows moreover that Hellenic Statesmen, without allowing themselves to be led astray by impracticable dreams, had early sketched the outlines of a practical and possible policy. The present writer has already elsewhere taken occasion to point out that even during the War of Independence the reasonable bounds of national aspirations had been well understood. Those aspirations remain the same **to-day**. Their realization has already begun. It is to be hoped that it will not be long before their accomplishment makes Hellas what she might have been made, and ought to have been made more than half a century ago—a State enclosed by her natural frontiers and able to dedicate herself wholly to the work of her internal development.

It may be permitted to give here some extracts from the memorandum drawn up by Maurokordatos: their importance will excuse their length.

'The object of the war of 1821,' he observes, 'was to free the entire Hellenic race from the Ottoman yoke. This was the watchword of Regas

and of the Hetairia, this was what Hypsilantes proclaimed in his declarations, and the voice which was heard amid the sound of our rising, from the Danube to Tenaron, from Souli to Kydonia, from Athos to the Cretan Ida. Our first national assembly proclaimed at Epidaurus that this was our object, and it has been to attain this end that blood has run in every Greek country of Europe and of Asia.

‘But it has been the case that the fortune of war, the force of circumstances, and the interests of the great European Powers, on the one hand, and our own lack of resources on the other, have narrowed the field of battle, and have brought it to pass that only a small portion of the Hellenic territory and of the Hellenic race have been able to recover their independence.

‘Nevertheless, narrow as are our frontiers, and small as is our population, our new State is looked upon by the Hellenic populations which are doomed still to remain under the yoke, as the seedling whence is to grow in the future the tree of their freedom. And the Greeks already free, seeing the incompleteness of the work for which they have toiled and sacrificed so much, have never had their eyes diverted from the future, nor ceased to prepare for it in concert with their enslaved fellow-countrymen. Hence was continued the operation of secret societies, which, under divers names and with varying organisations, all worked for the same end, viz., the deliverance of all Hellenes and their reunion with the newly created State. . . .

‘The undertaking was too vast ; but, until 1840, the chances of success were not altogether visionary. After the death of Sultan Mahmoud, after the defeat of the Turkish troops at Nezib, and the defection of the Ottoman fleet, we might perhaps have succeeded if we had possessed the necessary preparations, and if Europe had not come to the rescue of the Ottoman dynasty.

‘Since then, things have changed. Turkey has regained strength ; her internal condition is improved ; and her foreign relations are such that in case of necessity she might count upon the help of some of the European Powers. At the same time, when we speak of Turkey, we, of course, know too much to share the delusions of the Westerns, who, for the most part, neither know her nor (it would appear) wish to know her. We know that the apparent improvement in her internal condition will not be lasting : that the reforms which have been introduced with so much trouble have not taken root and never can possibly take root, and that the least unforeseen event might destroy the whole thing at any moment. . . .

‘Nor must we forget that, although all the Powers collectively have guaranteed the integrity of the Turkish Empire, they do not all agree as to the introduction of the measures by which Turkey is to consolidate her internal improvements and develop her resources. Russia has never been friendly to the cause of Turkish internal reform, and the reactionary opponents of such measures have always enjoyed her support. What can

Russia mean? On that point, every one may form their own conclusion. The indubitable fact is, that Russia is the only one of the Powers which really knows Turkey thoroughly, and that she has means of action there which no other Power possesses. . . .

'What, then, are the countries which Hellas can and ought to take to herself? It is plain that in order to effect, if only partially, the reunion of all the Hellenic race in one State, the State in question must embrace those countries in which the Hellenic race preponderates. These countries are unquestionably Thessaly, Macedonia, Epiros, and Crete. Can Hellas annex them? Hellas alone has neither the strength nor the resources necessary for making conquests, nor, as she now is, could she lend any effectual assistance to a rising of the inhabitants of these countries, unless, indeed, external circumstances were exceptionally favourable. . . .

'But, although it is not possible to settle the exact hour for action, or to foresee the precise circumstances which will create the opportunity, it is necessary to be ready in view of a favourable moment.

'If the populations of Epiros, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Crete had been better prepared in 1840, that occasion would not have been lost.

The circumstances which we are able at present to picture to ourselves are either a war of Russia against the Porte or a preponderance of the Slav races backed by Russian support. . . . At this moment a Russo-Turkish war does not seem as likely as it did some months ago. Russia has got her hands full just now, and will take care to ensure Turkey's keeping quiet.* But if she comes off victorious from her war against Hungary, what will be her line towards Turkey afterwards? The Servians, who are vassals of the Sultan, are taking an active part in the present struggle, and Russia not only has not prevented them, but has furnished them with supplies and ammunition. . . . If the Hungarians are defeated, the Servians will come home flushed with victory, and convinced that their brethren in Austria will be ready to come and help them to throw off the Ottoman suzerainty, just as they have helped the brethren in question in their struggle against the Hungarians. What would Russia do then? Would she leave the Servians to their fate? Or would she support them in a covert manner? She would probably do the latter. Once the Servians had risen, it would be impossible to keep Bosnia and Bulgaria quiet. It is known that for some time past Slavonic societies have been secretly working among the populations of these countries. The existence of these societies is perfectly well known to the Russian Government. Their headquarters are at Odessa. There they print pamphlets in support of the Slavonic propaganda, in editions of thousands at a time, and send them for gratuitous distribution in Servia, Bulgaria, and even some parts of Macedonia. Why does Russia wink at it? Certainly not for love of Turkey.'

* Maurokordatos was writing at the moment of the Russian intervention in Hungary.

It is curious to remark in this memorandum the acumen with which the Greek Statesman perceived the movements which were then in preparation in the Slavonic world, and foresaw events which were not accomplished for thirty years to come. It was in consequence of this foresight that he set himself to indicate what Greece ought, as far as her means permitted her, to do in order to be ready for whatever might occur. He lays stress principally upon internal improvements. It behoves that Hellas should gain the growing confidence of the civilized world by her moral and material progress, so as to merit and to win the friendship of some of the great Powers and the confidence of the populations which desire to be reunited with her. He concludes with these words—

‘If we had not gained the sympathy of Christendom, we should not have succeeded in gaining even such an independence as we have. . . . There is no use deceiving ourselves. Sympathy with us and dislike to the Turks are neither of them so strong now as they used to be ; more was hoped of us than we have been able to accomplish. The Turks are supposed to be making giant strides in the path of progress. There is no use discussing here the extent of this latter delusion. What we have got to do is to enlighten public opinion, and make it turn again in our favour, . . . without forgetting that the prevailing motive which dictates the friendship or goodwill of any State, either absolute or constitutional, is self-interest.*

The prescience of Maurokordatos as to what Russia would do as soon as she had emerged victorious from the Hungarian affair, was justified by the events which preceded the Crimean War.

The hopes of the Hellenes both within and without the new kingdom were reawakened by the prospects which the new Russo-Turkish War seemed to open. Had they had, to lead them, a Statesman like Cavour, they might perhaps have seen that, like Piedmont, they had more to gain by joining the Allies of Turkey than by listening to the national feeling which prompted them to take part with the hereditary enemy of their old oppressors. But since 1850 the persistent ill-will of the English Government, which had especially shown itself in the Pacifico affair, had convinced the Hellenes that, at any

* Dragoumes, *Ἱστορικὰ ἀναμνήσεις*, 2nd ed., Athens, 1879, ii. 165 et seq.

rate for the time being, they had nothing to hope from England. Their confidence in the help of France had been shaken since the death of Coletti, and the change which had come over French policy after the fall of Louis-Philippe. Besides this, these two Powers were making war in order to sustain and preserve the integrity of the Turkish Empire, whereas Russia came forward as the Champion of their oppressed co-religionists.

When the emissaries of Russia arrived in the Hellenic provinces of Turkey, they met with no difficulty in bringing about a rising. Epiros and Thessaly broke into insurrection at the beginning of 1854. Greek volunteers went to the Crimea to range themselves under that banner which displayed the Cross against the Crescent. At home, the prospect of another struggle to complete the work of independence was received with enthusiasm. Armed bands crossed the frontier to join their insurgent fellow-countrymen. The people, the Army, and the Court all gave themselves up to the most brilliant dreams.* They did not know what the Emperor Nicolas had said about the Hellenes to the English Ambassador before embarking in the war, a war which was, it must be confessed, the only one from which Russia has ever been obliged to retire without some immediate advantage, but the consequences of which have been more fatal to Turkey than had been her preceding defeats.

Hellas was soon undeceived. The allies could not tolerate a diversion in favour of Russia. France occupied the Piræus from May 26, 1854, till February 27, 1857; the Greeks found themselves reduced to absolute powerlessness; and the insurrection in the border provinces was soon crushed by the arms of Turkey. This was all that resulted to Hellas from the part she took in the Crimean war, and she was, naturally, not mentioned in the terms of peace dictated by the conquerors of Sebastopol.

The Italian Revolution in 1859-60 gave the Greeks a fresh impulse. The Italians obtained their independence, and were soon to obtain their unity, through the generous

* Herzberg iv. 666, 694 *et seq.*

help of a friendly neighbour. Why should not the Hellenes hope for something of the same kind? Why should not Italy do for Hellas what France had done for Italy? Italy did not yet possess statesmen penetrated by the principle that their country, having attained the position of a Great Power, is bound to treat with the sternest reprobation any weak nation which dares to think of union and strength. The Hellenic cause had warm friends in Italy. There were long negotiations with Garibaldi. What was thought of was a rising in Epiros and Thessaly, to which the hero, at the head of his volunteers, should give the support of his name and presence. The Italian Government offered no obstacle to these projects. Perhaps they thought that they might thus be enabled to create a useful diversion in case of a new war against Austria; perhaps also they welcomed the prospect of finding a field for Garibaldi's energies outside their own dominions.

While this new insurrection was being prepared, and while the inhabitants of the Heptanesos, inflamed by the example of Italy, were proclaiming more loudly than ever their right to re-union with their country, there began to break out that series of mutinies, which, although at first suppressed, ultimately some months later in the dethronement of King Otho. There were then, and there still are, those who attribute his fall to the action of English agents; it certainly coincided in point of time with his acceptance of new schemes against the integrity of the Turkish Empire. Such an explanation must not be too easily believed. At the same time, it would be impossible to say that England liked Otho, or to deny that she had already openly threatened him with the loss of his crown. For instance, we read in the *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister* (the Earl of Malnesbury), in 1854: 'It appears that the King of Greece favours the insurrection against the Turks; and Lord Clarendon told Baron Cetto (the Bavarian minister in London) the other day that if the King did not behave better we should dethrone him,'*—a threat which the French occupation of the Piraieus rendered it unnecessary to execute at the moment.

* *Memoirs*, p. 329.

In spite of all his wishes and efforts, Otho left the Kingdom of Hellas confined within the same narrow limits which it had occupied when he came to the throne. King George began his reign with a piece of better fortune. He brought to Greece on his arrival the news of the annexation of the Heptanesos.

It was a generous act upon the part of England, and it was all the more appreciated because it was unexpected. It may indeed be said that Mr. Gladstone had already prepared the public mind for such a step, and that since the introduction of steam into naval warfare, Malta supplied England with as much as she wanted for the purpose of dominating the Mediterranean. It is said also that the English Government, in its jealousy of Russian influence, of which it saw a symptom in the candidature of the Duke of Leuchtenberg as successor to Otho, had made a sort of bargain with the Hellenes, to give them the Heptanesos if they would elect a son of the Queen. It is none the less true that States always find it hard to give up territory; they must be very strong indeed before they can afford such extravagance. But the British Government was pleased at having got rid of King Otho, and the English people had been flattered by the unanimous election of Prince Alfred. By resigning the protectorate of the Heptanesos, England gratified the wishes of the islanders, gave to the whole Hellenic race a striking mark of friendship, and enabled the young Danish Prince who had become King of the Hellenes under her auspices to meet his subjects bringing in his hands a precious earnest of the future.

At the same time, all the Statesmen of England were not agreed as to the cession. Lord Derby wrote to Lord Malmesbury on December 22, 1862:—‘I think the measure at anytime one of very doubtful policy, but the present moment appears to me singularly ill chosen . . . It strikes me as the height of folly to make a gratuitous offer of cession, and to throw the islands at the head of a nation in the very throes of revolution, the form of whose Government is yet undecided—much more so, the person of the Sovereign, if they are to have a Sovereign—whose finances are bankrupt, whose naval power is insignificant, and the first of whose political aspirations is

accession of territory at the expense of a war with its most powerful neighbour!

Happily, subsequent events have proved the baselessness of the objections raised in this extremely blunt language. The Ionians have not had to regret their reunion with the rest of Hellas, and Hellas may console herself for the severity of Lord Derby's judgment by considering that it was based upon a double error. He remarked that the protection of the Ionian Islands had been committed to England as a Maritime Power able to combat the piracy with which these seas were infested. As a matter of fact, the question of piracy had nothing to do with the establishment of the English protectorate over the Republic of the Heptanesos in 1815, and no such thing as piracy has been heard of in that part of the world since the Greek Kingdom was established.

But statesmen do not seem always to think it necessary to know much about the matters upon which they speak and—what is worse—with which they have to deal. For instance, on December 9, 1829, when the French Government was trying to save Samos from falling back under the direct and absolute power of the Sultan, even if it were not allowed reunion with the rest of Greece, the Duke of Wellington wrote to Lord Aberdeen, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, 'I omitted to mention to you that Samos is an island inhabited by Roman Catholics whom the French affect to protect; and they have been more than once suspected of desiring the possession and Government of the island.*' It is hardly necessary to remark that there are no Catholics in Samos.

It would be possible to multiply like examples of official ignorance upon the matters with which diplomacy has to deal, especially as regards the East. The state of mind in which M. de Villèle said with regard to Hellas, 'What can be the particular interest which attaches to the locality?'† was not peculiar to himself. Such things must be cited, not for the mere pleasure of showing that those who talk loudly do not

* *Wellington Dispatches*, vi. 315.

† *Souvenirs of the Duc de Broglie*, ii. 413, and again iii. 172.

always talk sense, but seriously to indicate that many political errors and wrongs are caused by mere ignorance. The force of arms and the skill of diplomatists are sometimes credited with settling questions which they merely complicate and protract, because those who hold the strings do not know with what they are dealing. Those who are ablest and luckiest in their policy are also those who are the best informed.

The annexation of the Heptanesos was a great benefit to Hellas. It was not only a piece of good fortune for the present but an earnest of the future. If mighty England, recognizing the right of the Hellenes to be free and to form themselves into a State, voluntarily resigned the possession of these seven Greek isles, how much more might be hoped for other Hellenic lands, whose case was so much more crying because, unlike the Heptanesos, they did not enjoy an administration whose merits could make their inhabitants bear, if they could not forget, the fact of foreign domination! There still remained the delusion of the Integrity of the Turkish Empire; but the Christians of the East really cannot believe in the sincerity of all the Powers who proclaim and sustain this extraordinary figment, any more than they are able to fall a prey to the hallucination itself. The re-union of the Heptanesos with the rest of Hellas was therefore regarded as marking the beginning of another and better era—a sanction to the hopes of other re-unions in the future.

The first of the Hellenes who endeavoured to gain for themselves the same good fortune which had fallen upon the Ionians were again the Cretans. They defied Turkey for three years, 1866-7-8. With the exception of certain fortresses, the whole island was free. Acts of heroism and sacrifice such as those which had rendered glorious the first War of Independence, again challenged the attention of the world. Volunteers from the West recalled the Philhellenic enthusiasm of old days. The Hellenes of the mainland did not leave their brethren alone in the hour of danger; they hastened to fight at their side, while they opened in their own homes a place of refuge for the women and children of the island. Nearly sixty thousand fugitives found protection there.

For a while there was room for believing that the deliverance of Crete was at last accomplished. Russia and France were favourably disposed. Unhappily the good-will of these two Powers could not overcome the opposition of England, strongly supported by Austria. Diplomacy fought for the enslavement of the Cretans with as much persistence and more success than those with which it had opposed the deliverance of Greece. Freedom has not yet come for Crete. The islanders obtained by their struggle nothing but a doubtful amelioration of their condition by means of a sort of charter which was extracted from the unwillingness of the Porte in 1868, under the name of the 'Organic Regulation.' This edict has never been honestly put in force.* However, even if it had been carried out, it would not have been a settlement of the Cretan question. The Cretans have never concealed what they want, or ceased to proclaim their intention of demanding it until they obtain it. At the time of the Congress of Berlin they thought once more that they would succeed. They got nothing but another promise from the Porte 'to enforce scrupulously the Organic Regulation of 1868, with such modifications as might be judged equitable.' Who were to judge them to be so (as has been well remarked by M. d'Avril) was not stated. The Porte? The inhabitants? The Powers? There is quite matter enough here for a new Conference. But sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

The history of the Greek Question at the Congress of Berlin and the conferences which followed it, is not to be treated in detail here. The time is not come for knowing all that took place. It is true that the documents which have been already published are numerous, but the knowledge which can be drawn from them has already been laid before the public in different forms. The recent work of M. d'Avril upon the *Négociations relatives au traité de Berlin* is lucid and impartial.

* *Le traité de Berlin, annoté et commenté*, by Benoit (Brunswick, Paris, 1878) cap. vi. See also *Négociations relatives au traité de Berlin*, by Adolphe d'Avril (Paris, 1886) p. 387, et seq.

But in spite of all the Blue Books, Yellow Books, White Books, and Green Books, laid before the different Parliaments of Europe, we cannot flatter ourselves that we yet know the motives which inspired the action or inaction of each of the Governments which, to one extent or another, took part in the matter. We do not know why England, after having taken up the championship of Hellenic interests as opposed to the protection afforded by Russia to those of the Slavonic races, left France to take the initiative in favour of Hellas. We do not know why France, after having gained the point, thought well to give it up and to take part in substituting another line of frontier for that which had been already sanctioned by the collective vote of Europe. We do not know why Hellas herself remained so long with her sword undrawn during the Russo-Turkish War,—what promises or what threats held her back from moving when the armies of Russia, checked before Plevna, would have welcomed a diversion in the West, and when the Hellenic people both within and without the Kingdom were chafing at the do-nothing attitude of the Government of Athens.

Everyone in Greece felt that the moment was come. The measures taken by hordes of Bashi-Bazooks were hardly sufficient to repress the insurrection which was ready in all quarters, and which at length broke out in the mountains of Thessaly. The young manhood of the kingdom answered with enthusiasm to the call for the Reserves, which was made by the Government for the purpose of restraining rather than of using the war-like spirit of the nation. The leaders of all political parties had to bend before the will of the people, and to unite in a Coalition Ministry which met with the fate usual to such conglomerations, one mind neutralizing another, with the general result of impotence, for want of any common head.

It was only at the last moment, when the war was on the point of being closed by the treaty which victorious Russia compelled Turkey to grant at San Stefano, that the Greek Government, under the Presidency of Koumoundouros, yielded tardily to the pressure of the nation, and allowed the army to cross the frontier. It was too late for the diversion to be of

any use to Russia, and it could look for no support from any other Government in Europe. This fact was realized at Athens, but men felt, at the same time, that it was needful to remind the world at any price that there is a Greek Question connected with the Eastern Question. The step was taken, but it was taken with an hesitation which betrayed itself in act as well as in word.

In announcing to the Powers their adoption of this course, 'the Government of the King was careful to remind them of all which it had done in order to prevent the insurrection of the border provinces before the inhabitants had taken arms; it witnessed their rising with all the more concern because it did not blind itself to the consequences. When the other nations of Turkey were recovering their independence and their self-government, the Hellenes could not but consider their own future. The Hellenic Government could not leave the inhabitants of the insurgent provinces exposed to all the horrors of a bloody repression by the undisciplined troops employed by Turkey for that purpose. It had therefore resolved upon a provisional occupation of the provinces in question. Hellas does not wish to make war upon Turkey. She wishes to guarantee her own security, and to act in such a way that the condition of the Christian populations which look to her may receive some definitive amelioration.'*

In spite of all these explanations, Diplomacy saw the danger of the fresh conflagration which the armed intervention of Greece was capable of kindling. The utmost possible amount of pressure was therefore brought to bear upon the Government of Athens in order to induce it to retrace the step, and in the result an order was obtained to the Greek Commander-in-chief to recross the frontier, upon the solemn assurance of the great Powers 'that the national aspirations and interests of the Greek populations should be the subject of the deliberations of the approaching Congress.'† Hellas had no reason to regret a four days' campaign which obtained her this assurance, but she

* *Despatch of the k. Delgiannes, Jan. 20, 1878.*

† *Despatch of Jan. 27, 1878.*

has had to regret that she did not take the more timely and more decisive action which would have enabled her to present herself at the Congress of Berlin with all the weight which the righteousness of her cause could have conferred upon her. At a later date Koumoundouros wrote with truth—'At the moment when the Russo-Turkish War broke out, Hellas possessed an army of between thirty-five and forty thousand men. I suppose that no one will deny that if she had interfered in the struggle, the result would have been a general rising in Turkey and the radical and definitive solution of the Question which is now occupying Europe. The state of Epiros, Thessaly and Crete, urged us to interfere. Hellas, without shutting her eyes to the complications which the general collapse of Turkey might produce both in the East and in the West, consented to yield to the wishes of Europe. She elected rather to contribute her part to realize the wishes of the Powers for an immediate pacification, she yielded to their advice, and checked the action which had already begun for the realization of what the Hellenes have desired for so many centuries. This she did after having received from Europe a promise that the rights of the Hellenic race should be taken into consideration when the fitting time came, and that the insurrection of the border provinces to which her influence had put an end, should be reckoned as still existing when the hour arrived for the definitive settlement of the Eastern Question. From these facts and these promises issued the thirteenth Protocol of the conferences of the Congress of Berlin. The object of that Protocol was to put an end to the insurrection of the Greek Provinces, and to assure their pacification upon a solid basis.'*

The meaning which Hellas attached to this pacification was plainly stated to the Congress by her representatives. 'The true and only wish of the Hellenic Government,' said the k. Delgiannes, 'has always been the same as that of the entire race of which free Hellas is only a fraction. This is the same

* *Despatch of the k. Koumoundouros to the k. Brailas, Greek Minister at Paris, Dec. 27, 1880.*

wish which animated the Hellenic people in 1821, when they undertook the long War of Independence. The Hellenic Government is under no delusion as to the many difficulties with which the realization of that wish is met. Therefore it feels bound to be contented for the present with the annexation of Crete and of the border provinces, as all which is at this moment practicable.'

