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THE

SCOTTISH REVIEW.

JULY, 1894.

ART. I.—EDINBURGH IN 1629.

1. *Historical Manuscripts Commission.* Thirteenth Report. Appendix, Part VII. The Manuscripts of the EARL OF LONSDALE.
2. *Early Travellers in Scotland.* By P. HUME BROWN. Edinburgh: 1891.
3. *Scotland before* 1700. Same author. 1893.

IT is but a trite observation that the Edinburgh of the early part of the seventeenth century presented a very different appearance from what it does to-day. And yet, though in many points so strangely unlike, there was in some things a strange similarity. After allowing for its vast extension, which is indeed the growth of little more than a century, and for the alterations produced by modern habits of life, there is still much left to remind us of what the city must have looked like to the eyes of the early travellers in Scotland. Then as now, its site was unique among European towns; on the west side the castle reared its stately bulk, oft-times wrapped in the fleecy haze which has ever been blown in from the adjacent Firth, and which is yet so characteristic of 'the grey metropolis of the north,' but not unfrequently bathed in the

golden glow of the summer sunsets, which still occasionally make the dark and precipitous rock blush with a softened radiance. Along the narrow ridge of ground which sloped from the Castle gates down to the gate of the Netherbow lay the High Street, which, with its adjacent alleys or closes going off from it at right angles on either side, and the lower street of the Cowgate to the south, practically formed the whole of the city. It was all surrounded by a defensive wall, the last extension of which had taken place in 1617. The Canongate, forming a separate municipality, lay outside the Netherbow port, and continued the ridge down to Holyrood Abbey and Palace. What it lacked in security it made up in amenity, as its houses had gardens of considerable extent stretching out behind them. Holyrood, as it at present stands, would be hardly recognizable by an erstwhile denizen of its Courts. The Palace was a most irregular pile; the north-east wing was as it is now, the remainder consisting of rather mean and unimpressive buildings arranged in three quadrangles, but the whole was situated in large and pleasant gardens. To the north stood the Abbey Church or Chapel Royal, the Abbey buildings having been burned by Hertford's army in 1543. It was a fine twelfth century Gothic building, and contained the remains of many of the Scottish kings. Deserted by Royalty though Church and Palace were at the time of which we write, they were full of historic memories, and some of the older inhabitants of the town might almost remember the time 'when mass was sung and censer swung' within the aisles of the former, and the exciting scenes which the walls of the latter had but a few short years before witnessed. There they stood, silent it is true, but otherwise little changed, while close at hand lay then as now the mighty couchant lion of Arthur's Seat, keeping watch and ward over the old city at its foot.

Such were the limits of the Edinburgh of 1629. A town which, though its streets no longer witnessed the muster of men-at-arms to accompany their Sovereign on some war-like expedition, or saw the royal hunting train sweep in on their return from the chase in the neighbouring woods of Drumselch, had yet an individuality entirely its own. A quaint, crowded,

dirty, but withal picturesque town, not too orderly in its behaviour: full of a people somewhat *dour* and stern in manner, but with kindly Scottish hearts, fairly comfortable and well off, but without many of the luxuries of life. Although the King's presence at Holyrood was a memory of the immediate past, there were many signs to show that Edinburgh was not as other towns. Was there not for instance the 'riding of the Parliament' to be seen from time to time, when that august body assembled for its deliberations, when the Commissioners and noblemen all went in solemn state from Holyrood to the hall of meeting; did not the Lords of Session hold their Court within the town, the cases before them attracting litigants from all parts of Scotland, some of whom came with armed retainers and all the display of a feudal retinue? And if such scenes were not exciting enough for the taste of the inhabitants, they had not infrequently the opportunity of hearing the clash of steel and shout of war, as the dependants of two hostile factions strove with each other in the streets; then they might see a little group hastily bearing away a dark burden, their passage marked by trailing drops of blood.