On July 5, 1878, the Congress accepted the resolution proposed by the French plenipotentiary, 'inviting the Porte to come to an understanding with Greece for a rectification of the frontiers in Thessaly and Epiros, a rectification which may follow the valley of the Peneus upon the Eastern side, and that of the Thyamis (or Kalamas) upon the Western.' In other words, they assign to Hellas the whole of Thessaly and a large part of Epiros. Notwithstanding the abandonment of the island of Crete, this was some satisfaction for the wrongs which she had suffered at the delimitation of the Kingdom. Had she received this accession of territory, Greece would have been able frankly to accept along with the benefit the obligations which it entailed, and to dedicate herself to the work of internal development. Of course she would not have laid aside the hope of a complete enfranchisement of all her territory, as had been designed by Capodistria and Maurokordatos; but she would have awaited her hour with patience, and her interests would even have lain in the direction of such a policy as that indicated by the latter of these two statesmen when he spoke of the possibility of a Turko-Hellenic alliance.

But the scheme suggested by the Congress and sanctioned by the Conference of Berlin on July 1, 1880, was not carried out. When Turkey found that she was not confronted by an Europe determined to be obeyed, she refused to submit. And then the Powers, whose main anxiety was peace at any price, instead of insisting upon her compliance, put upon Hellas all the pressure which they were able to exercise, to induce her to submit the question of the frontiers to a fresh arbitration. The Hellenic Government insisted upon the right which had been given to them by the collective and solemn decision of Europe. On December 17, 1880, the k. Brailas wrote to M. Barthélemy

Saint-Hilaire, 'The Protocol of Berlin has only been the fulfilment of a solemn promise, the termination of a long standing injustice, and a guarantee for the peace both of Europe and of the East. Whatever distinction may be drawn between a Protocol and a Treaty, the Protocol of Berlin can never be looked upon as a mere expression of wish, an abstract opinion, or a diplomatic hypothesis. Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury, who were certainly not those of the plenipotentiaries most friendly to Greece, have always treated this document as the decision of Europe. . . . Turkey has admitted the principle of the rectification, since she has entered into negotiations with us twice over and proposed a line; and she has also recognised the authority of the conference, since she has submitted her proposals to it. . . . The frontier proposed by Turkey is derisory and presents more difficulties than the existing one. . . . The line agreed on is a middle one between that proposed by the Turks and that which we claim. To come any further south of the Kalamas and the Peneus is impossible. This is not a mere question of more or less which Europe has taken upon herself to settle. The object of the Protocol was to set a limit to what were admitted to be just claims upon the part of Greece, and necessary concessions upon that of Turkey.'

No arguments or protestations of the Hellenic Government availed to save Europe from submitting to the obstinacy of Turkey, and repudiating the resolution which had been taken at Berlin. Hellas had to yield, and on July 2, 1881, three years after the signing of the famous Protocol of Berlin, she signed the convention by which Turkey ceded to her the flat part of Thessaly and a small scrap of Epiros. She did not consent to take this step without protesting that the faults of the new frontier would soon give rise to difficulties in the present and dangers in the future, and that Greece could not help asking herself the question whether her present consent placed the question on any better footing, or would help to bring it to a full, speedy, and peaceful solution. Europe, in the words of the k. Koumoundouros, had 'allowed her own work to be undone for the sake of humouring Turkey; she condemned herself for the sake

of considering reasons which she had already fully weighed and decided to be worthless. . . . Epiros and Thessaly,' he continued, 'have the right to be free, a right which Europe has admitted and Hellas accepted; it will seem incredible to them that the European Governments should have played with their sufferings, or should have recanted their own doctrines for no object except to please Turkey. They are strong in their rights, and they will take every opportunity to claim them.'

Recent events have shown the wisdom of the protests of the Hellenic Government. Must they not have availed also to convince the Turks that they would have done better to accept the formal decision of Europe given at Berlin? I cannot affirm it. Yet it seems as if it would have been an advantage to Turkey to have had as her neighbour a contented Greece. Community of interests might then have led her to believe the conciliatory language which would have come to her thence. If Hellas had entered into possession up to the line of the Peneus and the Kalamas, Hellas would have been bound to Europe, as well as to Turkey, not to seek a further extension as long as the present state of things endures in the East. She would certainly have preferred Turkey to any other neighbour. Turkey, on her side, might have found that friendship with Hellas was the best guarantee she could have for the prolongation of her Empire in this part of Europe. This would have been on her part an act of wise and foreseeing policy, as far as it is possible to talk of political foresight within a sphere where the impossibility of any enduring construction limits the field of vision to a very near future. Thus, to give up the province of Ioannina would have been a gain for Turkey. But, as has been already remarked, States always find it hard to give up territory; they must be very strong indeed before they can afford such extravagance. Turkey has not been able to give such a sign of combined strength and wisdom.

As for Hellas, she has to wait again. She can console herself by remembering the remark made in irony by Lord Beaconsfield that *she can afford to wait, because she has a future before her*. A similar piece of advice has also lately reached her from a quarter whence she did not expect it. The Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs has

made practically the same remark. Hellas has only to act thus. She will wait. The only drawback is that these long intervals of waiting prevent her being able to advance as quickly as she otherwise could in the work of her internal development. Her narrow artificial limits condemn her to be always looking beyond her frontiers, and the present Hellenic State has been passing from one crisis into another for the last fifty years. To speak only of the last twenty, the shock of the Cretan insurrection of 1867-8-9 was followed by a period of exhaustion which was hardly passed before the disturbances in the Herzegovina in 1875 began the series of changes which have so modified the conditions of the Balkan peninsula. Hellas had hardly recovered from the struggles and the sacrifices which it cost her to obtain a fraction of the territory which had been allotted to her by the Congress of Berlin, when the reunion of Eastern Roumelia with Bulgaria and the results of this violation of the treaty of Berlin involved her in new difficulties, the consequences of which it will not be easy for her to forget, and the removal of which it does not depend upon her alone to prevent. How can she regard tranquility as assured outside her borders when that Eastern Europe of which she forms a part and in which she has rights which it is her duty both to exercise and to claim, still quivers in the uncertainty of what the morrow may bring forth?

Yet no one can any longer refuse to Hellas the right to assimilate to herself her separated provinces on the ground that her internal progress does not justify her claim. In spite of all the obstacles with which she has had to contend, she has done enough, especially of late years, to deprive such a reproach of any pretence to foundation. It is true that it is difficult to do away with fancies which have become petrified into prejudices. But all those who have been to Greece of late years bear testimony to the change which has come over her under the light and warmth of freedom. Cultivation is extending, produce is increasing, commerce is developing, great public works are multiplying her resources. Seven or eight years ago she had only seven miles of railway; now about six hundred are open to the public, and four hundred more are in construction, besides the line to the frontier which has lately been conceded to an English

contractor; and her high roads are still being formed in every direction.

The lands which have been reunited to her have had no reason to complain of the change in their lot. Even the Ionian islands find themselves better as part of the mother country, although the Greek administration can make no pretension to rival either the lights or the means of that of England. The plain of Thessaly is already transfigured. It is quite true that this district felt for a moment the emigration of the Mohammedan population, who, in spite of all the inducements that could be offered them to remain, could not bear to accept the position of equals with those whom they had been used to treat as their slaves. But it will not be long before their places are well filled, and meanwhile civilization hails the construction of railways, the multiplication of the means of communication by sea, and the introduction of public instruction, of the security due to such a Government as had been unknown before, and the regular administration of justice. No doubt Hellas has still much to do before she realizes her ideal in internal development, but what she has done already is quite enough to justify not only her recognition as an independent State in Europe, and the accessions of territory which she has since obtained, but also her righteous hope to see her territorial work accomplished by the inclusion of the provinces whose inhabitants are Hellenes, and are fain to cast in their lot with their fellow countrymen.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΒΙΚΕΛΑΣ.

ART. VII.—THE BLIND DEAF-MUTE, HELEN
KELLER.

THE death of Laura Bridgman has revived the interest of scientific and philanthropic minds in those cases of a comparatively rare privation, of which she has been hitherto the most familiar example. She undoubtedly furnished the first practical solution of the problem of educating a child destitute of both of the higher senses which form the ordinary channels of communication between mind and mind. The problem had

indeed excited speculative interest before. Even so long ago as the year 1680 the Scotsman, George Dalgarno, had, in his *Didascalocophus or Deaf and Dumb Man's Tutor*, hinted at the possibility of using the lower senses for educational purposes, if the higher were wanting. 'The soul,' he says, 'can exert her powers by the ministry of any of the senses; and therefore when she is deprived of her principal secretaries, the eye and the ear, then she must be content with the service of her lacqueys and scullions, the other senses, which are no less true and faithful to their mistress than the eye and the ear, but not so quick for dispatch.'*

Dalgarno apparently never attempted to apply in practice his theory of educating even the deaf, and his book fell into an undeserved neglect till it was rescued from oblivion by Dugald Stewart's flattering notice,† which led to its republication by the Maitland Club. Though isolated cases of a dumb man being taught to speak are mentioned at an earlier period, the first systematic effort to teach deaf-mutes is generally ascribed to the Abbé de l' Epée, who in 1755 opened, and for many years carried on at his own expense a school in Paris for the deaf and dumb. It is but fair, indeed, to observe that about the same time, and quite independently, a similar school had been started by Braidwood in Edinburgh; and readers of the *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* may remember that Johnson's curiosity was deeply interested in the school, which he considered the first and only educational effort of the kind. The Abbé de l' Epée is said by his successor, the Abbé Sicard, to have not only conceived the possibility of educating a blind deaf-mute, but to have even offered to undertake the education of any who might be brought to him. Both of these eminent educators pointed out the general principle on which the education of a blind deaf-mute should be conducted; and Sicard even asserts that he already practised the method of communication required for such a case, as he was able to express himself in the dark to his pupil Massieu by signs

* *Works of George Dalgarno*, p. 128 (Maitland Club ed.).

† *Works of D. Stewart*, Vol. IV., pp. 339-342 (Hamilton's ed.).

made upon his hands.* In this remark probably Sicard did not estimate sufficiently the fact, that the signs used with Massieu had been learned by the eye, and that the problem would become infinitely more complicated if these had not only to be practised, but to be learnt, without the use of sight. At all events it is evident that he never had an opportunity of trying whether such a system of signs could be taught to a person born blind as well as deaf; and he thought that his theory was, as he benevolently prayed that it might always remain, a subject for mere speculation. 'God forbid,' he exclaims, 'that a child should ever be brought into the world without any substitute but the hand for the eye and the ear!'[†] Diderot, whose *Lettre sur les Aveugles* was a famous book in its day, evidently thought that a person born blind and deaf could not be communicated with from want of a language, and would therefore remain in a state of imbecility; but probably, if he had seen a case of the kind, it was some poor *cretin*, whose incapacity for instruction arises not from the want of any particular sense so much as from a general poverty of organisation.

The first veritable case to bring the problem out of the region of mere speculation was that of James Mitchell, a Scotch lad whose story became generally known in the earlier part of this century from the account given by Dugald Stewart.[‡] Mitchell's case is by no means so valuable as represented, either for speculative or for practical purposes, as he was neither totally deaf nor totally blind. His defects obviously impaired merely the external parts of the organs of sight and hearing, so that he could easily distinguish light from darkness, and hear genuine sounds when vibrations were conveyed through the teeth directly to the internal ear. His mind therefore was not an absolute blank in regard to all ideas of sight and sound. In fact he was temporarily restored to sight in his fourteenth year, when one of his eyes was successfully couched by Wardrope, and he was thus enabled to enjoy the visible world for a time. It is probable that

* *Works of D. Stewart*, Vol. IV., p. 328.

† *Ibid.*, p. 330.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 300-370.

with the resources of modern surgery, especially with the assistance of an anaesthetic, the unfortunate lad would have recovered his sight at least. The surgeons of his time did their best in the absence of anaesthetics; but it seems scarcely creditable to educational science and art in Scotland, which took such an eminent lead in the education of the deaf, that no effort was made by any professional teacher to impart to Mitchell the means of communicating with other minds. This is all the more remarkable, as Stewart enters at some length into a description of the method in which a deafmute might be taught. With the singular caution which characterised his speculations in general, Stewart refrains from speaking with perfect confidence as to the success of his method; but perhaps the most valuable result of the attention which he directed to the case is to be found in the fruitful suggestions which he threw out.

When Wardrope, the surgeon, wrote to Stewart about his patient, he believed the case to be 'unique'; and at first Stewart himself thought it must be 'a very *rare* occurrence,' though he modified his opinion on subsequent information. It seems probable, that cases of the kind have been often concealed by the pathetic affection which seeks to shelter the abnormal infirmities of a friend from the intrusion of unsympathetic curiosity. This instinct of friendly affection was far from being unintelligible at a time when there were few or none of those institutions now so familiar, in which bodily and mental disorders are treated with scientific and benevolent care. Nor can we refuse to this instinct a certain measure of respect, as long as it does not paralyse the efforts of a benevolent science. But that is a healthier sentiment, growing up in our own generation, which, instead of shrinking from the sadder facts of humanity, looks them boldly in the face, and grapples with them courageously in unwearied hope of a remedy.

Within the last few decades, therefore, it has become a common practice of civilized nations to collect statistics with regard to infirmities like those of the deaf and the blind;* and we now know that the number of persons in the unfortunate condition of

* They were included for the first time in British census of 1851.

James Mitchell is much larger than could probably have been anticipated.

Dr. Howe, the teacher of Laura Bridgman, was one of the finest embodiments of that heroic courage which characterises the best science and benevolence of our century. 'Obstacles,' he used to say, 'are things to be overcome.' It does not detract from the merit of Dr. Howe, that others had suggested before how a blind deafmute might be educated. Every great discovery or invention, though centering in one man, has been preceded by innumerable hints from an infinite variety of sources. Dr. Howe therefore may claim to have solved the problem of educating blind deafmutes in the same sense in which it may be said that James Watt invented the steam engine, or Sir Isaac Newton discovered the theory of gravitation.

Not long ago—on the 22nd of December, 1887—Laura Bridgman had the satisfaction of celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of her introduction to the Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind. It seems remarkable that, during all this half century, no second case has arisen at all parallel in interest with that of Dr. Howe's first pupil. But the fame of Laura Bridgman seems likely to be eclipsed by the achievements of another little blind deafmute, named Helen Keller. The education of this wonderful child is another triumph for America, and, in a certain sense, also for the celebrated institution to which Dr. Howe devoted his genius and his life. This institution, now known as the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind, has, since the death of Dr. Howe, been under the management of a worthy successor, his son-in-law, Mr. Anagnos. The institution has therefore continued to maintain its high rank as one of the most successful educators of the blind in the world. With the originality of enterprise which characterises American activity in general, an offshoot of the institution has recently been started in the form of a Kindergarten for the Blind. In this school there is at present a little blind deafmute, Edith M. Thomas, about ten years of age, who had been over a year under tuition when the last report was published. Already she is giving gratifying proof of the success of the methods adopted by Dr. Howe, with the modifications rendered necessary in the Kindergarten. But all

that has been achieved in the education of blind deafmutes will apparently be thrown into the shade by Helen Keller. Though her mental isolation began to be removed only between two and three years ago, she appears already to exercise a sort of witchery over all who come within her influence, not only by the astonishing rapidity of her intellectual development, but by the fascinating charm of her happy emotional life.

Helen Keller was born in Tuscumbia, Alabama, on the 27th of June, 1880. She was a perfectly normal child during the first nineteenth months of her life. At the end of that period she was attacked with congestion of the stomach, which, after imperilling her life for some days, left her deprived of hearing and sight. Subsequent repeated observations by specialists have proved that the loss of these senses is total. Though she was beginning to prattle at the time of her misfortune, of course she ceased to speak when she ceased to hear. Fortunately she came out of her affliction with no other loss. Her general health seems now to be commonly excellent; and, as will appear from the following account, her nervous and cerebral organisation must be of a very high order.

The special senses, which still remain to Helen are unusually acute. Laura Bridgman unfortunately was defective in smell and taste; but, like Julia Brace, another blind and deaf pupil of Dr. Howe, Helen possesses an extraordinary keenness of scent. She can distinguish the fragrance, not only of different species of flowers, but even of different varieties of roses, and finds out her own clothes by their odour. It seems a proof of the educational tact of Helen's teacher, that no very prominent reliance is being placed on this faculty as a source of information regarding the external world. Dugald Stewart, indeed, makes one of the least certain of his suggestions, when he recommends strongly the use of smell in the education of a blind deafmute. But psychological evidence tends to prove that the frequent use of smell as an organ of knowledge is associated with an essentially inferior evolution of intelligence; and a decided preference for the sensibility of the nostrils over that of skin and muscle would probably form a serious impediment in the way of educating the deaf and the blind.

Helen's sense of taste is declared to be equally perfect with that of smell; but no distinct evidence of this is adduced. It is said indeed that the *flavour* of a fruit sometimes recalls to her some past event, like a birthday party. It must not be overlooked, however, that the word *flavour* is ambiguous,—is applied to odours as well as tastes; and as a matter of fact it is well known that the two sensations are in our daily consciousness very commonly mingled. Now, the suggestive power of odour is undoubtedly strong; but that of taste, as undoubtedly, weak. It may therefore be questioned whether, in the cases referred to, Helen's memory was not stimulated by odour rather than by taste. At least it might be interesting, by careful exclusion of smell, to take some observations on the suggestive power of taste when left entirely to itself.

Stewart's diffidence with regard to the education of blind deaf-mutes was based on the belief, that 'the slowness with which the sense of touch proceeds, in collecting information concerning the external world, when compared with the rapid perceptions of the eye, would, on the most favourable supposition retard infinitely the rate of his (the blind deafmute's) progress in acquiring even the first elements of knowledge.' But he seems to have forgotten that the perceptions of sight itself, like those of all the senses, are simply inferences from the data of sensation,—inferences which are obviously slow and tentative efforts of intelligence in the child's mind, but become rapid and sure as intuitions after infinitely varied and repeated practice. It does not seem to have occurred to him, therefore, that a person, restricted mainly to the sense of touch in communicating with the external world, would, in course of time, acquire the same rapidity in interpreting its suggestions, with which others interpret the suggestions of sight. Of course it must be remembered that touch comprehends various forms of cutaneous sensibility besides that of mere contact, and that in practice it is always combined with muscular feeling; so that by touch, in its widest signification, we must understand the entire range of sensations that arise from exciting the sensibility of skin and muscle. It is this varied sensibility that produces, by its refined development, such extraordinary acuteness of perception in the blind; and in Helen Keller the acuteness is so

extraordinary, that we are obliged to qualify profoundly the contrast which Stewart draws between touch and sight.

In illustration of this acuteness we may take, first of all, instances in which there is a somewhat large sensitive surface affected, and there is less difficulty therefore in interpreting the sensations excited. The perception of shape, except in the case of very minute bodies, furnishes an instance of this kind. The following is a peculiarly interesting example of such a perception. Her teacher had described a monkey to her. Some time afterwards, on visiting a collection of stuffed animals, as she was examining the different specimens with her hands, she recognised the monkey at once. Here there is a rapid synthesis of numerous tactual sensations into one whole, which is recognised as identical with the whole image previously constructed out of the ideas suggested by the teacher's description. Other examples are given of a similar rapidity in the intellectual combination of tactual ideas, by which the child's perceptions are formed. One is especially striking, as it illustrates the strength of the imitative instinct, which does not seem to be in the least degree weakened by the difficulty of becoming familiar with the common objects of imitation. The teacher had, one day, described a camel to Helen, but with considerable doubt as to her success in conveying any definite idea of the animal by her description. Two or three days afterwards, however, she was attracted by a disturbance in the nursery, and, on entering, found Helen on all fours with a pillow tightly strapped on her back, so as to cause a depression in the middle, with a hump on either side. Her doll was planted between the two humps, and she was taking as long strides as her little arms and legs could make, so as to mimic the camel's gait. On being asked what she was about, the child replied, 'I am a very funny camel.'

But it is not merely in dealing with large surfaces and very definite sensations, that the perceptive power of this child's touch appears so marvellous. Its extraordinary penetration is still more strikingly seen in subtleties of perception, that seem at times wholly inexplicable. Thus it is said that she not only recognises her friends the moment her fingers touch their hands or even their dress, but can read the faintest twitch of muscle by which

their emotional condition is expressed. A very striking illustration of this was furnished during an examination by some aurists at Cincinnati. The account is her teacher's. 'Several experiments were tried to determine positively whether or not she had any perception of sound. All present were astonished when she appeared not only to hear a whistle, but also an ordinary tone of voice. She would turn her head, smile, and act as though she had heard what was said. I was then standing beside her, holding her hand. Thinking that in all probability she was receiving impressions from myself, I put her hands on the table, and withdrew to the opposite side of the room. The aurists then tried their experiments with quite different results. Helen remained motionless through them all, not once showing the least sign that she realized what was going on. At my suggestion, one of the gentlemen took her hand, and the tests were repeated. This time her countenance changed whenever she was spoken to, but there was not such a decided lighting up of the features as when I had held her hand.'

In this connection it may be mentioned, that, like Laura Bridgman, Helen Keller is peculiarly susceptible of that nervous thrill which is due to vibrating movements affecting any part of the organism, and which forms a *general* sensibility to vibrations, as distinguished from the *special* sensibility of the ear. She feels the vibrations of a piano through the floor, and becomes even so excited by music that she seems at times inclined to break into a dance or rhythmical movement in time to the musical vibrations which she feels. It would appear even as if the vibrations of the atmosphere directly affected her general sensibility. Thus, on one occasion, in a menagerie, she felt the vibrations caused by the roar of a lion so distinctly, that she reproduced the sound with her own voice.