We generally gain a knowledge of these sights and sounds from the sober pages of the historian, or from the musty leaves of some official record. Sometimes, it is true, light is thrown on them from the entries of a diarist gossiping to himself, or more rarely from contemporary letters. In both these cases, however, the matter is almost invariably written by one who did not look on the scenes which he describes with a fresh eye; he had lived all his life among them, and they did not strike him as they would a stranger. Strangers, indeed, were rare in Scotland in the seventeenth century and earlier, and the few who did come, and who have left us an account of their travels, have very generally passed over, as unworthy of notice, just those little details which we should have liked to know, and the knowledge of which help to make mediæval life so much more interesting to us. We are, therefore, all the more glad to meet with an account which has hitherto been unpublished, and which has not even been known to Mr. Hume Brown, who has done so much to familiarise us with the writ-

ings of the early travellers in Scotland; and the writer of which has been at the pains of describing many things for which we look in vain in other narratives.

The account referred to has been recently published by the Historical Manuscript Commissioners, in the seventh appendix to their thirteenth report, which deals with the papers belonging to the Earl of Lonsdale. It was probably written by Cristopher Lowther, afterwards Rector of Lowther, and describes a journey to Scotland and visit to Edinburgh made by himself (if indeed he is the C. Lowther whose name is prefixed to the narrative) and two others, Mr. R. Fallow and Peter Manson, in 1629. It is contained in a 12mo volume, and was likely written during the journey, as though it is graphic and full of information, the style is poor, and the language occasionally unintelligible, suggesting notes written by the way, and unrevised. The travellers appear to have started from home on the 5th of November, which was a strange time of year to select for a pleasure trip, as it seems to have been, for there is no hint of any business which took them so far from home. After leaving Carlisle, they came through the country of the Grahams, by Netherby, and so on by Canonbie to Langholm; the land about there being noted to belong to 'my Lord Bakpleugh.' It may be remarked that the narrator's power of picking up the sound of proper names appears to have been very defective, and though spelling was not a strong point with anybody in the seventeenth century, he makes even wilder work than usual with the names, both of persons and places. At Langholm, my Lord Maxfield's (*sic*) steward bestowed ale and aquavitæ on the travellers, and they stay for the night 'in a poor thatched house, the wall of it being one course of stones, another of sods of earth; it had a door of wicker rods, and the spider webs hung over our heads as thick as might be in our bed.' They might perhaps have grumbled less at the accommodation had they not been kept awake all night from fear of the 'outlaws' who were reported to be in the town, showing that the state of the Borders was still not so settled as it might have been. On the 7th November, Selkirk was reached, on the way to which they observed that all

the churches were 'poor thatched, and on some of them the doors sodded up with no windows in.' The church at Selkirk, however, is described as 'very pretty,' being cruciform, with four pyramidal turrets at the corners. On the outside are the jougs, or jogges, as our author calls them, 'which is for such as offend, but especially women brawlers, their head being put through it, and another iron in their mouth, so abiding foaming till such time as the bailiffs please to dismiss them, it being in the time of divine service;' in the church itself, it is stated, that as throughout Scotland, when the parson is saying prayers the people 'use a hummering kind of lamentation for their sins.' The Selkirk inhabitants (or should we say 'souters?') do not impress the travellers favourably; they are a drunken kind of people, we are told, and 'we had a choking smoky chamber of drunken, unruly company thrust in upon us, called for wine and ale and left it on our score.' But the narrative bears additional testimony to the statement by Mr. Hume Brown, in his introduction to 'Scotland before 1700,' that in the seventeenth century the peasantry of Scotland enjoyed a degree of comfort unknown to the same class in France. 'They have good victuals throughout the kingdom, unless it be towards the south-west, but cannot dress it well.'

The next stopping-place was at Sir James Pringle's, near Galashiels. Here we have an interesting account of the hospitality they received, which gives a good idea of the manner in which a country gentleman of the period lived. Dinner and supper were brought in by the servants with their hats on, a custom which is corroborated by Fynes Moryson, who, writing in 1598, says that, being at a knight's house who had many servants to attend him, they brought in the meat with their heads covered with blue caps. After washing their hands in a basin they sat down to dinner, and Sir James said grace: the viands seem to have been plentiful and excellent, 'big pottage, long kale, bowe or white kale, which is cabbage, "breoh sopps," powdered beef, roast and boiled mutton, a venison pie in form of an egg, goose,' then they had cheese cut and uncut and apples. But the close of the feast was the most curious thing about it. The table cloth was removed,

and on it was put a 'towel the whole breadth of the table, and half the length of it, a basin and ewer to wash, then a green carpet laid on, then one cup of beer set on the carpet, then a little long lawn serviter, plaited up a shilling or little more broad laid cross over the corner of the table, and a glass of hot water set down also on the table, then be there three boys to say grace, the 1st, the Thanksgiving; the 2nd, the Paternoster, the 3rd, a prayer for a blessing to God's Church. The goodman of the house, his parents, kinsfolk, and the whole company they then do drink hot waters, so at supper, then to bed, the collation which [is] a stoupe of ale.' The whole account it must be said, is not very intelligible, and it must have been a somewhat formidable prelude to the post prandial toddy.