It will be observed that these facts point at times to subtle sensations which cannot be clearly referred to any of the commonly recognised senses; and here we may perhaps find the true explanation of some of those theories which are continually cropping up, even under the patronage of eminent names in science, assuming means of communication with the external world, transcending all forms of organic sensibility. I do not

refer merely to the so-called thought-reading, which is acknowledged to be merely muscle reading; but many of the facts adduced in favour of telepathy admit of being explained as due to faint hints of sensation, which are commonly unobserved in daily life, and which are therefore apt to escape observation from want of proper precautions in the experiments of the psychologist. The truth is, that Helen Keller apprehends external facts at times by a method which to bystanders looks like telepathy, but which is evidently only a mental process, the nature and data of which bystanders cannot analyse. And consequently we find that her teacher, in her first report, was inclined to claim for her pupil 'an inexplicable mental faculty'; but in the report of the following year she acknowledged that this supposed faculty could be explained by the child's quickness in reading the muscular variations in which the feelings of others are, often consciously and involuntarily, expressed.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary acuteness of skin and muscle with which Helen Keller is endowed, there appears to be a defect which could scarcely have been anticipated; and that is her imperfect perception of space. The precise nature of her idea of space it does not appear that there has been any attempt to analyse; but it is said that 'her judgment of distances and of the relations of places to each other is less accurate than that of blind persons in general. 'I have often known her,' her teacher adds, 'to make the circuit of a room several times, in searching for some article that she had only a moment before laid upon a chair or table.' In this respect she forms a marked contrast with Edith Thomas, who is said to be singularly clear in her perception of spatial relations, though in other respects her intellectual development seems decidedly inferior to that of Helen.

The foregoing account will give some idea of the natural endowments of the child, whose education is likely to attract a deeper interest than that even of Laura Bridgman. She was little over six years of age when her father, abandoning all hope of her sight and hearing being restored, applied to Mr. Anagnos for a suitable teacher. Fortunately there was a young lady, Miss Sullivan, who had just finished her education in the Perkins Institution. She had been admitted in 1880, suffering from

blindness. By surgical and medical treatment she ultimately recovered her sight sufficiently to be able to read and write without difficulty, while she had for some years gone through the experience and the education of the blind, making a very honourable record for her intelligence as a pupil. It was arranged that she should undertake the teaching of Helen Keller. She prepared herself specially by reading Dr. Howe's reports on Laura Bridgman, as well as other literature bearing on her task. She took up her residence in her pupil's home, and began her lessons with the month of March, 1887. It is but due to Miss Sullivan to say that she has throughout displayed an educational skill of the highest order. The first lesson will give some idea of her method.

‘When I had been with her long enough for intimate mutual acquaintance, I took her one morning to the schoolroom and began her first lesson. She had a beautiful doll which had been sent from Boston, and I had chosen it for the object of this lesson. When her curiosity concerning it was satisfied, and she sat quietly holding it, I took her hand and passed it over the doll. Then I made the letters d-o-l-l slowly with the finger-alphabet, she holding my hand and feeling the motions of my fingers. I began to make the letters the second time. She immediately dropped the doll and followed the motions of my fingers with one hand, while she repeated the letters with the other. She next tried to spell the word without assistance, though rather awkwardly. She did not give the double ‘l,’ and so I spelled the word once more, laying stress on the repeated letter. She then spelled *doll* correctly. This process was repeated with other words, and Helen soon learned six words, *doll, hat, mug, pin, cup, ball*. When given one of these objects she would spell its name, but it was more than a week before she understood that all things are thus identified.’

To any one at all familiar with the difficulties of the task, the rapidity with which this primary lesson was learnt must appear almost like a miracle. The initial problem of all human culture is to establish in the child's mind an association between names and things, in other words, to impart a language. Without that any mental development that a child may pass through remains

below the human in the strict sense of the term. The difficulty of teaching the common language of men forms the peculiar obstacle to the mental development of the deaf, and in a still higher degree to those who are blind as well. With Laura Bridgman, the most successfully educated of all blind deafmutes, this preliminary lesson occupied three months. In the mind of Helen Keller the idea of language—the association between name and thing—was established in the course of a week. This plasticity of association has continued to facilitate acquisition. After two * months the little pupil is said to have learnt about 300 words, adding at the rate of five or six a day; and at the end of four months she had mastered over 450 words, which she not only spelled correctly, but used in their right applications.

By this time of course the different parts of speech were distinguished in practice, if not in the technical nomenclature of grammatical theory. Helen had therefore displayed a remarkable quickness in overcoming one formidable difficulty in the education of the deaf,—the abstraction necessary for using general terms, that is adjectives and common nouns. Laura Bridgman was for a long time inclined to take adjectives for proper names of the objects to which they were first applied. The rapidity with which Helen Keller could go through the abstraction necessary for conceiving attributes as applicable to a whole class of things, is strikingly evidenced by her first lesson in the use of adjectives. Two balls were taken, one large, made of worsted loosely wound and therefore soft, the other a small bullet. On taking the latter, she made a sign which she had been in the habit of using to express the idea of smallness, which was to pinch a little bit of the skin with her fingers. With the ball of worsted she made a similar sign to express largeness, which was to spread out her hand over the object. The teacher then substituted for these signs the words *small* and *large* spelled in the finger alphabet. The child caught the meaning at once, and then the words *hard* and *soft* were communicated in the same way. The success of the lesson was proved a few minutes after-

* The report says *three*; but a comparison of dates shows that this is a slip either of the writer or of the printer.

wards, when she felt her baby-sister's head all over, and then spelled out to her mother, 'Mildred's head is small and hard.' By similar lessons she learnt all the common adjectives, and she now applies them as freely as if she had been accustomed to their use for years. She even conceives so clearly their general applicability to all objects of a similar kind, that she employs them at times with an almost poetical latitude. Thus:—'Yates (the gardener) plows the ground and makes it very light and soft; and father puts the little seeds in soil, and the sun warms them, and the rain wets them, and soon they are *happy to grow*.'

The use of common nouns she seems to have had no more difficulty in learning. All through her letters and journals they recur in the most natural way; and the following definitions of collective nouns, though perhaps they imply an imperfect abstraction from the concrete in the case of the words *brood* and *litter*, illustrate the rapidity with which the writer's mind has grasped general ideas as well as their expression. 'Flock means many birds near together. Brood means six little chickens. Herd does mean many cows, and calves, and horses near together. Litter is four little kittens, or three little puppies, or six little pigs. Family is father and mother and brothers and sisters.'

It was of course with names—nouns substantive and adjective—that Helen's teaching had to begin. For a while in communicating with her the thought had to be eked out by continuing the use of rude natural signs, like those already mentioned for *large* and *small*, to which she had been accustomed, or which she could readily understand. This necessity, however, diminished with the extension of her knowledge of language, and especially with her acquisition of verbs. Her teacher shows her usual tact in commencing this part of her instructions with verbs expressive of simple common actions like *sit*, *stand*, *shut*, *open*, always performing the action as the word was spelled on the hand. She thus, it is said, soon caught the meaning of a verb, and almost immediately began to use it intelligently in speaking or writing. Even the more difficult lessons of this kind—verbs expressive of mental actions—were learnt by the same method, and with astonishing quickness of apprehension. Thus Miss Sullivan caught her pupil one day evidently, as the expression on her face showed,

thinking intently on an arithmetical problem with which she was occupied. The teacher touched the child's forehead with her finger, and spelled the letters *t-h-i-n-k*. At once Helen connected the word with the operation going on in her thoughts, just as if the association formed had been between an external object and its name. From that time she has used the word *think* with perfect appreciation of its meaning.

From these illustrations of the teacher's methods, it may be easily conceived how she taught her pupil to understand the other parts of speech. Prepositions, like *in*, *on*, etc., expressing simple relations of place, were used correctly by Helen before she had been two months under tuition. The finer modifications of thought, expressed by adverbs, especially those of quality, have very properly been reserved for later instruction; and Helen's language is naturally but little modified by these as yet, though perhaps quite as much as that of most children.

Still the general result of her education must be regarded as surpassing everything that the most hopeful dream could have anticipated, when it is known that, at the end of last year, when she had been less than twenty months under instruction, she had mastered about 3000 words which she was using with perfect accuracy in meaning as well as in spelling. Her accuracy in spelling is apt to appear inexplicable at first, not only when it is placed in contrast with the quaint alphabetical combinations of other children, but when it is found that it scarcely ever breaks down even under the burden of the longest words. She remembers, so the teacher tells us, words like *rocking-chair*, *heliotrope*, *chrysanthemum*, as readily as words of two or three letters. Once she was introduced to a Greek gentleman with a decidedly long name, the name being spelled to her a second time in order to correct a mistake she had made in repeating it. Three months afterwards she asked one day, in perfectly correct spelling, "Where is Mr. *Francis Demetrios Kalopothakes*?" This remarkable accuracy is not altogether inexplicable. It was pointed out in fact long ago by Dalgarno,* that the deaf man has a considerable advantage in learning orthography, because he learns

* *Works*, p. 124 (Maitland Club ed.)

language merely as a system of visible signs, free from any perplexing confusion with the system of audible signs—the articulate sounds which those are used to represent.

The truth is, that the deaf man learns no language at all as his mother tongue : his language is acquired in the more artificial, but more methodical and accurate manner in which others master a foreign language. In his mind therefore there is none of that primitive association between thought and one particular form of speech, which is apt to appear to others as if it were not merely a conventional arrangement of men, but an essential connection of nature. It is this indissoluble association of a man's thoughts with the forms of his mother tongue, that raises the most serious obstacle in the way of mastering the idioms of a foreign language. The deaf man, being unfettered by this association, is thus placed at a considerable advantage in approaching the language of another people. It is an additional proof of Dalgarno's insight, that he explained this peculiarity in the linguistic position of the deaf two hundred years ago;* and his explanation seems to be confirmed by the experience of Helen Keller. It is not, of course, to be supposed that she has mastered a foreign language. She can scarcely be said to have mastered any language fully as yet; but she has shown an astonishing quickness in picking up with intelligence the words and phrases of other languages besides English. This new departure was made on the evening of July 8th last year, when Latin was mentioned as one of the studies in the high school. Helen's inquisitiveness demanded an explanation, and, on being told that Latin was a language different from ours, spoken by another people in ancient times, she insisted further on getting some Latin words. She was thus made familiar in a few minutes with *mensa, homo, pater, mater, puer, puella, and soror*. In the same way she has learnt many words and phrases from other languages, which she introduces with perfect intelligence in her letters and journals. The propriety, with which she uses such foreign expressions, is capitally illustrated in the following letter, which may also be taken as a fair specimen of her attainments at the time, especially in the command of language. The

* *Ibid*, p. 120.

letter is here given without the slightest change even in spelling or punctuation. It is dated Roxbury, Mass., Oct. 17th, 1888.

'Mon cher Monsieur Anagnos, I am sitting by the window and the beautiful sun is shining on me Teacher and I came to the kindergarten yesterday. There are twenty-seven little children here and they are all very blind. I am sorry because they cannot see much. Sometime will they have very well eyes? Poor Edith is blind and deaf and dumb. Are you very sad for Edith and me? Soon I shall go home to see my mother and father and my dear good and sweet little sister. I hope you will come to Alabama to visit me and I will take you to ride in my little cart and I think you will like to see me on my dear gentle little pony's back. I shall wear my lovely cap and my new riding-dress. If the sun shines brightly I will take you to see Leila and Eva and Bessie. When I am thirteen years old I am going to travel in many strange and beautiful countries. I shall climb very high mountains in Norway and see much ice and snow. I hope I will not fall and hurt my head. I shall visit little Lord Fauntleroy in England and he will be glad to show me his grand and ancient castle. And we will run with the deer and feed the rabbits and catch the squirrels. I shall not be afraid of Fauntleroy's great dog Dougall. I hope Fauntleroy take me to see a very kind queen. When I go to France I will talk French. A little French boy will say, *Parles vous Francais?* and I will say *Oui, Monsieur, vous-aves un joli chapeau. Donnes moi un baiser.* I hope you will go with me to Athens to see the maid of Athens.* She was very lovely lady and I will talk Greek to her. I will say, *se agapo* and, *pos echete* and I think she will say, *Kalos*, and then I will say *Chaere*. Will you please come to see me soon and take me to the theater? When you come I will say, *Kale emera*, and when you go home I will say *Kale nykta*. Now I am too tired to write more. *Je vous aime. Au revoir.* From your darling little friend Helen A. Keller.'

To understand the whole process of Helen Keller's education, it must be observed that learning to read, with her as with others, implied the mastery of two systems of signs. Those who possess

* Mr. Anagnos is a Greek by birth.

hearing and sight learn first a system of audible signs. To the blind deaf mute the two systems are neither visible nor audible; both are tangible. One consists of manual signs, and takes the place of *speaking*; the other is the raised type, which takes the place of *reading*, being spelled by the fingers as ordinary type is by the eyes. Like most children, Helen Keller reads 'aloud,' if the expression may be used; that is, she translates into the manual alphabet with her right hand the words in raised type which she reads with her left, just as another child would produce with the voice the sounds whose symbols are read by the eye. The rapidity with which Helen learnt to translate the one symbol into the other was marvellous. 'Incredible as it may seem,' says her teacher, 'she learnt all the letters, both capital and small, in one day.' It is a cheerfully encouraging fact in connection with the education of blind deafmutes, amid all their disadvantages, that the same quickness of intelligence is reported of Edith Thomas. 'In half-an-hour,' says Mr. Anagnos, 'Edith learned the entire alphabet, so that on placing her finger upon one of the raised characters she could promptly make the corresponding manual letter.' It is not only the initial task of mastering the alphabet that Helen Keller went through with ease; she had already, when the last report was written, learnt to read from books in raised type almost as rapidly as others can read aloud from an ordinary book; and she shows such a vivid apprehension of the meaning of what she reads, that she becomes at times quite excited, her face lights up, and her whole frame thrills in response to the sentiments expressed. As she always reads 'aloud,' so generally, like other children, she does her thinking aloud. She is often observed, both in sleeping and in waking hours, uttering in the manual alphabet the thoughts with which her mind is occupied.

With regard to writing, it may be observed that the character used in the Perkins Institution is the square Roman letter invented by Dr. Howe; and the facility with which this character was learnt and is now used by Helen Keller, forms a fresh argument in its defence. On the 12th of July, 1887, a little more than a month after her first lesson in penmanship, she wrote her first letter in this character; and a *facsimile*, given in the report of

that year, shows it to be at least on the whole legible, and a far more advanced performance than the exercises of most children after the same period of tuition. Another letter, written on September 20th, and still another on October 24th, of the same year, display a truly amazing rapidity of progress, the latter especially being distinguished by what might fairly be described as a neat style of penmanship, while subsequent letters, given in the report of last year, are specimens of calligraphy such as are very rarely produced by children of Helen's age.

It is evident from the foregoing sketch, that the problem of this little girl's intellectual education has now been solved as completely as it can be, and far more completely than could be expected, at her age. The moral life cannot be divorced from the intellectual; and therefore it cannot be matter of surprise, that Helen has already begun to manifest a quickness of moral apprehension and a delicacy of moral feeling, that keep pace with her rapid intellectual growth. The whole range of altruistic sentiments are closely dependent upon the intelligence to conceive clearly the position of others, and their relation to ourselves. The friends of Helen are therefore often pleased at the charming readiness and vividness of her sympathy, not only with other human beings, but even with the lowest forms of life. A poor little tadpole, which she had kept out of the water too long for its comfort, excited her commiseration so much that for some days afterwards she kept inquiring after 'the sick tadpole'; and though she took great delight in holding her hand in a vessel of water containing a few tadpoles to feel them swimming through her fingers, she was careful not to lift any of them out, or injure them in any other way. Let the disciples of Isaac Walton take note of the fact, that she seems to have been deeply shocked when told for the first time that fishes are cheated by a concealed hook which 'does stick in poor fish's mouth, and hurt him much. I am very sad,' she adds, 'for the poor fish.'

Connected with the emotional life in general, there is a fact in the experience of Helen Keller, which is of the highest educational value, and that is the calming effect—the increased power to control emotional outbursts,—which resulted from the acquisition of language. Before her education began, she was subject to

violent excitements, these being obviously intensified, if not created, by passionate impatience at her baffled endeavours to express herself in her dumb unintelligible way. These explosions, however, ceased as soon as her familiarity with the finger alphabet enabled her, like an intelligent being, to give vent to her emotions in the forms of intelligible language.

The further development of Helen's emotional life may offer a great deal of interesting psychological information. It is too early to look for any manifestation of sexual sentiment, but she begins already to betray a marked contrast with Laura Bridgman in her preference for the society of gentlemen. Miss Bridgman's preferences all ran the other way, and it is said that to the day of her death the sexual side of her emotional nature remained entirely dormant. It will be interesting to learn whether the general preference of Helen's childhood becomes in after life specialised into genuine sexual feeling.

Still more profoundly interesting and important will be the evolution of her mind in the direction of the religious life. Already she seems to have caught, in her own childlike way, the sentiment of the mystery of death; and it will not be possible long to prevent her restlessly inquisitive spirit from groping its way out into the unfathomable mysteries in which all our questionings land. Perhaps this appears already in her journal of July 14th, 1888, where, after enumerating—pathetically enough, for she could attach no ideas to her words—various kinds of sounds which had been named to her, she finishes with the query, 'Who made many noises?' Laura Bridgman's religious development is said to have been marred by a premature attempt, made during Dr. Howe's absence in Europe, to communicate religious ideas to her mind in their crudest form. Those who are responsible for the education of Helen Keller seem thoroughly alive to this danger; and the expansion of her mind into the sphere of religious thought and feeling will be watched with the deepest interest.

J. CLARK MURRAY.

ART. VIII.—PARLIAMENT IN SCOTLAND.

SOME time ago, Mr. Mitchell, the Treasurer of the Scottish Home Rule Association, wrote to me with regard to the publication of certain pamphlets. These pamphlets all related more or less to the general subject of Home Rule, and they certainly embodied the personal opinions of divers members of the Association, although it could not be said that any or all of them expressed the official opinion of the Association, as such. My reply was to ask him to excuse me, not only because I was not a member of the Association, but also because some of the pamphlets in question dealt with Irish politics, upon which I did not feel called upon to express an opinion, and others advocated ideas from which I told him frankly that I differed. My letter—as is indeed sufficiently evident from its gossipy style—was not written for publication. As, however, Mr. Mitchell thought it worth while to publish the latter part of it, and as, moreover, this was reproduced by some newspapers in a very inaccurate and mutilated form, I am glad to take the present opportunity of dealing at greater length with the points referred to in it.

The ignorance which prevails in England with regard to Scotland is sometimes amusing, and occasionally irritating. It is often astonishing. This is the case with the notion that the desire for a National Parliament is limited to the actual members of the Scottish Home Rule Association. As a matter of fact, there is a very wide-spread and increasing consciousness that whatever may have been the merits of the Union of 1707 when it took place, it is an arrangement which time has now outgrown. The Union was brought about under peculiar financial circumstances, in which a large share must be attributed to the great skill and success with which William III. had striven to use the Darien scheme as a means of reducing Scotland as nearly as possible to a condition of national bankruptcy; and it was immediately based upon the dynastic questions connected with the Act of Security. The degree of national prosperity which the country has now succeeded in attaining in spite of the Union is great,

and perhaps as remarkable under the circumstances as it is gratifying, while the dynastic question which was the Union's very reason of existence, is absolutely dead. Whether the Union was or was not desirable in 1707 is a question of ancient history, almost as useless for any practical purpose as those of the identity of the Mons Graupus or Graupus, or of the moral character of Mary, Queen of Scots. History is almost priceless valuable in its own sphere. Things which are good in themselves are all the more venerable upon account of antiquity. But it is absurd that the living present and the future should continue to be injuriously bound and hampered in deference to a set of circumstances belonging to a long dead and buried past.

The subjects upon which popular discontent with the Union is most often expressed are probably two. One of these is the habitual neglect of Scottish legislation in Parliament. The Session of the present year is one of those exceptions which prove the rule. It will indeed certainly be followed by a re-action. The Scottish people are moreover represented in the House of Commons upon a different and smaller scale than those of either of the two other Kingdoms, whether regard be had to number of population or to wealth and amount of contribution to the Imperial revenue—a fact which they pretty generally realize. Akin to this are the complaints as to the manner in which proposed legislation of a purely Scottish character is first shaped under English auspices and after English models, and then subjected to the will and judgment of a majority of English and Irish representatives. The second most common complaint is that of the inconvenience and expense to which the parties concerned in Private Bills are subjected, by the transaction of that legislation in London, and the similar burdens laid upon litigants in the resort to the last Court of Appeal. Cognate to the latter hardship is the fact that when the House of Lords is at length reached, either the whole or the majority of the learned Lords who compose the tribunal are men confessedly without knowledge of the Scottish Law as to whose doctrines they are called upon to decide. And here also may be mentioned another and similar, though still more exasperating complaint. This is the jurisdiction claimed by the English Courts over Scotsmen in

the province of common law,—a subject which was discussed in a very able and very moderate, perhaps too moderate, article in the *Scottish Review* for January, 1887.

What may be generically called the social effects of the Union form an entire class of phenomena by themselves. One of these is a sort of brain-tax from which Scotland suffers, in the fact that so many able men are induced to leave the country, by the greater attractions offered to ambition in England. This movement is constantly stimulated by the steady action taken in the way of cutting down the number of honourable and lucrative offices in Scotland itself. Other facts more particularly affect the labouring classes. Among these is the absence of expenditure of public or Crown money upon public works. Comparatively unimportant in this respect is the neglect of the public buildings, of which the condition of the Palaces of Stirling, Linlithgow or Dunfermline, the Chapel Royal of Holyrood, and of nearly every ancient Cathedral in the country, forms a striking example. There would indeed sometimes seem to be a sort of wish that such historical and artistic monuments of the past, the sight of which is calculated to quicken national feeling in the present and the future, should perish. They are neglected and mostly allowed to fall into ruins, while their restoration and upkeep would be not only a source of pride and pleasure and of historical and artistic education to the whole community, but would also ensure the expenditure of very large sums among workmen, especially those who live by skilled labour. More serious are the scantiness of Government orders, and the absence of Government works, such as arsenals. Far more serious still is the absence of works such as harbours, which would at once aid the industries of the country, and at the same time be a protection to the lives of those who are engaged in them. Lastly, may well be considered another result of the Union, which deprives the country at once of men and of money. This is the manner in which the wealthier classes are obliged or induced to pass nearly always a great part, often the greater part, and sometimes nearly the whole of their time in England. This is not to be regretted only for the sake of the humbler classes who would profit by the expenditure among them of the incomes of the

richer, largely drawn from their labour. The landowners become estranged from the dwellers upon their own estates; and the fact engenders discontent among the latter; although it must be confessed that it does so in a less degree than that in which it destroys the sentiments alike of patriotism and of kindness in the former. Such proceedings as the 'Sutherland Clearings' are now happily a moral impossibility. But the conditions which the Union has produced and which rendered them once possible, exist more fully than ever. Absenteeism creates alienation of sympathies, an exacerbation of class distinctions, mutual ignorance, and finally the want of consideration, the hardships, and the ill-feeling which are now so unfortunately to be found in many parts of the Highlands and Islands, and which the Crofter Commission is a mechanical device to cure.

Several of the results of the Union of 1707, already enumerated, have a bearing upon yet another point, namely, the effect which the Union exercises upon the material prosperity of the country. This question was very clearly, ably, and moderately discussed in the article upon *The Union of 1707 Viewed Financially*, which appeared in the *Scottish Review* for October, 1887. That article, as far as it goes, is unanswered and unanswerable. Those whom it did not please, were driven at once to resort to the last refuge of impotence, viz., personal abuse of the anonymous author. It was a striking instance of 'No case: abuse the defendant's solicitor.' Argument against it there could be none. It is impossible by cursing, to delete the printed figures from pages of Blue Books. But there was certainly one thing in which the well-known financier who wrote that article was wrong. He greatly under-stated his own case. With regard to a particular item, for instance, such a phrase occurs as 'probably £500,000 would not overstate it, but to keep well within the mark, we shall place it at £300,000.' His weakest statement was probably that in which, the annual value of land in Scotland assessed to income-tax being about $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, of which about three-sevenths belong to Peers or Baronets, he proposed to name two millions as representing the amount of income spent in London and elsewhere in England. He left out of calculation any incomes not derived from land, the fact that to a very large number of Scottish

proprietors their annual sojourn in London occupies the greater and certainly constitutes by far the most costly portion of their year, and that the two classes whom he names certainly do not form the half of those whose incomes are thus applied. From the figures upon which he himself went, it is clear that he ought to have set down the annual dead loss in money which is entailed upon Scotland by the Union of 1707 at a sum of eight or ten millions rather than of four.

The wonder is that all these causes do not produce in Scotland a more active agitation for a revision of the Treaty in question. To account for this, it is perhaps first necessary to remember the remarkable patience and quietness which are so characteristic of our race. But there are other reasons as well. The historical aspect of the Union, as well as of many other epochs of the national history, is not nearly as well known as it ought to be, and as, indeed, it might naturally be expected to be. The history of Scotland is usually to be found only in the form of jejune summaries of the most repellant dryness, or in costly and voluminous works by scholars, generally treating of special epochs, and both alike often written under the influence of violent prepossessions, and sometimes inflamed with the most furious polemics inspired by religious, political, or historical sympathies. There has been and is a gradual if not a systematic tendency to supplant the study of the National History, even in the higher seats of learning, by that of the History of England. It is more than probable that these lines will be read by many who do not know what is meant by the Darien Scheme or by the Act of Security, and who have never heard that the disastrous consequences of the Union were so immediately and so appallingly evident that its own authors endeavoured to undo their work only six years later. Then, the social consequences of the Union are widely accepted as a matter of habit. People are accustomed to see the clever and aspiring go to seek a career in England. The neglect of public works is looked upon as the normal state of affairs, except from time to time when some terrible disaster such as the loss of fishermen's lives causes a spasmodic demand for some preventive. That wealthy landowners, the representatives perhaps of great historical races, and the proprietors of vast tracts of the

country, should never visit their properties except for a few weeks during the shooting-season, or that they should abandon them altogether and let them to alien strangers, is accepted as a matter of course. These things are not infrequently bewailed, or at least regretted, but it is not nearly so often known or realized that it is the Union of 1707 which is their cause, and that its repeal would be their immediate and almost entire cure. Lastly, with regard to the purely monetary question, it is a singular fact that an idea or belief does actually still extensively prevail that the Union has been beneficial to the material interests of the country. Even the pages of the financial writer just cited are not free from some lingering traces of this superstition, although with the figures before him he is obliged to transfer the benefits of the Union to some vague and undefined sphere. It is curious to conjecture how a delusion so entirely opposed to facts ever arose. It was one of the false prophecies of the advocates of the Union at the time, and their reputations became of course involved in the success of their prediction. On the other hand, while the Union was regarded as irrevocable, the notion that there was at least some compensation of a material character, offered a last consolation to despairing patriotism. The wish was father to the thought on all sides. Hence comes all the nonsense of this sort which Sir Walter Scott—although, evidently, much against the grain—thought it necessary to write. Perhaps the popularity of his works has something to do with the survival of a mistake so extraordinary. Anyhow, strange as it may seem in the face of the inexorable logic of facts, it is not an uncommon belief in Scotland even at the present day that the Union has conferred great benefits upon the country from a financial point of view. People do not know that as a matter of fact the Union nearly beggared the population for several generations, and that the country is still bled annually at the rate of about £2 per head of the population in deference to a totally extinct dynastic question which happened to exist in the year 1704.

There is still another cause which has operated hitherto to prevent as strong an expression of national impatience under the existing state of things as might otherwise have been the case. This cause acts upon the membership of the particular Association

of which Mr. Mitchell is the Treasurer, as well as other reasons of different sorts and of a special kind into which it is unnecessary here to enter. The cause in question is the desire of most men individually not to loosen in any way their adhesion to that one of the two great political parties, into which the country is generally divided, to which each man may chance to belong. The Tories are indeed the historical heirs of that great national party, if party it could be called which embraced nearly the whole nation, which was opposed to the Union at the time when it took place, and which would in all probability have averted it, had it not been for the vacillation (or the treachery?) of the Duke of Hamilton. But the English Conservative party to which these gentlemen adhere has hitherto given them no encouragement to act upon the principles of their ancestors, and has indeed sometimes brought them into such strange company that they can hardly be distinguished from Liberal Unionists. It would sometimes be amusing if it were not pitiful to see Scottish Tories indulging in private or even in public in the glorification (mostly, it must be confessed, in the form of literary effusions,) of their political ancestors, and then proceeding to the enunciation and support of political doctrines to oppose which the ancestors in question cheerfully laid down their lives. The followers of Mr. Gladstone, upon the other hand, represent historically the group of Whig and Hanoverian statesmen by whose singular labours the Act of 1707 was passed and upheld, and, although they have, of very recent years, accepted certain principles of an Home Rule character when applied to Ireland, they have received from the head-quarters of their party just as little encouragement as their Tory opponents towards any movement for the establishment of a Scottish Legislature. There is widely prevalent among them the avowed doctrine that even if a thing be right in itself, it is wrong to take it up unless at the desire of Mr. Gladstone. To such a length is this carried that the Scottish Home Rule Association has actually been termed anti-Gladstonian, merely because its members have associated themselves without Mr. Gladstone's initiative, and regardless of the fact that it has been the aim of the Association from its very inception, to keep itself clear from being identified with either of the great political parties

in the State, (from both of which its members are, as a matter of fact, drawn,) and to rest solely upon the basis of pure patriotism.

It would indeed be deeply to be bewailed if the movement, which demands the re-constitution of a Parliament in Scotland, were to become identified with either the Toryism or the Liberalism of the present day. The sentiment which inspires it is elevated in a sphere far above the wranglings of political partizanship, and has its life in affection for country and countrymen. It ought to be carried on in the same remarkable spirit of common devotion to the good of the common Fatherland which animated the meeting held in Edinburgh, but a few years ago, to demand the resuscitation of the office of Home Minister for Scotland, where the Tory Lord Lothian presided over a gathering composed mainly of Liberals, and where no voice of partizan division marred the patriotic unanimity of the assembly. In the presence of the great object to be attained to-day, historical re-cremations must be silent. It would be especially to be deplored if the Scottish National movement should in any way be mixed up with the discussion of the Irish question. The nature of the cases and of the arguments which affect them are entirely different. A single remark is hardly necessary in order to show this. If an opponent of Irish Home Rule be asked why he objects to such a measure, the reply, in ninety-nine cases out of an hundred, will be that, in his belief, Home Rule in that country would be followed by civil war, by anarchy, by oppression, by insecurity to life and property, by the withdrawal of capital, that it would mean an Irish Government acting under an overwhelming clerical influence of a particular character, that it would put power in the hands of men hostile to the Monarchy, who might even, in the contingency of war, place Ireland as a point of vantage at the disposal of a foreign enemy. No one in their senses would predict such consequences as contingent upon the sitting of a National Parliament in Edinburgh, occupied upon such legislation as may be necessary for the internal well-being of Scotland. Moreover, the Irish themselves have no wish for any association, far less fusion, of the questions. It was Mr. Parnell who thought it best to say: 'Scotland has ceased to be a nation.' The Irish colony in Scotland have never shown any inclination

to identify themselves with the land of their birth or adoption. On the contrary, they sometimes manifest an unprovoked hostility. Finally, it is enough to remark that there are plenty of persons who associate themselves with Irish Nationalist ideas, regarding whom every Scotchman would exclaim, as so many of the leading men of Ireland are fain to exclaim—‘*Non tali auxilio.*’

If it would be insanity to suggest that the result of a Parliament sitting in Edinburgh would be any of those evil consequences which have been and are constantly suggested as the prohibitory objection to a Parliament sitting in Dublin, it is worth while to consider for a moment what the consequences of the Edinburgh Parliament would be. The first benefits would probably be felt at Westminster, and by the English Conservative party, for the House of Commons would be relieved, and the English would be free to manage their own national concerns in their own way. In Scotland itself there would be an intensified sentiment (if that be possible) of loyalty towards the Throne, a quickening of all social life, of which the benefits would chiefly fall upon the working classes, and an increased diffusion of wealth, of which the results would be immediately apparent. The National Parliament would not sit for a preposterous period of the year. It would not be noisy and dilatory. Its proceedings in the way of debate would consist of a limited number of grave and careful speeches, probably little more extended as regards length and number than are the proceedings of the House of Lords. Some have feared that a Scottish Legislature would lend itself to measures of an extremely Radical or, as they would be termed, Socialistic nature. That immunity from such measures is a merit of the present system cannot be asserted in view of the recent attempt of the present Conservative Government to abolish primogeniture. But leaving such a consideration upon one side, and leaving out of the question the power of the Crown in giving or withholding the Royal assent, it may be confidently anticipated that such fears are groundless. Measures of this sort are generated by the embitterment of class feeling. Whatever embitterment of class feeling there may unfortunately be in Scotland (and it is almost if not entirely confined to the

Highlands and Islands) is the direct and undoubted result of the Union of 1707. With the cause, the effect would die. So far from there being any natural animosity between the different classes of the Scottish people, it is remarkable to what an extent the old families are regarded by those to whom they are near with a kind of historic pride, and it is sometimes touching as well as wonderful to see how the feeling of affection survives in such cases, even when absenteeism, alienation, or other like fruits of the Union of 1707, have made it necessary to transfer—let us say, *pride*—to an abstraction. A National Parliament would probably begin by separating into parties over some such question as Disestablishment, and it would go on to concern itself with matters like Compensation for Unexhausted Improvements, Education, Public Works, and similar topics.

The composition of a Scottish National Parliament is of course a question which naturally falls to be discussed, at any rate to some extent, in the present paper. An anonymous article upon the subject appeared in the *Scottish Review* for July, 1886, and another, by Mr. Mitchell himself, in April, 1888—the latter, at least, of which was to form the contents of one of those pamphlets of which the proposed publication has been the indirect cause of the writing of these pages. The silence in which the greater part of the articles in question will be here passed over must not be understood as implying either assent to or dissent from the propositions which they contain. But they contain two proposals in particular to which exception will here be taken.

It is suggested that the Scottish constituencies should return two sets of representatives, one to the Imperial and the other to the National Parliament, although it should be possible to return the same person to both. Whether it is in itself desirable, from a purely Scottish point of view, that Scottish representatives should regularly attend a Parliament in England, is a question which is not here discussed. The affirmative has generally been enunciated and accepted, and is assumed here. It will at the same time be remembered that the notion of returning members from Ireland to the Imperial Parliament at Westminster is one which has been viewed with very great dislike in Ireland itself. One of the great merits, perhaps the chief merit, of Mr. Glad-

stone's scheme, was that it excluded them. The Irish argument is that if they have to return members both to Westminster and to Dublin, they will only get an inferior class of candidates for the seats at Dublin. It would be idle to pretend that the same argument does not hold good in Scotland. Many able men, from ambition, family connection, taste, or other causes, would compete only for the membership of the Imperial Parliament. The National Parliament, for which nothing that the country could yield ought to be too good, would be deprived of their services, and left to those of an inferior class of members. There would be a distinct liability to an habit of creating 1st Class, 2nd Class, and 3rd Class Members, according to the body or bodies to which they were returned; and it is quite possible that the 1st Class would be the members returned to Westminster alone, and more than probable that the 3rd Class would consist of those specially returned to Edinburgh. There would be encouraged the growth of a particular type of member, to which it is said that the popular language of America has affixed the expressive if inelegant epithet of 'Carpetbagger.' These would be a species of professional candidate, selected and sent down to Scotland by London political clubs, by them, as it were, warranted sound, and elected upon that warranty, who would have no intention of settling in Scotland, and would only pay an occasional visit for the purpose of addressing their constituents, while they themselves lived in England and especially in London, and, even if they happened to belong to the 2nd Class, or members of both Legislatures, would look upon the Scottish Parliament as a kind of inferior local committee, where they might or might not occasionally condescend to appear, and for the reversal of whose decisions they could always use their votes at Westminster. Such a system, instead of curing the evils of the Union, would both perpetuate and aggravate them. Moreover, such an arrangement is open to the obvious and insurmountable objection that the country might possibly send men to represent one set of opinions in London and another in Edinburgh. There seems to be only one way in which such a possibility can be avoided, and the best legislative talent which Scotland could produce secured for the National Parliament in Edinburgh at the same time as repre-

sentation in the Imperial Parliament in London. This is simply by adopting the plan which was already in use in the time of Charles I., after the beginning of the Troubles. Let there be no entrance into the Imperial Parliament except for a member of the National Parliament, and let such members of the Imperial Parliament be chosen by the National Parliament from its own body, under the name of Commissioners. The representation of any respectable minority is a mere matter of mathematical arrangement as regards the manner of voting. It is here assumed that the number of members of the National Parliament would be much larger than that of the Scottish members of the House of Commons. That such should be the case, would not only entail the advantage of a fuller representation of the Scottish population to legislate upon home questions and to serve upon Committees, but also secure the services of men who for any cause (and it is very easy to imagine several) might be willing enough to attend the Parliament in Edinburgh, but would shrink from the additional bondage in London.

The other proposal of the writers above mentioned to which exception is here taken, is the suggestion that a National Parliament in Edinburgh should be composed of two Chambers, an House of Lords and an House of Commons. No such thing as an House of Lords was ever heard of in Scotland. It is not, however, upon a merely antiquarian ground that it would seem undesirable now to invent one, nor is it intended here to say anything as to the possibility of any improvement in the constitution of the present House of Lords at Westminster. Surely a little reflection will show to anybody the numerous objections to now importing or introducing such a novelty into Scotland for the first time. Even, however, if it were otherwise desirable to invent an House of Lords in Edinburgh, the Scottish Peerage does not afford the materials out of which to form such a Chamber. The creation of a Scottish Peer ceased to be possible in 1707, and even if a set of new Peers were to be made, the new Peers would always represent a second and markedly inferior class in regard to a dignity as to which antiquity is one of the most esteemed features. The Scottish Peerage consists of barely eighty persons, of whom a certain number would always be disqualified by sex,

age, or infirmity. Some are absolute foreigners, such as Lord Newburgh (the Roman Prince Giustiniani-Bandini,) others are completely Englishmen; some do not possess a square inch of land in Scotland, others never or very rarely come there. Indeed, if aliens were to be excluded, more than a fourth part of the whole body would probably find themselves disqualified. Even historically, the Scottish Peerage, considered as such, is not a particularly venerable body. The families, it is true, are nearly all ancient, most going back to the Thirteenth Century or earlier; but more than half owe their original titles to the Seventeenth. There is perhaps no one who would wish to see the Scottish Peers deprived of their titles and precedence, which form an interesting and indeed picturesque historical monument, but it is a monument which is crumbling down under the hand of time (more than half the Peerages which existed in 1707 have disappeared) and it certainly does not afford all the materials necessary for the constitution of a separate legislative Chamber.

The old Parliament of Scotland consisted of a single Chamber, in which sat representatives of Four Estates, viz., the Clergy, the Peerage, the Counties, and the Burghs. The Estate of the Clergy was abolished in the reign of Charles I., restored under Charles II., and abolished again under William and Mary. No doubt, it had been of most use in the early Middle Ages, before the foundation of the Universities and the development of Grammar Schools, and before the Church of Scotland had been ravaged by the later abuses of the right of Patronage. At that time the Bishops, Abbots, and Priors served to represent the interests not only of religion and of landed property considerable in character rather than in extent, but also, in a great measure, those of agriculture, jurisprudence, education, learning, and science. It is to be presumed that no one would now propose to restore it again. At the same time, it would certainly be just to abolish the political disabilities of the clergy. A Catholic or Anglican Priest or an ordained minister of the Established Church of Scotland cannot be a member of the House of Commons. Any other minister of religion may. The distinction drawn between an Established Church minister and a Free Church minister is senseless. Clergymen sit freely in the House of Lords,

and the fact causes no inconvenience. Several are frequent, and one, at least, a remarkably powerful and brilliant speaker. If a constituency wishes to return a clergyman as a member, it is hard to see why it should not. The same remark applies to Peers. The Scottish Peers, however otherwise qualified, are not allowed to vote in Parliamentary elections or to be themselves elected, because they are Peers, and they are not allowed to sit in the House of Lords, because they are Scotch. In the case of a Scottish National Parliament, they ought to have the same rights of voting and being elected as are enjoyed by commoners.

The fact that both the entire and unbroken historical tradition, and the present conditions of Scotland, are opposed to the invention and introduction for the first time in all Scottish History of an House of Lords, and that, even if they were not, the Scottish Peerage does not supply the material out of which such an House could be formed, need not deny to a Scottish National Legislature the advantages which the House of Lords in London affords to the Imperial Parliament, and which the representation of the estate of the Peerage in the old Scots Parliament afforded to Scotland before the Union. The House of Lords represents less exclusively than it did in the Middle Ages the interests of landed property, of the agricultural districts, and of mental culture, because these things are now more widely diffused, and the hereditary Peerage, as it now exists, is not as strong a guarantee of them as it was then. But it does continue to afford to the country a protection, if it choose to accept it, against the vagaries of representatives who may no longer reflect the sense of their constituencies, and the advice of a body of men mostly of mature years, of experience in business, and of the highest education which the discipline of school and college and the practical knowledge of life affords, and who are, moreover, raised above the temptation of being corrupted by the dread of offending electors. The same end could be attained in a Scottish Parliament by a body of Life Peers, who, forming, like the Estate of the Peerage in the old Scots Parliament, a fourth part of an assembly of some 200, of whom the rest were the representatives of counties and burghs in proportion to population, would give all these advantages, while avoiding the danger inherent in the possi-

bility that a wise and good man may be the ancestor of a fool or a knave. Such a body would be large enough to embrace those of the hereditary Peers whom the Government might deem it desirable to see members of the legislative assembly, and men whose advice might be valuable but whose temperament, whose means, or whose work would lead them to shrink from the repellant turmoil of contested elections at frequent though irregular intervals. The fact of a fixed number would preserve the Chamber against liability to be arbitrarily flooded by a batch of new creations, which is one of the stock menaces employed towards the House of Lords. At the same time, as Life Peers would be created upon the advice of the ministers of the day, the group so formed would always represent the steady current of national opinion, safe, upon the one hand, from being carried away by transient whims of popular excitement, and, upon the other, from the danger of ceasing to live in accord with the developments of national life.

There remains one other element whose representation in a National Parliament ought to be a matter of consideration. It may be roughly called the Official. In the present state of things, seats have to be found for ministers, which gives a great deal of needless trouble. The House of Lords contains a class of members who may be strictly called official. And Parliament has the right of summoning the judges to give their opinion upon questions of law. In a Scottish Parliament it would surely be better at once to give seats *ex officio* to all the ministers and great officers of the Crown, and to all or a large section of the Senators of the College of Justice. To these it would be natural to add some representative of military matters, such as the Commander-in-Chief, and possibly some other persons. Thus, for instance, the Chancellors or Principals of the Universities might represent the interests of the higher education and learning, and the chief magistrates of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Dundee, the municipal authority of the great centres of population. But these are details, into which it is quite needless here to enter. One remark only may be added. There are certain officials of the Crown whom it might be held very desirable to admit, such as the Dean of the Chapel Royal, as representing the relation of

the State towards the Church, the Lyon King, as the official guardian of the National History, and the High Constable, as head of the Royal Household. Some of these, like the last named, might be hereditary. And it might well be that as the hereditary principle rules in the Crown itself, it should be recognised, in a Scottish Parliament, in the case of the Dukes, whose rank as Princes separates them from all other subjects. The matter would be of but little importance numerically, as the Duchies are only eight in number, and of these one belongs to the Heir Apparent, one to the first subject next to the Blood Royal, and two more are the Duchies of Buccleuch and Argyll, the holders of which no one would be likely to wish to exclude. The other four are the hereditary representatives of the great races of the Gordons (Lennox, Richmond and Gordon), the Murrays (Athole), the Grahams (Montrose), and the Kerrs (Roxburghe). One thing may be said with certainty. Should it ever unfortunately be the case that any of these dignities were held by a man whose voice was not worth having, he would be a man who would not put himself to the trouble of giving it.

Such a National Parliament for Scotland as is here tentatively sketched would therefore consist of a group of official persons, possibly about 30 or more in number, and then of a body of some such number as 200, of whom one quarter would be Life Peers, and the rest the representatives of the Counties and Burghs in proportion to population. This Parliament, as a whole, would send up to the Imperial House of Commons, under the name of Commissioners, a body of representatives, whose number should either be the same as at present or one corresponding to the wealth and population of Scotland as compared with those of the two other Kingdoms. The right of the hereditary Peers to send representatives to the House of Lords would remain undisturbed.

The crucial difficulty in all Home Rule schemes in themselves is that of finding a solution of the question of what is to be done in case the National Parliament disagrees with the Imperial Parliament. The answer in this case seems to be, The Power of the Crown. If there is to be a Scottish National Parliament in Edinburgh, the Scottish people must be prepared to accept a very

much freer exercise of the Royal Prerogative of refusing assent to Bills which have passed, than has been the case for many a generation. The Crown would naturally be guided by the opinion of the Imperial Parliament. The National Parliament would therefore in practice be liable to have its will thwarted by that of the Imperial Parliament. This is exactly what is the case at present. The majority in the Imperial Parliament is often not in agreement with the majority of the Scottish members, and necessarily overpowers them. Moreover, it is to be observed that the occasions upon which the Royal veto would be exercised would probably be few in comparison with those when the wishes of the Scottish people are now out-voted or put aside, and that the ancient and undisputed prerogative of the national Crown would be less vexing than silence imposed by an assembly of English and Irish subjects. Upon the other hand, with a Scottish Legislature, Scottish legislation would not be impeded and neglected owing to the plethora of business which overwhelms the House of Commons at Westminster; Scottish Private Bill legislation would be transacted upon the spot; and it is to be hoped that in litigation the Scottish tribunal would be again the Supreme Court in reality as well as in name. A fresh number of honourable and lucrative careers would be opened at home, in which the able and aspiring might rise; the public money would flow in public works for the benefit of all, and especially of the working classes; and the duties, the occupations, and the inducements which would keep the rich much more in their own country would encourage mutual sympathies, and do away with much hardship and ill-feeling, while it would pour upon Scotland herself the bulk of that wealth which she yields, but which is now annually taken from her to swell the abundance of England.

There is one factor which has not been taken into consideration in the preceding pages, but which makes for the re-establishment of a Parliament in Scotland. That factor is the sentiment of pure patriotism. The emotion of Scottish patriotism is none the weaker because it is subdued and rather shy in expression. It is very strong. It is to be hoped that it is growing stronger. It is that sentiment which, among other things, will make men

otherwise of differing political parties to be of one mind in this. It is that sentiment which will make men ready, as the present writer is ready, to yield their own opinion in matters of detail, and loyally to accept such as the Scottish people shall, when the time comes, regard as offering the best security for the prosperity and happiness of our country.

BUTE.

ART. IX.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (July, August, September).—In a short note which heads the first of these three numbers, Professor Heinrich von Treitschke takes his leave of the readers of the *Jahrbücher*. His connection with the periodical began thirty-one years ago, and eight years later, in 1866, he became one of the editors. He points with pride to the fact that, during the whole of that period, ‘the *Jahrbücher* have never been supported by any party, but have rather, in troubled days, been attacked by the great majority of German papers.’ All the more cordial, therefore, are the thanks which he expresses to those who have honoured and encouraged him with their confidence.—In commemoration of the novelist Gottfried Keller’s seventieth birthday, which occurred on the 19th of July, Dr. Franz Servaes contributes a long, careful, and interesting sketch of the popular writer’s life and works. Those parts of his earlier novels, which may be considered as autobiographical, are indicated, his mental and psychological development traced through its various phases, and his position in contemporary literature estimated with conspicuous skill.—From Herr Carl Krebs there is a very readable and instructive account of the rise and progress of the opera. It was about the beginning of the seventeenth century that some Florentine nobles conceived that a musical recitation might be formed in which the sense of the words, and the particular emphasis of special words, might be thrown into such prominence as would produce a higher effect than could proceed from speech. Among them was the father of Galileo. He made one of the first essays of composition in this school, which, because it is a recitation of words for the sake of words, and for the sake of the expression they are to convey, goes by the name of *recitativo*, or *recitative*, that is speaking music. More important

still, he was the means of engaging a famous singer of his time, Jacopo Peri, to write vocal music to passionate verses. Of 'Daphne,' the first opera composed on this principle, only the libretto is now extant. But we still have both the words and the music of the second, 'Eurydice,' which was composed for the wedding of Henry IV. of France with Catherine de Medici, and of which a very full account is here given.—This is followed by a chapter of ecclesiastical history from Professor Dr. Gustav Krüger, who takes for his subject the persecutions under Diocletian and his successor, and endeavours to lay bare the motives which prompted them.—A most interesting, but not edifying article is that in which Herr Theodor Wenzelbürger gives a sketch of the state of schools in Belgium. The first part of the paper is chiefly taken up with details of the violent struggle between the Liberals and the Clergy on the subject of undenominational schools, and of the means used by the latter to prevent parents from sending their children to these establishments. In the second part, the writer indicates the causes which led to the passing of a new Educational Act in 1884, and the various means by which those clauses of it which concern the undenominational schools are evaded by the clerical party.—The biography of Christian Rauch, lately published by Friedrich and Karl Eggers, is made the subject of a lengthy essay in which Herr Carl Neumann sketches the career of the famous sculptor, the pupil of Canova and Thorwaldsen.—In a short paper based on Daniel Brinton's 'Ancient Nahuatl Poetry,' published last year in Philadelphia, Herr K. Bruchmann indicates the chief characteristics of the poetry of the ancient Mexicans.—In a paper which he entitles 'Germany and the Panama Canal,' Herr Polakowsky considers the present position of M. de Lesseps's undertaking, and the feasibility of forming a new international company, for carrying it out. Without committing himself to a decided opinion, he seems to think that it might be to the advantage of Germany to favour such a scheme.—Of the remaining contributions, the most important are the first instalment of a very thoughtful study, in which Dr. Delbrück illustrates the strategy of Pericles by means of Frederick the Great's, and an article in which Herr Paul Cauer defends the educative value of the classical languages.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (July, August, September).—Two further instalments bring Herr Rodenberg's 'Franz Dingelstedt' to a close. That contained in the July number is devoted to the poet's stay in Cassel, where he was, for a time, teacher at the Gymnasium. Besides giving a number of letters, hitherto

unpublished, and addressed to General von Bardeleben, the editor supplies some very interesting and amusing details concerning the young 'Gymnasiallehrer's' manner of life. The last part includes the period from 1838 to 1841, when Dingelstedt was in Fulda, and contains, amongst other readable matter, an account of the production of his first play 'Das Gespenst,' a sensational affair, in which bankruptcy, adultery, shipwreck, parricide, and suicide were woven together into an impossible plot.—To the July and August numbers Lady Blennerhassett contributes a sketch of the Germans who figured in the French Revolution. One of these was Cloutz, a Prussian baron, who distinguished himself by his impiety and extravagance. After performing various mad feats, taking the name of 'Anacharsis,' and assuming the style of 'Orator of the Human Race,' he gave a large sum to the Assembly to make war against all kings, and demanded that a price should be put on the King of Prussia. All this did not, however, prevent him from being sent to the scaffold by Robespierre in 1794. Another was the less known, but not less remarkable Eulogius Schneider, who was in turn a Franciscan monk, a professor of Greek literature, and lastly the public prosecutor in Alsace, where he signalized himself by his fanaticism and cruelty. Having incurred the ill-will of St. Just, he, too, ended his eventful career on the guillotine. A third was George Forster, who, with his father, accompanied Captain Cook in his voyage round the world, and who, as professor of Natural History, had acquired considerable reputation when his connection with the French Revolution ruined his prospects in his own country and drove him into exile, where he died. To these three Lady Blennerhassett chiefly devotes her attention, but cursory mention is also made of Prince Carl Constantin von Hessen-Rheinfels-Rothenburg, Count Schlaberndorf, Professor Kramer, Baron von der Trenck, and others of less note.—The same two numbers also contain a long biographical sketch of Frederick Theodore Vischer.—In the second of the three numbers before us the well-known signature of Miss Helen Zimmern appears, the subject of the very clever essay which she contributes being Mary Wollstonecraft.—The same month also brings an excellent descriptive sketch of the Spreewald.—'Mirabeau in Berlin' is another of those articles for which the centenary of the French Revolution is responsible. The account of the two visits to the Prussian capital is readable enough, but it can scarcely be said to contain anything of paramount importance, or of thrilling interest.—The general reader will, in all probability, find more enjoyment in the contribution entitled 'Quer durch Grönland.' It is an account, as

contained in the diary of Lieutenant Dietrichson, of Dr. Nansen's Greenland expedition.—An article well worthy of notice is that in which Herr Bernhard Suphan shows what we may call the position taken up by German writers with regard to Shakespeare, at the beginning of the 'classical' period, and consequently the poet's influence on German literature.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (July, August, September).—Although lovers of fiction have never reason to find fault with the share assigned to them in the *Hefte*, they are seldom treated so liberally as this quarter. The tables of contents show no less than nine tales and novelettes, to any of which they can turn with the certainty of not being disappointed. Of these nine, only one — 'Assuntas Schatz' — runs through several parts. All the others are complete stories. It is impossible, and would rather destroy the interest of these productions, to give any sketch or summary of them, but in most cases the author's name will be ample recommendation. Thus, the signatures of Herr Ernst Wichert and of Herr Brauns will satisfy the reader that the Lithuanian story 'Endrik Kraupatis,' of the one, and the Japanese tale, 'The Faithful Knight Nakakuni and the Beautiful Kogo,' of the other, are not to be skipped. Nor is there any necessity to make special reference to the technical skill and excellent style which mark the productions of such old favourites as Hans Hoffman and Otto Roquette, who here give us respectively 'Der Tribuliersoldat,' and 'Die Herbergsmutter.' Though Wilhelm Berger, Hermine Villinger, and Emmy von Dincklage, are not so well known, 'Die Handschuhbrant,' 'David and Goliath,' and 'Der Sandmesser,' show them to be well worthy of the company in which they appear.—The fireside tourists who may feel inclined to follow the guides here placed at their disposal, will have special and excellent opportunities for becoming acquainted with the East. With Herr Karl Kollbach they may wander through Brussa and become acquainted with one of the most flourishing commercial emporiums of the Turkish dominions. Should they wish once again to explore the ruins of Thebes, Herr Theodor Harten will put his thorough knowledge of it at their disposal, and will bring before them a series of six and twenty views and sketches which, together with his excellent description of all that is most noteworthy, will bring the City of the Hundred Gates most vividly before them. As they return westwards, they cannot do better than take Dalmatia on their way, and spend an interesting hour in hearing all about its history, its antiquities, its present state, and its scenery, from Herr

von Berleepoch. Before crossing the Channel, they may allow themselves another break in their journey, for the sake of exploring Brittany with Claire von Glümer for their companion, and when they reach home again, they will assuredly have no cause to complain of the manner in which they have been cared for on their travels.—A contribution of some historical value is that which Herr Anton Chroust entitles, ‘Zur Don Carlos Frage.’ After briefly recapitulating the tragic episode which has given rise to so much controversy, and indicating his own conviction that Philip was not guilty of his son’s death, the writer quotes, in support of this view, two letters which were written by the King to his daughters, the Infantas Isabella and Catherine, and which, though not bearing directly on the question, show Philip in such a light as to make it difficult to believe in his guilt. These letters were discovered by M. Gaschard in the Turin Archives, and published by him in 1884.—Lovers of natural history will find enjoyment and instruction in the two papers which Herr Adolf Müller devotes to the cuckoo. A close and careful study of the strange bird enables him to throw some light on several disputed points. He is, for example, able to quote his own experience in support of the view that the female does, sometimes, at least, hatch her own eggs.—To exhaust the three tables of contents, there still remain three biographical sketches. The most important of them is ‘Verdi,’ by Herr Thomas Achelis. The other two are ‘Hermann Lotze’ and ‘Ossip Schubin.’ Those who are acquainted with Turgénieff’s novel ‘Helena’ will probably remember that this is the name of one of the chief characters in it, and will long ago have suspected that, as appearing on the title-page of ‘Boris Lensky’ and other productions which have attracted considerable attention of late years, it was but a pseudonym. Herr Ludwig Pietsch here supplies some very interesting information concerning the young lady, Fräulein Lolo Kirschner, who has so long hidden her real name under it.

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (July 16th).—The most interesting article in this number is one by Professor Brizio of Bologna, on the Umbrians, making use of the discoveries of the last 20 years for ascertaining more of the customs of that people. He gives many particulars respecting their habitations, and says that ‘the Umbrians were proud and courageous, and esteemed it a shame to outlive a defeat. Private quarrels were decided by duels, the victor being pronounced in the right.’ ‘The people,’ he continues, ‘were never without arms, but though

their dead were provided in their tombs with all the utensils of life, it was seldom that arms were placed beside them. In about 200 sepulchres discovered in and near Bologna, the half of which were those of men, scarcely five swords, a dozen axes, and about thirty small spears were found. In most Bolognese tombs miniature axes, about 3 inches long, or symbols of axes made of the true size, but only of very thin plates of bronze, elegantly engraved, were predominant. Two years ago, above 14,000 broken or complete bronze objects were found in an Umbrian foundry discovered at Bologna; among these objects arms were very numerous, the most being axes of four different kinds. Some with curved handles and long straight blades; others with broad straight handles and wide short blades, or with smooth tubular handles; and others with hatchets resembling our modern ones, with long broad blades ending in a thick ring, into which a wooden handle was fastened. That these axes were real weapons, and not agricultural tools, is proved by the fact that they have been found side by side with the swords in the tombs of warriors.'

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (August 1).—Contains a paper on 'Silvio Pellico' by E. Panzacchi, describing his literary decadence, in the midst of which his beautiful book, *Le mie Prigione*, suddenly appeared like a precious pall thrown by the liberated prisoner of the Spielberg over his dead youth.—Follows the first part of a historical article describing the constitution of France in 1780 by Luigi Palma.—G. A. Cesareo writes on Italy in Leopardi's poems, and in the songs of earlier poets, showing that the first part of Leopardi's 'All' Italia' had much resemblance with the tone of former works, and describing the change in the poetical ideal of Italian poets after Dante, in which changes, however, one thought, or rather tradition, had remained the same—the thought and tradition of the *Roman Italy*.—The novelette, 'Absalom,' by C. Donati, is finished.—E. Cavaliere writes on co-operative societies and syndicates in agriculture.—Follow some original 'rhymes' by A. Graf.—G. De Sanctis gives a description of Cesare Maccari's frescos in the Hall of the Senate at Rome.—A. D'Ancona notices the latest of G. Pitre's works on the popular customs, etc., of Sicily. In the course of twenty years Pitre has issued eighteen volumes, illustrating the literature of the Sicilian population. No other province of Italy, and almost, we might say, no other region in Europe, has been examined with such thoroughness in this relation, and it is Pitre's intention to write another volume on 'Popular Medicine in Sicily.'—(August 16).—In 'Music and Novels' Enrico Nencione follows the musical

sentiment as pre-eminently displayed in '*I miei racconti*' by E. Panzacchi, and then in the most celebrated works from Diderot to the latest French, German, and English writers.—Concluding his account of '*The Marriage of two Great Souls*,' G. Chiarini asserts the eternal existence of the ideal, which operated in Carlyle to such a high degree. He thinks that though the lives of Thomas and Jane Carlyle were not happy, according to the common way of thinking and speaking, they were, as to what they produced, two great and noble lives, and were those two singular souls to recommence their pilgrimage in this world, they would not, either of them, choose a different mate.—E. Ferri writes at length on the new Penal Code.—F. Bertolini gives an account of two modern illustrious Sicilians, Vincenzo Fardelle de Jorri Arsa, and Michele Amari.—C. F. Ferraris devotes many pages to the consideration of the social operative reforms in Germany, and provision for workmen.—Y. gives an account of the English Bible Society, and its latest report.—The bibliographical bulletin notices Ph. H. Wicksteed's '*Alphabet of Economic Science*,' praising its admirable precision and clearness.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (September 1).—E. Masi has an article on the conspirators of Romagna from 1815 to 1859. Struck by the disorderly mixture of objects and documents exhibited in the Temple of Resurrection at Bologna, he proposed to study a single period and district of Italy, for which he found plenty of material. Among numerous documents the most curious were the autobiographical papers, those worst composed being the most sincere, but even in them it was necessary to divide what was true from what was false, as it is natural to the temperament of conspirators to conceive false views of everything outside their own opinions. A full account is given of all the political conspiracies in the Romagna, and of secret meetings, etc.; the career of Fattiboni, the head of the Carbonare in Cesena, is related.—Dr. Modogliani gives a detailed account of the women of Nias, in which island he sojourned during nine months, acquainting himself with the conditions of the family there.—'G. B.' writes on '*Peace or War!*' concluding that, in one way or another, it is desirable that the present state of armed peace, which is so unfortunate for Italy, should be ended.—L. G. de Cambray-Digny writes on '*Old Economic Sophisms revived in the New Generations*.'—The bibliographical review calls the Rev. Ed. Moore's '*Contribution to the textual criticism of the Divine Commedia*,' a splendid assistance to future works on Dante's immortal poem, a truly theoretical and practical manual, indis-

pensable for all students.—(September 16th).—Luigi Palma concludes his paper on ‘The Constitution of France from 1789.’—De Cambray-Digna concludes his article on ‘Old Economic Sophisms revived in the Modern Generations,’ which is written all in favour of free-trade.—Dr. Galli gives an account of the discovery of the first Ducal palace in Venice, a building of the ninth century, and gives the plan of the old building showing the later additions.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (July 16th).—Signor Grabrinski’s letters, ‘From Italy to Constantinople,’ are concluded, the latter portion being chiefly occupied with Eastern politics.—The letters of General Durando, referring to the campaign in Venice in 1848, are also ended. They throw great light on the events of the time, and complete the memoirs of Marco Minghetti, the two together illustrating the merits of the men who promoted the welfare of Italy during those first days of her resurrection.—The speech of A. Rossi, in which he called the attention of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the subject of Italian schools abroad, is here reprinted.—‘A Catholic’ discusses the consequences of the dissension between Church and State in Italy, expressing his belief that anti-Christian maxims are being rapidly diffused, to the detriment of public morality. Churches are becoming more and more empty; corruption spreads even into the family, and civil marriages, unaccompanied by religious rites, are on the increase, as is the non-baptism of infants. All this is ascribed to the influence of free-masonry, which the writer accuses of fomenting the differences between the State and the Church, of glorifying atheists and apostates, and of persecuting the honest, who are termed enemies of their country.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (August 1).—The most interesting article in this number is a careful study on Giacomo Leopardi, by G. Fortebracci, in which the influence of family circumstances and political conditions on the life and character of that immortal poet are fully set forth.—Follows a political paper by D. Zanichelli, proposing some changes in the study of politics and law.—G. Cassani, in a paper on ‘Human Utopias and the reality of things,’ criticises many pamphlets and articles relating to the question of conciliation between the Italian Government and the Vatican. He proclaims the Church to be divine and perfect, but the men who compose it, he says, abuse the gifts of God, and only God can open their eyes.—Crito reviews a book on ‘Italian Politics,’ by Senator Jacini.—R. Mazzei writes against Free-masonry in Italy.—(Aug. 16).—E. Catellani writes on Samoa, describing Bismarck’s policy.—F. Jacometti criticises Lombroso’s

works on insanity, which he opines are deficient in accurate observation.—G. writes a long article on Shakspeare's predecessors and contemporaries.—A translation of a tale from the Russian *Tarass Boulba* is commenced by L. Falorsi.—F. Foffano contributes a paper on the amorous songs of the eighteenth century, with many quotations.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (September 1).—This number gives a chapter of a book entitled 'Recollections, Traditions, and Legends of the Pisan Mountains,' by N. F. Pelosini, which will be published next year. The chapter gives an account of St. Michael's Abbey.—G. Cassani's articles on Mutual Help Societies are ended.—D. Castania contributes a paper on 'A Learned Monk of the Seventeenth Century,' founded on E. de Broglie's book, *Mabillon et la Société de l'Abbaye de St. Germain des Prés*.—The review of foreign literature notices Wallace's *Darwinism* and Miss Blind's *Ascent of Man*, saying of the latter that the powerfully original and brilliant imagination of the authoress cannot be denied, but that it is too unbridled, and is wanting in that sense of reserve and measure which confers nobleness no less on poetry than on painting and sculpture. Moore's book on the Divine Commedia is noticed with praise, and Miss Hillard's translation of Dante's *Convito* with appreciation, though the critic thinks that the authoress has not taken sufficient advantage of her long residence in Italy to make sure of not committing several mistakes as to facts and dates.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO (for the Neapolitan Province, year 14, issue II.)—The historical notes from the Aragonese chancellery have reached the year 1494, and contain many passages from letters of the king to his mother.—The story of Carlo Martello, by M. Schipa, is continued. His bringing up in the *Castello del Uovo* by two wet nurses is mentioned, and the pensions they received. Among the many castles in which Carlo Martello passed the first ten years of his life one is mentioned, the *Castello di Somma*, of which all trace seems to have disappeared. The preliminaries of the prince's betrothal to Clemence of Hapsburg are minutely related, and her journey to Italy, with the grand reception she met with at Bologna on the 8th January, 1281. From his apartment in *Castello del Uovo*, it is probable that Carlo Martello witnessed the naval combat between the royal ships and those of Ruggiero, and the sack of the houses of the French in the city by the infuriated mob. Carlo was married to Clemence at the early age of sixteen in 1287, and their first child was born in Naples the following year, and was variously called by the names of Carlo Roberto, Carlo Umberto, or

Caroberto. The marriage was accomplished hastily and without any pomp, it seems, as none of the old writers mention its celebration, which fact has given rise to many errors. This portion of the story ends with the liberation and coronation of Charles II., and the elevation of Carlo Martello to be Viceroy of Naples.—The ‘Fragments from a Neapolitan Diary’ of the 17th century are continued. Endless church festivals, canonization of saints, noble marriages or deaths, royal festivals and progresses, and local political events, are noted down from day to day. Brigandage plays a great part; the heads of decapitated chiefs are frequently sent to the city; the whipping through the streets of delinquents is minutely described. Boat-races, rope-dancing, sham sea-fights between Turks and Christians, and assaults of castles built on boats, often take place on occasion of royal excursions by sea to Posilipo. The death of a famous bandit, who had tyrannised the Campagna for three years and a half, is mentioned. His head was sent to Naples on the 13th August, 1672, after he had been dead ten days, carried on a pole, and accompanied by 60 mounted soldiers, with trumpeters marching in front. It was carried all through the city, and then deposited in an iron cage and hung on a tower outside Porta Capuana, a warning to all men. A fellow-brigand, who was taken alive at the same time, was sent to Castel Nuovo to be tortured, with the intent of extracting from him information about the band. A sacrilege committed in one of the churches is related; the thief, surprised, let fall the pyx he had stolen, and the contents were scattered on the ground. When they were picked up, the people licked with their tongues the place on which they had fallen. The thief was condemned to be hung, drawn, and quartered, after which his head and hands were exposed in an iron cage. An eruption of Vesuvius, then called Monte di Soumma, is mentioned as having taken place, with a copious fall of ashes, on the 8th December, 1672; and, at the date of February 2d, 1673, the Diary suddenly ceases, the remainder being missing.

REVISTA DELLE SCIENZE SOCIALE E POLITICHE. (July 1st and 15th and August 1st.)—Contain ‘Elements of quality and elements of quantity in political constitutions,’ by G. Iona.—‘A few lines of a theory of liberty,’ by F. Puglia, treating of a psychological and sociological theory of liberty, the only method, in the writer’s opinion, by which historical laws can be harmonized.—‘Co-operative Banks,’ by A. Marescotti.—‘The civil renewal of Italy,’ by D. Zanichelli, pointing out remedies and aspirations.—‘Napoleon I. in the history of Italy’ by X.—‘Monk and Boulanger’ by G. Boglietti, who points out the analogy between

the political situation of England in 1600 and the actual situation in France.—‘Elections’ by L. Rameri.—The second number for August contains ‘The causes of modern Cæsarism,’ by D. Zanichelli.—‘The new constitution of Servia,’ by G. A. Ruez, and short reviews.

REVISTA DELLE SCIENZE SOCIALE E POLITICHE. (September 1st).—C. de Levi writes on ‘Radicalism in the Government,’ declaring that the division of parties so much to be deplored ought to be studied by political men, but that though dissension may exist between men of the same party, there is no doubt, should the country ever be in real danger, that all the Liberals, forgetting hatred and rancour, would unite under the flag of Italy.—R. de Novellis, in an article on Indemnities to Deputies, disapproves of the emolument of the highest offices in the State, as it easily leads to corruption and the fear of losing place.

ARCHIVIO STORICO LOMBARDO (xvi-i) contains.—‘Andrea Parda of Parma, Dominican Monk,’ by M. Caffi, with many epigraphs, among them one improvised at the funeral of Vincenzo Monti.—‘An Embassy of Father Gian to Rome in 1841,’ by P. Ghinzoni, illustrating the story of that mysterious Abyssinian personage.—‘Fra Sabba of Castiglioni and his Recollections,’ by J. Massaroli, an excellent biographical study.—‘The inedited letters of Bernardo Bellincioni, called in 1492, ‘the father of the Italian Muse,’ by P. Ghinzoni.—etc.

GIORNALE STORICA DELLA LETTERATURA ITALIANA (Fasciculi 40-41) contains:—‘The Estense Library in the first half of the fifteenth century,’ by A. Cappelli.—‘The Parma Codex 1081,’ by E. Costa.—‘A little known episode in the life of Aonio Paleario,’ by G. Sforza, who says that this episode, Paleario’s election to master of literature in Lucca, has never been extracted from the Lucchese archives by Paleario’s many biographers, so that, as to this period, their works are wanting and often inexact.—‘The sources of the *Cortigiano*,’ by L. Valmazzi.—‘The manuscript of Torquato Tasso falsified by Count Mariano Alberti,’ by Angelo Solerti.—‘Mysteries and Sacred Plays,’ by A. D’Ancona.—The literary reviews in this number are copious and interesting.

ARCHIVIO PER LO STUDIO DELLE TRADIZIONE POPOLARE (viii-3-4) contains:—‘The Carnival in the Lucchese Province,’ by G. Giannini.—‘Carlo V. in Sicilian legend,’ by S. Salomone-Marino.—‘Sardinian poetry in the dialect,’ by F. Mango.—‘The tradition of Attila in Friuli,’ by M. Leicht.—‘The Flagellants in Ceccano,’ by C. Bragaglia.

ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO. (Issue 3 for 1889).—N. F. Faraglia writes an interesting paper on men of letters at the Court of Robert of Anjou, and specially on Barbato, the intimate friend of Petrarch. The writer points out several errors concerning Barbato, in Voigt's work on the first century of Humanism. Barbato was a notary of the Ducal Treasury, receiving the modest salary of 18 francs (modern money) a month. The first mention of him is in 1327. His friendship with Petrarch was encouraged by Robert of Anjou himself. The article bristles with notes and historical facts, and describes Petrarch's influence on the revival of poetry in Naples. Barbato was very industrious in collecting, from far and near, all that Petrarch had ever written. When Barbato was an old man, his last great pleasure was in receiving a visit from Boccaccio, who went from Naples to Salmona on purpose to see him. Barbato's will, written in Latin, is added at the close of the article. It is dated 8 September, 1368, and the testator died soon after.—P. Berti gives a complete description of the Archives of the Commune of Fano, and its recent re-arrangement.—A. Gherardi and D. Catellacci give a full list of all Cesare Guasti's published works, which list occupies no less than 53 pages of the magazine.

FRANCE.

REVUE UNIVERSELLE ILLUSTRÉE (July, August, September).—There is no lack of readable matter, both grave and gay, in the three numbers for this quarter. In the July instalment of his 'Nancy,' M. Gaston d'Hamières deals with the artists connected with the city. The list of celebrities is an imposing one, and includes such names as those of Callot, Claude Lorrain, and Israel Silvestre, of each of whom a very satisfactory sketch is given.—An article specially devoted to the Paris Exhibition gives an account of the fairy fountains and of the electric lighting of the Eiffel Tower.—Villequier and Saint-Wandrille are the two Norman villages about which M. Valabrègue chats very pleasantly in his 'Notes de Voyage.' One at least of these names will be familiar to most readers, being associated with the catastrophe which deprived Victor Hugo of his daughter, Léopoldine, on the 4th of September, 1843.—M. P. Morin contributes an article of considerable merit on the Greek sculptor Phidias, and M. Louis Martin a few pages on John Dryden.—Clodion, Grandville, and Isabey take up most of the 'Nancy' sketch in the August number, in which the series is brought to a close.—In a somewhat similar paper M. Alfred Leroux takes the reader through

'a very old province of France,' that of Limousin.—M. Jean Locquart goes somewhat further afield for another descriptive sketch, in which he gives some very interesting details concerning the Algerian tribe of the Aissouas.—But the August part reserves, for the end of its table of contents, what for many readers will be the most interesting item, a sketch of Dr. Charcot, accompanied by a portrait of the eminent professor.—The September part brings a continuation of the 'English Sketches' begun some months back. This, and a paper on ornamental tiles, take up most of the space not devoted to fiction or the inevitable Exhibition article.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (July, August, September).—In all the numbers the contributions are particularly solid, and suited rather to specialists than to the general reader. M. Evellin heads the table of contents with a paper which he entitles 'De la possibilité d'une méthode dans la science du réel,' and in which the problem proposed for solution is the possibility 'of reaching being in its essence, and of affirming as inherent to this essence some of its principal attributes.' Or, to put the question in other words, 'can a thing, in itself, be known, and if it can, in what direction, to what extent, and by what means?'—This is followed by a paper by M. Ch. Féré, 'L'énergie et la Vitesse des mouvements volontaires.' He divides his subject into three parts, directing his investigations first to the case of hysterical, then of epileptic, and lastly of normal subjects.—The third of the *articles de fonds* in the July number is the conclusion of M. Paulham's study, 'L'Abstraction et les idées abstraites.'—The August part has but two set articles, and one of these is an examination and criticism of M. Delboeuf's system of biology. The other is the first instalment of a paper on 'Logical categories and social institutions.'—In addition to these, under the heading of 'Notes and Documents,' there is a contribution towards the study of pain in hysterical subjects, as well as the account, given by M. L. Belugon of Helen A. Keller.—The third of the quarter's numbers brings the last part of M. Tarde's 'Catégories logiques et Institutions Sociales.' It also contains the first instalment of an essay on the Spanish philosopher, Gomez Pereira, and lastly, a paper by M. Ch. Bénard, who takes for his subject 'La mimique dans le Système des Beaux-Arts.'

L'ART (July, August, September).—All the numbers for this quarter are again largely, in some cases exclusively, taken up with the Exhibition. The first contribution coming under this heading is M. Hustin's 'Les Peintres du centenaire,' which runs through all the numbers. Others are 'l'Aquarelle depuis un Siècle' and 'Un siècle de Gravure.' There is, further, a notice

of the section devoted to the retrospective exhibition of objects of Art, and a description of the places of amusement.—Besides these, the most important contribution is M. Eugène Müntz's account of an artistic competition in the sixteenth century. The competitors were Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci, and the two productions thus brought together were 'The War of Pisa' of the former, and 'The Battle of Anghiari' of the latter. The very interesting study, accompanied with numerous sketches, which the eminent art-critic devotes to this episode, ends in the second of the July parts.—M. Hustin's 'Troyon' will be useful to collectors of this master's pictures, for it is a list of all the works sold by auction in 1866, together with the price fetched by each painting.—In the number bearing the date of the 15th September, M. Müntz again appears in a short notice, which he devotes to the anonymous artist known as 'The Master of the Death of the Virgin.' The substance of M. Müntz's communication is that, in the Brussels Museum, he has discovered three productions which he believes to be from the same hand.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (July, August, September).—Here, as everywhere, the Exhibition claims its place in the table of contents. In each of the six numbers before us it has its twenty or thirty pages, of which the writer is no less a personage than the youngest member of the French Academy, Viscount Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé. This of course means, that taken together the articles now make up as interesting a guide, and will later be as valuable a memorial of the world's show, as could be offered to the public. Of these most readable papers it must here suffice to indicate the several titles. They are, 1st, The Gates and the Tower; 2nd, Architecture, Fairy Fountains, Globe; 3rd, The Machinery Section; 4th, The Liberal Arts, The History of Labour; 5th, Various Industries; 6th, The Colonies.—Going back to the first of the July parts the first contribution which demands notice is another of M. Gaston Boissier's scholarly studies in ecclesiastical history. His subject is here that quaint, it might almost be said, that mysterious production of Tertullian's, about which so many conjectures and theories have been started, 'de Pallio.'—M. Gabriel Hanotaux, whose name we do not remember to have seen before in the *Revue's* table of contents, makes his appearance with an excellent historical essay, 'The Youth of Richelieu.' Of the two parts into which the study is divided, the former includes the period from 1585 to 1608, the second from that date to 1614, when the future Cardinal, then Bishop of Luçon, appeared as a Deputy at the States-General.

an article which cannot fail to interest, though it will scarcely edify, English readers.—In the first three of the six numbers, M. Anatole France has a very powerful piece of work which he entitles ‘Thais,’ and calls a ‘philosophical story.’—M. Joseph Texte, another new-comer, if we mistake not, writes well and thoughtfully about John Keats, whom he looks upon as the ‘most pagan poet of this century.’—An anonymous political article, entitled, ‘France, Italy, and the Triple Alliance,’ closes with a sentence which suffices to indicate the spirit in which it is written. Referring to Italy the author says: ‘May God bring her back to a true sense of her own interests; that is the only prayer I offer up for her.’—The number for the first of August contains an article worthy of special attention. It is written by M. Ernest Havet, whose object is to prove that the prophetic books of the Bible were not written in the eighth, the seventh, and the sixth century before our era, on the occasion of the catastrophes which brought about the destruction of the kingdoms of Israel and of Judah, but only towards the end of the second century, after the struggle with the Greek kings of Syria.—As bearing the signature of M. Renan the ‘Examen de Conscience philosophique,’ with which the second of the August numbers opens, is worthy of attention. To what extent it is likely to satisfy most readers will appear from the conclusion which, in the author’s own words, is as follows: ‘The existence of a superior conscience in the universe is much more probable than individual immortality. For our hopes in this respect we have no other foundation than the great presumption of the goodness of the Supreme Being. Everything will, one day, be possible to Him. Let us hope that He will then be willing to be just, and that He will give back feeling and life to those who have contributed to the triumph of good. It will be a miracle. But miracles, that is to say, the intervention of a Superior Being, which do not now take place, may, some day, when God has become conscious (*quand Dieu sera conscient*), be the normal government of the universe. . . . The world, now governed by a blind or powerless conscience, may some day be governed by a more deliberate conscience (*par une conscience plus réfléchie*). Every injustice will then be remedied, all tears will be dried. *Absterget Deus omnem lacrymam ab oculis eorum.*’ The numbers for September show a varied and excellent table of contents. Amongst the more important items may be mentioned the essay which M. Emile Gebhart devotes to Saint Catherine of Sienna, whose life is one of the most striking pages in the history of the Papacy, ‘whose genius, whose gentle obstinacy, solved in the fourteenth

century, at the most painful period of the Italian Middle-Ages, the eternal Roman question,' and who succeeded 'in the attempt in which the two great idealists of the peninsula, Dante and Petrarch, had lamentably failed.—M. C. de Varigny contributes a paper on 'Marriage and Divorce in the United States,' into which, besides an abundance of instructive details directly connected with his subject, he introduces, as episodes, some very interesting sketches as, for example, that of Bell Starr's career.—The lately published 'Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris' supplies M. Auguste Laugel with materials for a very readable essay, in which he deals more particularly with Morris's reminiscences of his stay in France.—Of the remaining articles it will suffice to mention 'Beethoven's Youth' by M. T. de Wyzewa, 'Comedy in France in the 18th century,' bearing the signature of M. G. Lanson, and an anonymous article, 'Cavalry in Modern Warfare.'

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (July, August, September).—In all but three of the dozen numbers before us the Paris Exhibition appears, leaving a more limited space than usual for papers of more general interest. Among these, however, we find several which will fully repay perusal. In the first number M. Raphael Chandos gives a description of the graphophone, an improved form of Edison's phonograph.—This is followed by the report of a lecture, in which M. P. Gallois gives an instructive account of all that modern science has been able to do towards the suppression of contagious diseases.—Under the general heading of 'Public Works' five papers call for notice. The first of these is contributed by M. J. Hardmeyer, and contains a description of the railway in course of construction on Mount Pilatus, near Lucerne. In the next M. A. Palaz writes on the subject of 'Inter-urban and sub-marine Telephony,' and examines more particularly into the obstacles which have hitherto prevented the adoption of telephonic cables. In 'La Navigation Intérieure en 1889,' a lecture delivered at the Exhibition, M. J. Fleury gives an account of the various improvements introduced into canalization, and the results arrived at during the last hundred years. In a paper closely connected with this M. L. Le Chatelier describes the various processes which have been devised with a view to simplifying the towing on canals by the adoption of a cable. Finally another Exhibition lecture, delivered before one of the international congresses by M. Teheng Ki Tong, details what has been done in China towards 'the utilisation of water' for purposes both of transport and irrigation.—Demography and Ethnography are each represented by two papers. Their

titles are, 'A Statistical History of the Population of France,' 'The Individuality of Rural Communes,' 'The Indigenous Populations of the West Coast of Africa,' and 'The Ancient Monuments of Persia.' The last, and, for the general reader, most interesting of these, is a description of the palace of Darius. —There are two chemical papers. One of them, by M. Mendeleiew, has for its object to reconcile the atomic theory with the dynamism of Newton. The other is a translation of a lecture delivered by Mr. Crookes before the Chemical Society in London, on 'The Spectroscopic characteristics of Simple Bodies.' —A sketch of the various expeditions to the North Pole, and an account of Dr. Nansen's journey through Greenland, are the only contributions to the geographical section, but both are excellent reading.—The single physiological paper is from M. Charles Richet, who records various examples of long fasting.—As miscellaneous articles, under the heading 'Variétés,' there are several contributions, amongst which the most noteworthy are 'L'élevage et la domestication de l'Autruche,' 'Les bestiaux de l'Argentine et le transport des viandes conservées par le froid,' 'La flotte Anglaise,' 'La Science de l'hérédité,' 'La taille des grands singes.'

REVUE DU MONDE LATIN (July, August, September).—Through these three numbers runs a still unfinished sketch by M. Léon Marlet, of the life and character of Le Comte de Montgomery (1520-1574). This notable French nobleman is still remembered by the British schoolboy as the unlucky cavalier who broke lances with Francis I. when the latter met his death accidentally at a tournament held in honour of the marriage of his son Francis with Mary Queen of Scots. Of the part which the Earl subsequently took in the great Huguenot struggle under Henry II. and Charles IX., M. Marlet gives abundant details laboriously collected from all manner of dusty tomes and State papers.—The title of M. Maurice Jollivet's study, 'Un Roi de Corse au Dix-huitième Siècle,' will to most readers be a little startling, for in the bustle of making history for ourselves few will recollect that Theodore de Neuhoff—who, by the way, was born at Metz in 1692, and not in 1690, as most of his biographers have recorded—was the first and only King of Corsica. His career is narrated at considerable length from new 'documents,' by M. Jollivet, but it is only necessary to mention here that he came to England, was imprisoned in the King's Bench prison for debt, and died in Soho in 1756. The following epitaph for a tablet over his grave in St. Anne's churchyard, Dean Street, was penned by the Earl of Oxford:—

'The grave, great teacher! to a level brings
 Heroes and beggars, galley-slaves and kings.
 But Theodore this moral learned ere dead;
 Fate poured its lesson on his living head,
 Bestow'd a kingdom and denied him bread.'

—In the way of fiction, M. Vedel contributes 'Marcel Meyran,' an interesting novelette; while in the section 'Variétés,' we have a Breton tale, 'The Enchanted Pines,' a short sketch of Roumanian literature, and a story, 'The Treasure of Rarao,' which seems to indicate that Roumanian fiction is still in its earliest stages.—Among other noticeable articles are 'The Eiffel Tower and other metallic structures of the Exhibition,' by M. Berget; 'The Life and Conspiracy of Messire Stefano Porcari,' by M. Rodoconacei, which carries us back to 1443 and the troubled days of Pope Eugenius IV.; 'The Last Years of Stendhal,' by M. Louis Farges; and an appreciative word about the Catholic critic and novelist, Jules Barbey D'Aureville, whose *Prêtre Marié*, *L'Ensorcelée*, and *Chevalier des Touches*, are more easily defended on the ground of art than on that of Catholicism. As usual, a variety of interesting though mainly ephemeral matters are recorded in the sections devoted to politics, finance, fashion, and the theatre.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (April-June, 1889).—M. G. Halévy here concludes his critical examination of the sources from which the story of the persecution of the Christians by the Jewish King of Himyar, Dhoul Nouwas, has been derived, and which has been very generally credited. He sets himself here to bring out still further the inconsistencies of these sources with established facts, with each other, and with themselves, and in this way endeavours to bring the whole story into disrepute.—M. Isidore Loeb gives us next the text, with an historic preface, and accompanied with explanatory notes and references, of a special Report on the 'Blood Accusation' against Jews, prepared by Cardinal Ganganelli for Pope Benedict XIV., in 1759. It was discovered recently in the archives of the Israelitic community in Rome by Dr. A. Berliner, and was published by him last year. The Report was a very elaborate one, examining into all the charges seriatim that had been made against the Jews of this nature from the period of the thirteenth century up to that in Poland in 1756 which occasioned this investigation. The Report exonerated the Jews from such gross and absurd accusations, and led to the Jews being specially protected in Poland by Augustus III.—M. Loeb brings here also to a conclusion his papers on 'the Christian and Jewish polemical writers in France and Spain.'—M. J. Guttmann examines the writings of Guillaume d'Auvergne,

Bishop of Paris in the early half of the thirteenth century, and a bitter enemy of the Jews. M. Guttmaun shows that the Bishop's knowledge of Jewish literature, of which he was always making a parade, was got at second hand from Latin translations, and was not from the original sources.—There are numerous short articles and notes in this number on subjects of great interest to students of Jewish history, archæology, and epigraphy, and a brief correspondence between Professor Graetz and M. Th. Reinach on the coins of, or supposed to be of Barcocheba. The paper, however, to which most readers of this *Revue* will turn first is that entitled 'Le Talmud,' because of the repute of its author, and the sad interest now attaching to it by his early and lamented death. It is from the pen of the late Arsène Darmesteter. It is an elaborate study of the Talmud, its history, contents, and value, and conveys a large amount of information (not unmixed of course with speculation, but learned and sensible speculation), which will be welcomed by Talmudic scholars and by all who interest themselves in the moods and movements of human thought.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3 1889).—M. A. Barth continues his 'Bulletin des Religions de l'Inde,' which was begun in last number. The first part of his 'bulletin' enumerated and reviewed the works that have appeared within the last four years bearing on the Vedas and on Brahmanism, and here he notices those that have been issued within the same period relating to Buddhism, Jainism, and Hinduism. The more important works are, of course, dealt with at greater length, but those even of least importance are favoured with at least a note, even the publications of the Theosophical Society are not overlooked.—Under the title, 'Moïse et le Jahvisme,' M. Ch. Piepenbring follows up his previous study on the primitive religion of the Hebrews, and now seeks to show how that early polytheism, which he regards as the primitive form of the Israelite religion, gave place to purer and more spiritual conceptions of God and worship, until it reached the monotheistic and ethical Jahvism of the great prophets. The stages of this progress he has already traced in his well known work 'Theologie de l'Ancien Testament,' but he seeks here to put in evidence chiefly the testimony of the oldest laws and documents of the Bible to the genesis of the change in the person and work of Moses himself.—M. Paul Regnaud's lecture delivered on the occasion of the opening of the series of lectures in connection with the Musée Guimet, and by which they were so to speak inaugurated, follows next in order. It is on 'the Reg-Veda and the origins of Indo-European

Mythology.—M. Cl. Huart gives a descriptive account of a curious and horrible custom to be witnessed in Constantinople in connection with a Persian sect located there—a procession of flagellants.—M. G. Baldensperger closes in this number a series of articles with an excellent summary of the seven volumes of Louis Leblois' work, 'Les Bibles et les initiateurs religieux de l'humanité.' The usual interesting 'chronique' of the two months May and June; 'Depouillement des Periodiques,' and 'Bibliographie' follow.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS. No. 3. 1889.—M. R. P. Van den Gheyn continues his criticism of Professor Tiele's 'Manual,' or 'Outlines of the History of Ancient Religions.' He takes up here the passages devoted to the Eranian Religion, and to the influence which M. Tiele alleges it exercised on Judaism, and, through it, on Christianity. He deals specially with three points, (1), that the Jews were attracted to Parsism by its moral tendencies; (2), that the doctrine of good and evil spirits was derived from, or owed its development among the Jews after the Exile to Mazdeism; and (3), that Jewish eschatology was influenced powerfully by it. Each of these points is discussed here with much minuteness, and the conclusion come to is that, where similarity of beliefs really existed, it arose from the Persians borrowing from the Jews, but that the similarity is not so great as M. Tiele imagines.—M. Petitot, for many years a missionary priest in north-west Canada, gives a very interesting account of what he calls the 'Theogony' of the Red Skin tribes called the Dana, in whose territories he lived and laboured. He describes their ideas and beliefs, their rites and practices bearing on supernatural powers, and so furnishes a valuable contribution to 'folk-lore' as well as to religious history proper.—The Editor continues his description of the progress of the Science of Religions in the various Universities and seats of higher education, under the same title as before, 'Le Musée Guimet, etc.' After enumerating the chairs and magazines connected with this science, which are of a more or less rationalistic character, he gives us an account of what has been, and is being, done by the Roman Catholic Church, and by individuals to counteract the teaching of that school, and to present the facts of religious history in the light of Catholic convictions and beliefs.—M. l'Abbé de Broglie resumes his article on 'Les Origines de l'Islamisme,' begun in number 1 of this *Revue*. Here he vindicates the claims of Mohammed to be the creator of this religious system, against the assertion of Dr. Sprenger, who regards him as but the agent through whom the forces existing in Arabia then acted.

REVUE CELTIQUE (July).—In the sixth volume of this *Revue*, M. Cerquand published an article under the title ‘Taranous et Thor,’ in which he dealt with the myths relating to the two deities as found in the mythologies of Scandinavia and Gaul. In the May of last year he died somewhat suddenly at Avignon of heart disease, and among his papers was found a further contribution on the same subject, bearing the words, ‘Pour remettre à M. Gaidoz.’ This paper is here printed as it was left by its learned author, with the addition of a few necessary corrections and an introductory note, in which M. Gaidoz pays a tribute of respect to the learning and memory of his fellow labourer and dead friend. The paper is of considerable interest, and is devoted to establishing the identity between Taranis of the Gauls and Thor of the Norsemen, and also to tracing the influence of the ideas which had gathered around the former in the Christian Church of Gaul.—M. H. d’Arbois de Jubainville follows with a note on the proper name ‘Atteia.’—M. H. de la Villemarqué contributes eight more ‘Anciens noels bretons’ with translations.—M. Nettleau continues his notes on the Welsh consonants.—In ‘The Fer Diad Episode of the Tain Bo Cuailnge,’ the same writer continues his controversy with Professor Zimmer, and contests a number of the conclusions that writer has arrived at.—The notes under the heading ‘Mélanges’ are with two exceptions from the pen of M. Loth. The most important is on several Armorican place names.—In the ‘Bibliographie,’ Kuno Meyer criticises somewhat severely Professor Zimmer’s ‘Celtic Contributions’ which appeared in the 32nd volume of the *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum*; the appearance of the second and final volume of M. Loth’s translation of the Mabinogion is noticed, and M. N. Quellien’s volume entitled *Chansons et Danses des Bretons*, and the editor reviews H. van Gelder’s work on the Gauls in Greece and Asia.—The ‘Chronique’ contains as usual an abundance of notes interesting to Celtic students. Among other things, mention is made of the forthcoming re-issue of Campbell’s *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (July).—contains the first of a series of sketches from Hungarian poetry by A. S. C. Wallis. Petöfi, of whose romantic life and death an outline is given, was the son of a country butcher. He tried play-acting at which he proved a failure, then enlisted as a soldier, and at last found his true vocation as poet. Finally he fell in a fight with the Russians,

who had been called in to aid Austria in suppressing Hungary. He was above all a patriot, and his most popular song—the Hungarian Marsellaise—had great influence in rousing the national spirit. A man of passionate feelings, love, hatred, doubt, despair, are vividly impressed on his poems, but he is totally wanting in dramatic power. Patriotism inspired his best verses, and his mysterious death on the battlefield—his corpse was never found—added to his fame. Many of his lyrical pieces are wild and sweet, like Hungarian music, fragments are well rendered in Miss Wallis's translations.—Mr. De Beaufort has an article on the death of the Stadtholder William II., often attributed to poison, but this he considers, in the highest degree doubtful, evidence being in existence of the prince's very critical state of health previous to death; and quarrels in the family being sufficient to account for the rumours of poison.—Dr. Koster treats the same subject from a medical point of view, showing that the symptoms chronicled were neither those of lung disease nor smallpox, but leaves the cause of death an open question.—Holwerda has a paper on the founding of German antiquarian research (Winckelman, Wolff, Niebuhr) philosophically treated.—A painter-poet of the sixteenth century is Van de Venne of Middelburg, ample quotations from whose poems show how graphically he could depict with pen, as he did with pencil and colours, the life of his century; the introduction of tobacco draws forth some of his most caustic lines.

DE GIDS (September).—The works of Richard Jefferies are appreciatively reviewed by G. Carelsen, who points out that his extremely delicate perception of natural beauty was perhaps the cause of his want of sympathy with the mass of his kind, and of his unsociability, a defect often seen in great musicians.—Two dramas of Ibsen, 'Ghosts' and 'A Sea Wife,' are reviewed by Van Hall. The painful and repulsive plot of the former cannot be justified even for the sake of the chief motive, heredity, and the conclusion settles nothing. In the latter, an extremely fantastic play, the man with chameleon eyes is an absurdity impossible on the stage, and here also, the conclusion, though it seems satisfactory, really solves none of the problems raised. In both plays not the vaguest suggestion is offered of a substitute for duty in the marriage relation, unless it be the ridiculous one of free love. In reading, one is attracted and often struck by the ideas, though more often they rouse opposition; but the personages of the drama are all felt to be more or less puppets, with Ibsen behind them. Though there are scenes, as in Act I. of the Sea Wife, admirable

for realistic detail and psychological analysis, it is felt to be highly absurd that simple Norwegian villagers and citizens of small towns should be airing ultra-radical social notions. It becomes oppressive, and even dull. The plays do not possess the charm and enlightenment which a truly great drama or tragedy never fails to impart.—‘Isaiah in Rhyme’ is a Dutch rendering of the whole prophecies as they stand in the A.V., by Jonckbloot, a Jesuit priest of Maastricht, whose poetic fire and rich diction is highly commended.—‘Deaf Mutes in Amsterdam,’ is an account of what is being done there and in Holland generally for these unfortunates, with a description of improved methods of education. Holland is, as regards these, seemingly not abreast of this country.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Essays on the Work entitled Supernatural Religion. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., D.C.L., etc., Bishop of Durham. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1889.

A Reply to Dr. Lightfoot's Essays. By the Author of ‘Supernatural Religion.’ London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1889.

The contents of these two volumes have already appeared under other forms. Those of the first were contributed, as many will doubtless remember, in the shape of articles to the pages of the *Contemporary Review*, while those of the other are reprinted here partly from the *Fortnightly Review* and partly from the sixth and complete edition of *Supernatural Religion*. As the titles indicate, both volumes are purely controversial. One effect of their publication will probably be to revive an interest in the work to which they refer. The object of that work, it will be remembered, was to demonstrate that miracles are not only highly improbable but antecedently incredible. Dividing it into three parts, the author endeavoured in the first to deal with the philosophical aspects of his subject, and in the second and third with the historical, aiming here at showing that the Gospels not only do not afford sufficient evidence to warrant belief in what he had already declared to be incredible, but also that there is no certain trace even of their existence for a century and a half after the miracles they record are stated to have occurred. The first or philosophical part of the work Dr. Lightfoot leaves aside and deals with the second and third parts in which the four Gospels are examined and the attempt made to prove, chiefly from an investigation into the testimonies as to their authenticity and genuineness, that they are devoid of evidence sufficient to satisfy us of their date and origin. His essays are in all nine. The arguments turn for the most part on the interpretation to be placed on the statements of ancient ecclesiastical writers. Among the subjects treated are ‘The Silence of Eusebius,’ the ‘Ignatian Epistles,’ ‘Polycarp of Smyrna,’ ‘Papias of Hieropolis,’ ‘The

Late School of St. John,' 'The Churches of Gaul' and 'Tatian's Diatesaron.' Among the charges brought against the author of *Supernatural Religion* are those of wrong rendering of several passages, and misapprehension of their significance. In the second volume the author of *Supernatural Religion* endeavours to meet the charges brought against him by the Bishop of Durham, and, while acknowledging that in some things of minor importance he was wrong, he maintains that his main argument is untouched.

History of the Mongols from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century.

Part III. The Mongols of Persia. By HENRY HOWORTH, M.P., etc. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1888.

Mr. Howorth here continues his learned and laborious work with exemplary patience and skill. A history of the Mongols is not to be lightly undertaken nor easily achieved. Lying outside the beaten track of scholars it possesses the attraction of novelty and affords an opportunity for winning distinction, which is to be found in few other departments of historical research. But, on the other hand, the difficulties it presents are immense. The wealth of materials for it is embarrassing, and the task of bringing together the various chronicles and of reconciling the different versions of the same tale as told by imaginative story-tellers is exceedingly toilsome. Mr. Howorth, however, is possessed of unlimited patience and continues his way through what he fitly terms 'the great tangled jungle' of Eastern history with unabated courage and a zeal which is admirable. The details into which he enters are often extremely minute, and one is often inclined to ask whether after all they are worth relating. One result of this careful attention to detail is that the story is extremely intricate, so much so indeed that in the absence of a good map and the frequent occurrence of strange names, both of individuals and of places, it is often with the utmost difficulty that one can tell how the narrative is progressing or keep hold of its main thread. Mr. Howorth, however, is not writing for those who read for amusement, but for students. His purpose too is not to produce a final work, but to gather together materials and to prepare the way for others. That he has succeeded in this it is impossible to doubt. His work reads more like a chronicle than a history, and those who are in search of facts rather than reflections or philosophy will find them here in abundance. Every page and every sentence is packed full of matter, and in his anxiety to make his narrative as detailed as possible, and to omit no piece of information at his command, Mr. Howorth has left himself no space to indulge in the luxury of style. This is perhaps to be regretted, for the subject is, as need hardly be said, highly capable of artistic treatment, and there is abundant evidence that but for the restraint he has rigidly imposed upon himself he might have written a much more brilliant narrative than he has, though with the result probably of making his work much less useful for the student and for the purpose he has had in view. In the volume before us Mr. Howorth takes up the story of the Mongols immediately after the death of Jingis Khan and confines himself to writing the history of their conquest and government of Persia. The period covered is about a hundred years. In the first chapter an elaborate account is given of the sons of Khuarem Shah Muhammed, and of the efforts of the Mongols under Charmaghan, the general of Ogotai, Jingis Khan's successor, to effect the conquest of the kingdom. Then follow a couple of chapters describing the subjugation of the country by Khulagu, the fifth son of Jingis Khan's youngest son Tului. When in 1251, at his brother Mangu's bidding, he undertook his famous campaign.

Khulagu was thirty-five years old. He began by directing a force of 12,000 men against the famous community of Mohammedan schismatics known as Ismaelites or Assassins, subject to the so-called Old Man of the Mountain. Afterwards he appeared on the scene himself and prosecuted the war with ruthless vigour until he had made himself absolute master of the country. A mere nomad chief, he shared his grandfather's hatred for civilization and town life. His army was a mere plundering horde, carrying ruin and havoc wherever it went. He not only swept away the Assassins; he compelled the petty princes of Kerman, Luristan, Yezd, and Fars to do homage, and destroyed Baghdad and its famous line of pontiff rulers, the Abbassidan Khalifs. Next to Khulagu, the two most prominent figures among the Mongols in Persia are Abaka Khan and Ghazan Khan. The first married Maria, the daughter of the Greek Emperor, Michael Palaeologus, and corresponded with Pope Clement IV. He is said to have been a prudent and prosperous ruler, fortunate in all things save that he failed to become a Christian, and in suppressing the growing power of Egypt. His reign was coincident with a very flourishing period in Eastern literature. Among his *protégés* was the famous astronomer Nasir ud din, of Tus. Ghazan was one of the most remarkable sovereigns the East has produced. Rashid ud din, the great historian, has celebrated his virtues as a ruler, and the Byzantine historian Pachymeres speaks of him with no stinted praise. A vigorous and prudent ruler, he introduced many reforms and corrected many abuses. Humane and just, he seems to have been greatly given to the society of learned men and philosophers. His reign, we are told, was famous as the acme of the literary culture of the Persian Mongols. He became a Mussulman, and, though a Mongol by birth, was a great builder and left many monuments. As might be expected, many of Mr. Howorth's pages are taken up with the narrative of feuds, insurrections and wars; but many others of them are devoted to the social condition of the people, and, as in the chapters on the last named sovereign, to their political or governmental institutions. Some of the most interesting passages in the volume are those in which the connection of the Persian Mongols with the Governments of Europe is shown. In appearance Mr. Howorth's volume is formidable, but those who will take the trouble to peruse it will find much in it both to entertain and to instruct them.

Rogers and his Contemporaries. By P. W. CLAYDEN. 2 vols. London: Smith Elder & Co. 1889.

Mr. Clayden has done what was expected; he has cleared Rogers of many unjust aspersions which were cast upon him by people who knew nothing about him, but which were nevertheless widely circulated, often repeated, and generally believed. This was done in a measure some time ago by a writer in the *Quarterly*, but the mass of evidence which Mr. Clayden has here set forth is overwhelming, and we ought to hear no more of them. Rogers was not a great poet, but his writings are pleasing, and whatever may be the case with them now, they were once exceedingly popular. But it is not so much as a poet that he will be remembered, as for the position he occupied in literary and general society, and for the influence he had upon it. A great man he can scarcely be called. Just as in poetry he cannot possibly be rated higher than among the poets of the second order, so among those whose lives have told upon society, he cannot be assigned a place among the foremost. There was nothing at all of the heroic about him, and, except on one occasion, when his fortune seemed on the point of vanishing, he was never, so far as we know, placed in any exceptionally trying position. He may have been

made of heroic material, but he never showed it ; nor was he called to do so : fortune dealt kindly with him and treated him as one of her favourites. On the other hand, the many and subtle temptations incident to such a position he had the good sense to resist, and though neither heroic, nor great, he was certainly considerate and kindly, a man of exquisite taste, generous and actively philanthropic, with a rare faculty of making and keeping friends. He was born at Stoke Newington, of a Worcestershire dissenting family, on the 30th of July 1763, was brought up chiefly under the influence of the famous Dr. Price, began to dabble in poetry while yet young and entered his father's banking establishment as a clerk. In 1784 he became a partner in the business, and in 1793, on the death of his father, the head of the firm. Ten years later, when he was just forty years of age, he retired from business and settled down to bachelor life in his beautiful house in St. James's Place. It is at this point that Mr. Clayden takes up the story of Rogers' life in the two volumes before us, which, as it is perhaps unnecessary to say, are a continuation of the volume which he published a couple of years ago, entitled 'The Early Life of Samuel Rogers.' The interest attaching to all the volumes, but more especially the latter two, is great and wide. They cover the first half of the present century—a period which, as Mr. Clayden points out, 'included the Gordon Riots and the repeal of the Corn Laws, the French Revolution and the Great Exhibition, and linked together Fox and Sheridan and Windham and Lord Grenville with Sir Robert Peel and Earl Russell and Mr. Gladstone'; while the contemporaries referred to on the title-page form 'such a group' to use again the words of Mr. Clayden, 'of poets and wits and artists and literary men and men of great conversational powers, as the world had never seen before and has not witnessed since.' Still, the central figure of the volumes, as he was of the brilliant circle of wits who frequented his house, is Rogers, and it is for their presentation of him that they will be read. The plan which Mr. Clayden has adopted in them is one which will commend itself for its wisdom as well as for its effectiveness. He has written no special defence of Rogers, neither has he attempted to write a 'brilliant narrative.' 'I have tried to show,' he tells us, 'what was the kind of society of which Rogers was the centre, and what was the impression he made on his friends and acquaintances.' And this he has done by drawing largely upon Rogers' letters and the correspondence and diaries of his friends. Among the diaries large use has been made of Moore's, and among other sources the admirable chapter of 'Reminiscences' contributed to the *Quarterly* has been freely cited. The result is Rogers as he was known to his friends, and as he lived and acted among men is shown to have been very different from the Rogers represented by Lady Morgan and Mr. Dyce. Even Mr. Hayward's article on him, kindly and appreciative as it was, is shown to have been wrong in one important particular. Lights are also thrown on other characters. Especially is this the case with Wordsworth. Mr. Clayden has also the credit of solving a mystery in regard to Sheridan's income, which has been a puzzle to all previous writers. On pp. 139-141 of the first volume he shows that Sheridan was in possession of a considerable amount of landed property, and was deriving a fair revenue from it. That the volumes contain many capital anecdotes and witty sayings we need hardly say, and almost as unnecessary is it to say that, while full of intensely interesting reading, they are an excellent contribution to the literary and social history of the period they cover.

Thomas Poole and his Friends. By Mrs. HENRY SANDFORD.
2 Vols. London and New York : Macmillan & Co., 1888.

Mrs. Sandford's volumes are a welcome contribution to a department of

literature, which, as she very truly remarks, is at once interesting and incomplete. Mr. Thomas Poole was the friend of Coleridge, Wordsworth, Southey and Charles Lamb, of the Wedgewoods, and of many of their most eminent contemporaries. Coleridge styles him his 'very, very dear friend,' and though he was never so intimate with Wordsworth as he was with Coleridge, their intimacy was great and lasting. It was through Poole, though against his advice, that Coleridge settled for a time at Nether Stowey. Coleridge's settlement there, again, brought Wordsworth to Alfoxden; and it was whilst the one was residing at Alfoxden and the other at Nether Stowey that the 'Ancient Mariner' was written. Poole's father, a tanner at Nether Stowey, intended him for business, and though he showed a decided inclination to study, refused to give him aught but the most rudimentary education. The relations between the two were in a measure strained; the father sneering at the son's desire for learning, and the son discharging his duties in the tanyard in an ostentatiously negligent way. At the same time the latter, notwithstanding the paternal discouragements and often oppressed with a disheartening sense of the difficulties with which he had to contend, continued his studies with steady persistence year after year, and ultimately carried out his intention of becoming a well educated man. His motto through life was 'To be as useful as I can'; and in many laudable ways he carried it out according to his lights. In 1790 he went up to London on some business connected with the tanning trade in the West of England. His mission was unsuccessful, but while there he formed the acquaintance of Mr. Purkis, known in the Poole family as 'the great London tanner,' from whom he seems to have taken an ardent sympathy with the principles of the French Revolution. The expression of his opinions in the West caused quite a sensation, and he was even suspected by the Government. How he became acquainted with Coleridge does not appear to be exactly known. There is a tradition which says that he went up to London and worked as a common workman, and that while so engaged he met with the poet, who was then a soldier, in a public house, and that meeting by accident a year or two after, the impression which each had made on the other at their first meeting ripened into friendship. Mrs. Sandford does not appear disposed to adopt this tradition, and in the absence of information leaves the matter undecided. The two, however, certainly met at Nether Stowey in 1794, and in a letter dated the 22nd of September in that year Poole gives a singularly discriminating sketch of Coleridge and Southey. He had seen them but once, and then only for a few hours, yet he did not fail to note the points of difference in the two. They were then dreaming over their Pantisocratic Scheme, and Poole in the same letter gives a remarkably good sketch of it. From 1794 onwards Poole and Coleridge were very closely connected, Poole doing the poet many kindnesses and Coleridge repaying them with great trust and affection. The greater part of the two volumes is made up of letters. Among them is a large number of Coleridge's, many of which are printed here for the first time. Wordsworth and his sister, Charles Lamb, Rickman, Sir Humphrey Davy and the Wedgewoods also contribute a number. In fact it is because of Poole's connection with this brilliant circle that his biography and the volumes in which it is recorded are of value.

Chaucer: The Legend of Good Women. Edited by the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt. D., etc. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1889.

Next to the immortal 'Tales' the 'Legend of Good Women' may fairly claim to be reckoned the finest of Chaucer's longer poems. There have

been numerous editions of it since Thynne's, but hitherto, though later editions have shown considerable improvements, none of them have given a wholly satisfactory text, or contained a commentary upon the various points of interest connected with the poem of more than an extremely meagre kind. With the publication of Dr. Skeat's present volume, however, a work long desired by students of Chaucer, has at last made its appearance, and they can now congratulate themselves on the existence of an edition of the poem containing a text which has been prepared with the utmost care, and a commentary in which, so far as we are able to judge, no difficulty has been overlooked, and every possible light has been thrown upon the structure, character, sources and meanings of the poem. In the Introduction much interesting matter will be found both in connection with the Legend itself and with other of Chaucer's works. The date at which the Legend was composed had already been fixed in the year 1385; but from various pieces of evidence Dr. Skeat is able to approximate still more nearly to the precise date of its composition, and to name, as the period in which it was written, the Spring of that year, while Chaucer was still rejoicing over his release from the burdensome duties of his office as Controller of the Customs and Subsidies without any serious loss of income. The evidence on which this conjecture rests, though it can scarcely be said to amount to a demonstration, is nevertheless strong enough to leave no reasonable doubt about it. Among other subjects discussed in the Introduction are the relation of the two Prologues to each other, the subject and sources of the Legend and the metre. This last is of special importance, inasmuch as the poem is, as is well known, the first example in English of the now famous 'heroic couplet.' There are also excellent sections on the MSS. and editions of the poem. For the text Dr. Skeat has made use of Dr. Furnivall's excellent prints of the Chaucer MSS., but for these in fact, he tells us, the work would never have been undertaken. Following the example of other editors he has taken for the base of his text that of the F or Fairfax MS., though in his arrangement of the MSS. he gives it only a second place. This has been done, however, more for the sake of convenience, and as the F text has been collated throughout with that of the famous Cambridge MS. (C), the text really depends upon the latter. The different readings of the various MSS. are given at the foot of each page, and in the Introduction a list is given of the principal changes made in the printed texts. Of the notes it is scarcely necessary to speak. Those who are acquainted with Professor Skeat's editions of Barbour, Langland and Chaucer's Minor Poems, know what to expect and will not be disappointed. They are as ample as necessary, and are distinguished by their author's learning and sagacity. Altogether the work is admirable and deserves the highest praise.

French and English: a Comparison. By PHILIP GILBERT HAMERTON. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

Mr. Hamerton has here drawn out an elaborate comparison between the French and English peoples. Long residence in both countries and acquaintance with most classes of society have made him familiar with the ways of each, and enabled him to form an estimate of the two peoples which is probably as fair and accurate as any that can be obtained. To divest oneself of one's national prejudices and idiosyncracies, and to put aside whatever is apt to cloud the vision or to warp the judgment in ever so slight a degree is not easy, and though Mr. Hamerton has evidently striven to be as fair and judicial as possible it may be found that

even he has not altogether succeeded. To see oneself as others see us is proverbially difficult, and it is not less so to see others and to compare them with ourselves in a manner which shall be altogether unexceptionable. But be that as it may, Mr. Hamerton has written a very readable volume, and one from which much may be learned both about the English and the French. His comparison is not always flattering either to the one or the other. He has almost as many faults to find with the English as with the French, and nearly as many good things to say about the latter as about their insular neighbours. We have said that the comparison is elaborate, and so the reader will find as soon as he turns to the volume. It occupies something like four hundred and seventy pages, and is divided into nine parts dealing with Education, Patriotism, Politics, Religion, Virtues, Custom, Society, Success, Vanity. Historical the work is not. All it professes to do is to compare the two peoples as they are in this second half of the nineteenth century. In matters of physical education, Mr. Hamerton gives the palm to the English, and in comparing their physical qualities remarks: 'The English are by nature incomparably the finer and handsomer race of the two; but their industrial system, and the increasing concentration in large towns, are largely diminishing their collective superiority, though it remains strikingly visible in the upper classes. The French are generally of small stature, so that a man of middle-height in England is a tall man in France, and French soldiers in their summer fatigue blouses look to an Englishman like boys. Still, though the ordinary Frenchman is short, he is often muscular and capable of bearing great fatigue, as a good pony will. His shortness is mainly in the legs, yet he strides vigorously in marching.' The chapter on intellectual education contains many interesting particulars. Among other things Mr. Hamerton remarks that the number of people in France who form libraries has greatly diminished. He credits the English with reading three times as much as the French, and makes the remark, 'Without literature it is possible to sharpen the faculties and store the mind, but without literature education misses what is best and most interesting in the world.' Some of the principles laid down in the chapter on artistic education will hardly please the disciples of Mr. Ruskin, and many who are not his disciples will object to the statement that art is in reality but accidentally connected with the moral virtues. In the chapter on Patriotism, Mr. Hamerton points out the Englishman's contempt for and ignorance of most things foreign, and speaks of his underrating even the forces of Nature. 'It is, in all things,' he also observes, 'strongly characteristic of Englishmen to apply to every great or little thing they have to do the minimum of necessary effort.' The French, on the other hand, he remarks, are generally less disposed both to the feelings of respect and contempt, and are in the habit of looking upon the world with an easier indifference, not much respecting anybody or anything, but ready enough to acknowledge the merits and qualities of people and things that are not the best. Here, however, it is impossible to touch upon but the very smallest number of the points of comparison and contrast on which Mr. Hamerton dwells. His book is at once entertaining and instructive. The Englishman may learn much about himself and his countrymen, and much more about his neighbours. The conclusion at which Mr. Hamerton arrives at the end of the volume is that the dominant tendencies of the two countries seem to be these: 'The English are becoming more open-minded and the French are gaining in practical sense and prudence. The English are advancing in religious, and the French in political liberty. Material progress of all kinds is obvious and conspicuous in both.'

Burns: Selected Poems. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary. By J. LOGIE ROBERTSON, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1889.

Mr. Logie Robertson has certainly succeeded in making a selection from the poetry of Burns, which, while fairly representative of his best work, serves also to show the versatility of his genius. The task was not altogether an easy one. There are pieces in Burns which one would not altogether care to see in a class book, but judicious selection and omission has overcome that difficulty and Mr. Robertson's volume will, it is to be hoped, occupy an honourable position in the series in which it has been placed. The introduction, notes, and glossary have been compiled with care. Of the first we may say it is excellent, containing in a small compass a great deal of matter, and judiciously, though with scarcely sufficient fulness, dwelling upon the early training of Burns. The notes when possible are taken from the poet's own writings. It is here, too, in the notes that Mr. Robertson ventures upon criticism mostly of the eulogistic kind. The glossary though evidently, as we have said, carefully prepared, is scarcely so good as it might have been. In a class book more attention might have been given to the etymology. At the same time it may not be out of place to remark that Mr. Robertson seems to us to rather exaggerate the difficulty which Englishmen feel in reading Burns. It is Dr. Murray, we believe, who somewhere remarks that the difficulty which most Englishmen feel in regard to Burns is experienced not when they read but when they hear him read. Still there are words in Burns which will puzzle most Englishmen and not a few Scots. All the more reason was there, therefore, for making the glossary more elaborate, and in doing something towards showing the connection between the old northern English and the Scotch of Burns. Still we accept Mr. Robertson's volume of selections as the promise of better things, and do not hesitate to say that it is an excellent beginning.

The Works of William Shakespeare. Edited by HENRY IRVING and FRANK A. MARSHALL. Vol. 6. London, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dublin: Blackie & Son., 1889.

This excellent edition of the great English playwright's works is steadily pressing on to completion, notwithstanding mishaps in the shape of loss of copy and the illness of its principal editor. Hamlet is again postponed, but we hope that the next volume will contain it. In the present volume we have Othello, Anthony and Cleopatra, Coriolanus and King Lear. Mr. Marshall, besides contributing the introduction to Othello and sharing with Mr. Wilson Verity the preparation of the notes for the same play, has written the stage history of Coriolanus. The introduction and Notes to Antony and Cleopatra are the joint work of Mr. Oscar F. Adams and Mr. A. Symons. For Coriolanus the services of the Rev. H. C. Beeching have been called into requisition. King Lear has been edited by Mr. Oscar F. Adams and Mr. A. Wilson Verity. Hitherto the illustrations have been furnished by Mr. J. Browne; and those for Othello and King Lear are still from his hand; but those for Coriolanus and Anthony, and Cleopatra, are by Mr. M. Brown and Mr. W. H. Margetson. The excellence of the previous volumes has been fully maintained in this, and two more volumes will complete what is in many respects the most complete and best edition of Shakespeare we have seen.

Natural Religion. The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1888. By F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M., etc. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1889.

These lectures are chiefly remarkable as being the first of the Gifford Lectures which have as yet been published. The lectureship, as it is perhaps unnecessary to remark, was founded along with three others in the Universities of Edinburgh, St. Andrews and Aberdeen by Lord Gifford, some time one of the Senators of the College of Justice, for the purpose of encouraging the study of Natural Theology. The purpose is important and the foundation of the lectureship is one of most important signs of the times. What may be the outcome of them it is impossible to tell, but in instituting and endowing them in the munificent way he has, Lord Gifford certainly deserves to be ranked among the pious founders and benefactors of his country. The curators of the foundation in the University of Glasgow deserve some credit for the choice they have made of the first lecturer. Mr. Max Müller is a scholar of European fame and well known as one of the leaders of the modern school who have made Natural Religion and the History of Religions one of their principal studies, and it is hardly possible that their choice could have fallen on one better fitted to fulfill the wishes of Lord Gifford. In some respects the lectures Mr. Max Müller has now published are disappointing. He is a writer of such fertility and has such vast stores of learning at his command, and has so often charmed the reading public with the freshness of his thought or material, that it has come to pass that whenever he publishes a new book it is expected to contain a good deal that is new. In the present volume, however, though there is much freshness and all the old charms of style and fertility of illustration, it can hardly be said that there is much that is absolutely new or much that the author has not said before. In fact the main topics dealt with have already been gone over by him in his *Lectures on Language*, his *Hibbert Lectures*, and his *Science of Thought*. Repetition here, however, was almost unavoidable, as the lectures are purely introductory. At the same time we are far from sorry that Mr. Max Müller has repeated himself. The advantage of having the thoughts of so ripe a thinker systematized is great; and none but those who are disposed to carp will find fault with him for here bringing together the thoughts which have hitherto lain scattered about in various works, for the purpose of setting them in order and using them as an introduction to the fuller treatment of his subject. For the first time we have now his thoughts on this great subject, so far as the volume carries us, systematically arranged, and there can be no doubt that the lectures form an admirable introduction to the further study of a subject whose importance is gradually beginning to be widely felt. Reference to the author's treatment of the problem which is at present chiefly engrossing the attention of the philosophical and scientific worlds has already been made on a previous page, and all that we need to do here is to commend the volume to the notice of those who are interested in the newest study of the times.

Though there is perhaps a little too much of the one supreme passion in it, Mr. Gillan Vase's *Through Love to Life* (Smith, Elder, & Co.), is a thoroughly excellent piece of novel writing. Carefulness of study and skillful management of plot are manifest on every page. 'Skipping' is out of the question; one is obliged to read the three volumes from beginning to end, in order to catch up the plot and see how the parts are dovetailed into each other. The characters, though dominated by the same passion, are sharply drawn and may be said to be typical. Here and there are fine

touches of human nature, and some excellent descriptive passages. William and the little Frenchman are excellent figures. The heroine is a fine conception, though we can scarcely say so much of the hero. He turns out well, however, and makes the sacrifice of a million without a touch of pride. The volumes are rich in incidents, and the situations are often dramatic. We have one fault to find with the book. Mr. Vase works out his plot, but not his idea. The life to which his characters attained through love is not made sufficiently clear.

Tempted, by M. M. Black, is one of Messrs. Oliphant and Anderson's 'Popular Shilling Series.' Though not of the sensational order, there is sufficient interest attaching to the plot to keep the attention. The characters have much of the conventional about them. There is the good student and his opposite who, however, repents and becomes a sort of saint. The father of the girl, over whom they quarrel, though a learned man and Principal of a University, is not wise, and one can scarcely conceive of a man in his position acting in regard to his daughter in the way he does. But then, as we know, fact is sometimes stranger than fiction.

The Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A., is pushing forward his painstaking and really remarkable *Biblical Illustrator*, (Nisbet) with a rapidity which, considering the wide field over which he travels and the wealth of illustrations he gathers together, is little short of astonishing. The volume before us is the first on the Gospel of St. Luke, and brings the illustrations of that Gospel down to the end of the Seventh Chapter. There are over seven hundred closely printed pages in it, and following the plan adopted in previous volumes, each phrase is taken up and dealt with separately, and in many instances as many as six or more outlines of sermons are given on the one particular phrase. These outlines are taken from the works of preachers well-known and widely esteemed as members of the Evangelical School of Theology. They are supplemented with anecdotes, and frequently with historical and geographical information. To many preachers the work will prove, we should say, of a great assistance.

In *The Questions of the Bible* (Fisher Unwin), Mr. Carnelley has printed all the passages of the Scriptures in which a question occurs, distinguishing the questions from the context by placing them in different type. The volume is not without its uses, as those who read the excellent preface which Dr. S. G. Green has written for it will readily own. At the end Mr. Carnelley gives some curious information about the Bible, which reminds one not a little of the work of some of the Rabbis. For instance, in the Old Testament there are, if we reckon each Psalm a chapter, 929 chapters and 2274 questions, and in the New, 260 chapters and 1074 questions, or in the two, 1189 chapters and 13,298 questions. Zephaniah is the only book in the Old Testament which has no questions; Leviticus has two, and Obadiah four. In the New Testament six Epistles have but one question each; 2 Peter has two, 1 Thessalonians three, and 1 Peter four. Job, xxxviii, has forty questions, the greatest number of any chapter in the Old Testament; while 1 Cor. ix. occupies a similar position among the chapters of the New Testament with twenty questions.

Professor Rawlinson's *Kings of Israel and Judah* is the most recent addition to Messrs. Nisbet's 'Men of the Bible' Series. For his materials he has naturally gone to the inspired writers of the Old Testament, and as was to be expected, he has drawn not only from the books of Kings and Chronicles, but also from the writings of the prophets, who were contemporaneous with them. Josephus has also been used, together with such information as has been made available by recent discoveries. As need

hardly be said, Professor Rawlinson has followed his authorities closely. Here and there he has been indebted to the late Dean Stanley, but Ewald whom the latter so generally followed has been but sparingly used. The narratives are well written, and will help the reader to realize what manner of men the Kings of Israel and Judah were, and the character and condition of the world in which they moved.

Dr. Maclean's *Introduction to the Creeds* belongs to Messrs. Macmillan's Series of 'Elementary Theological Class-books' and is a very useful little manual. It is divided into two parts, the first giving a condensed history of the origin and development of Creeds, and the second dealing with their teaching. The historical part is well done. The references in the second part are chiefly to modern Protestant writers. Those to the Fathers might have been added to, and citations might have been made from Catholic writers, even if they had to be taken from such works as Hase's *Dogmatik* or Luthardt's *Kompendium*. Sartorius on page 248 should be corrected into Sartorius.

The latest addition to the Religious Tract Society's 'Church History Series' is Dr. H. R. Reynolds' *Athanasius: His Life and Life-work*. Written with sufficient scholarship and in a clear style it is eminently fitted for popular reading. The portraits which Dr. Reynolds gives of this great Father and of his famous opponent are striking. Very wisely he leaves aside the many offshoots of the Arian controversy and confines himself chiefly to the part which Athanasius took in it, and to giving a clear and succinct account of the many and almost romantic vicissitudes that befell him.

The Times of Isaiah belongs to the same Society's Series of 'By-paths of Bible-Knowledge'. Its author, Dr. Sayce, brings to bear upon Isaiah and his times the light which recently discovered contemporary monuments in Egypt and Assyria throw upon them. The contents of the little volume will be highly appreciated by those who wish to arrive at a clear knowledge of the condition of the kingdom of Judæa during the time of the great Evangelical prophet.

Selections from Clarendon could not have been made more judiciously than they have been in the Dean of Salisbury's *Selections from Clarendon*. Almost all the best passages have been chosen, and the result is a gallery of portraits, if we may so say, which it will be difficult to match. The notes which have been appended are useful. Those who have not the time to read through Clarendon and yet wish to know something of him, cannot do better than read these selections. They will see the great historian at his best, and probably be induced to venture upon the works from which the extracts are taken. As was fitting the volume has been issued by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, and is an excellent example of typography.

The most recent addition to Messrs. Macmillan's 'Men of Action' Series is Mr. Julian Corbett's *Monk*. This is in every respect a brilliant book. It is written with clearness, conciseness and remarkable vigour. Mr. Corbett's descriptions of his hero's battles, whether on land or sea, are brief but vivid. The lives of few 'Men of Action' were better worth telling, than that of Monk, and Mr. Corbett has written it in the way in which it deserved to be written.

Mr. J. R. Green's *Henry the Second* and Mr. James Gairdner's *Henry the Seventh*, the two latest volumes of Messrs. Macmillan's 'Twelve English Statesmen' Series, deserves a much longer notice than our space will permit. We must confine ourselves here to saying that they are both equally remarkable for their scholarliness and literary finish, and that each

of them, notwithstanding their brevity, is a valuable contribution to English historical literature.

Mr. John M. Robertson is dissatisfied with the way in which modern critics perform their work, and in his *Essays towards a Critical Method* (Fisher Unwin) has endeavoured to point out what criticism is, and the principles on which it ought to be conducted. The function of the critic, he tells us, is to estimate, in a given book, the validity of its representation of facts, or its direct or indirect 'criticism of life'; its importance or comparative interest as a presentment of mind, irrespective of accuracy; and its relative success or value as a piece of literary art. 'Criticism of life' is Mr. Robertson's adopted definition of literature, and one is at first disposed to think that all he has to say for criticism is that it is a criticism of a criticism; but it would appear that the estimate which the critic ought to form, must, if it is to lay claim to anything like science, be 'broadly congruous with a considerable body of instructed opinion,' and 'give a persuasive explanation of such differences of instructed opinion as leave many cultured people perplexed.' In other words, criticism, according to Mr. Robertson, has to perform the functions of judge and interpreter, while the kind of criticism he desires to see is one that shall be 'reducible to connected steps of reasoning from verifiable data, as against that which is but the random expression of an aberrant opinion, born of ignorance, haste, or perversity.' The principles which, in Mr. Robertson's opinion, criticism ought to proceed are difficult to find. Those which he apparently lays down are rather rules by which the critic ought to be governed in framing his opinion of a book and are such as common sense would suggest. Whether any but critics will read Mr. Robertson's volume we do not know; but any who do, will find the trouble of perusal well repaid. The historical chapter with which it opens, contains in a comparatively few pages a remarkably good sketch of the phases through which the art of criticism has passed. Scattered throughout the volume are a many smart remarks on past and living critics, while at the end there are papers on Mr. Howell's novels, *The Fable of Bees*, and the *Art of Tennyson*.

In *Wordsworthiana* (Macmillan) Professor Knight has put together a number of papers and addresses delivered before the now defunct Wordsworth Society. In the Preface he gives some account of the origin and work of that Society, and exhibits a little very pardonable pride in the part he took in its formation. The papers open with a very characteristic one by Mr. Shorthouse on 'The Platonism of Wordsworth.' Professor Dowden deals with Wordsworth's selections from Chaucer, and is of opinion that the method of modernisation adopted by the poet best preserves the simplicity of Chaucer's style. At the same time he points out several mistakes Wordsworth has made. One of the longest papers in the volume is on the Wordsworth portraits, and is from the pen of the editor. Mr. R. H. Hutton contributes an interesting essay on Wordsworth's two styles. Among others may be mentioned a paper on 'Reminiscences of Wordsworth among the Peasantry of Westmoreland' by Mr. H. D. Rawnsley, one by Mr. Aubrey de Vere on the 'Personal Character of Wordsworth's Poetry,' and another by Canon Ainger on Wordsworth and Charles Lamb. To lovers of Wordsworth the volume should have many attractions.

Mr. Bayne's *Scott's Marmion* has been prepared for the 'Clarendon Press Series' of School Books, and is an excellent addition to that already numerous and valuable Series. The introduction contains an account of Scott's life at Lasswade and Ashiestiel, and of the origin, characteristics and criticisms of the poem. Scott is often allowed to speak for himself, and good use is made of Lockhart's Life of him. The text follows that of the

1833 edition of the poetical works, with the exception of one or two places where the suggestions of Mr. Rolfe's Boston edition have been adopted. The notes, which are ample and informing, are for the most part Scott's and Lockhart's, but in many places Mr. Bayne has added notes of his own, and thereby increased their utility.

The object of Mr. W. G. Black's *The Law relating to Scottish County Councils* (Bell & Bradfute) is, as he informs us, to explain in as direct and popular a form as possible the provisions of the Act which was passed during the last session of Parliament in connection with the local Government of Scotland. The provisions of the Act are printed in clear bold type. Notes—some of them of considerable length and showing large acquaintance with the various points and usages affected by the Act—are appended to most of the clauses. Various appendices and an ample index add to the utility of the book, and should make it useful as a guide for those who aspire to take part in initiating the new order of things.

Blackie's Modern Cyclopædia has reached its third volume which ends with a brief article on the Persian poet Firdusi. This handy and comparatively inexpensive work still keeps up its character for succinctness, clearness, and general accuracy. Some of its articles are excellent and remarkable for the amount of matter which the editor has managed to pack into a small space. Examples of this are those on England, Engraving and Electricity.

Among Reprints two specially call for mention—*Tom Brown's School Days* by an Old Boy (Macmillan) is an exceedingly good reprint of a very favourite book, and in its present inexpensive form cannot fail to be welcome to the present generation of readers. The illustrations give it an additional attraction.

Westward Ho! by Charles Kingsley (Macmillan) is a remarkable production for sixpence. Among all the popular editions of the kind we have seen it easily takes the first place. The paper is good and the type remarkably clear—clearer in fact than that of many much more expensive books.

The *Cornhill* (Smith, Elder) is always rich in varieties. The volumes for this year are specially so. At least three novels, full of interest and not too long, have been running their course in them, and each number has contained its full complement of short stories and of essays both grave and gay. These last deal with almost all manner of topics—natural history, antiquities, biography, travels, leperdom, and even 'things not generally known.' The papers are always fresh and well-written, and eminently readable. The short stories are an excellent feature. They are invariably good, and often preferable to much more pretentious works of fiction.

The English Illustrated Magazine (Macmillan), makes its appearance in its present guise for the last time. The next volume is to present new and improved features. How they may meet the taste of the public remains to be seen, but there can be little doubt that the success which has attended the *English Illustrated* in its old form will be continued. For our own part we feel some regret at parting with the familiar look of its pages. The last volume is full of interesting matter, and its illustrations are, if anything, superior to those of its predecessors. Of the letterpress the chief attraction is, of course, Mr. Marion Crawford's *Sant' Ilario*. There are, however, in addition to this, and perhaps more attractive to many because of the illustrations which accompany them, many excellent papers on the old buildings of Normandy and Dordt, the farm-houses of Sussex and such places as Aston Hall, Kenaington Palace, the Black Country and Leeds. Equally attractive, too, are the papers on the Morte D'Arthur, Macbeth, and Charles Dickens.