On leaving Galashiels, the route was taken by Heriot and Fala hill, Arniston and Dalhousie being both observed on the way. Passing through Lasswade and Liberton, they arrived at Edinburgh on the 9th of November. They lodged at a Mrs. Russell's, in Bell Wynd, which was a close leading from the High Street to the Cowgate, about half-way between St. Giles and the Tron. Having travelled from Carlisle within five days, which was fairly expeditious considering the time of year and the elementary condition of roads at that period, our travellers rested themselves on the evening of their arrival, but next morning they were ready to sally out on their round of sight-seeing like the ordinary tourist of to-day. It is probable, however, that they started at an earlier hour than that at which the modern disciple of Murray and Baedeker leaves his hotel in Princes Street. At four o'clock in the morning 'goeth a drum about the toun.' The Court of Session, we know, sat at 8 A.M., so that people must have been fairly afoot for the day at a very early hour.

The value of the narrative under consideration is the minute, and so far as his knowledge went, accurate description of whatever particularly interested the author, though many matters which other writers mention he passes over in silence, or indeed in a very casual manner. But by comparing his account with that of Sir William Brereton, who visited Edinburgh some seven years later, and those of other travellers

which Mr. Hume Brown has edited, we are enabled on the whole to get a very fair idea of the town in the first half of the seventeenth century. As to the inhabitants, Mr. Lowther merely remarks that the gentlemen are courteous and affable, but hosts and the country clowns are 'careless and unconscionable' in their usage to strangers. Brereton is not so complimentary; he describes them as 'most sluttish, nasty and slothful people,' and there does indeed seem to be a general consensus of opinion that their habits were not over nice, 'only the nobles and better sort of them brave well-bred men and much reformed.' He also notices the costumes which struck the eye of a stranger: 'women (especially of the meaner sort) chiefly wear plaids over their heads, and which would reach almost to the ground, but that they pluck them up and wear them cast under their arms. Some ancient women and citizens wear satin straight-bodied gowns, short little coats with great capes, and a broad bonne-grace coming over their brows, and going out with a corner behind their heads, and this bonne-grace is, as it were, lined with a white stracht cambric suitable unto it. Young maids not married all are bare-headed; some with broad thin shag ruffs which lie flat to their shoulders, and others with half bands with wide necks either much stiffened or set in wire, which comes only behind,' showing that the Queen Mary collar was not altogether out of fashion. The custom of women wearing plaids did not commend itself to some persons, as it tended to conceal all evidence of the social status of the wearer. William Lithgow, writing in doggerel in 1628, terms it a 'shamles custome,' and proceeds to rail against it by asking—

> 'Should Woemen walke lyke Sprits? Should Woemen weare
> Their Winding-sheets alyve, wrapt up I sweare
> From head to foote in Plads: lyke Zembrian Ghostes
> Which haunt in Groaves, and Shades,—like Fayry Hostes.
> . . . .
> For in a word there's none, 'twixt both can judge
> In show, the Matrone, from the Common Drudge.'

The street on which our travellers emerged from the evil smelling alley in which their lodging was situated must have presented an interesting and striking appearance on that

November morning. All travellers unite in testifying to the handsome appearance of this 'faire and spacious streete,' though Fynes Moryson objects to the projecting wooden galleries which were built upon the second stories of the houses, and Brereton alludes to the same blot, saying that it would be the most stately and graceful street possible were it not for a facing of boards which the houses have towards the street which did 'much blemish it and derogate from [its] glory and beauty. This lining of boards (wherein are round holes shaped to the proportion of men's heads) and this encroachment into the street about two yards is a mighty disgrace unto it, for the walls (which were the outside) are stone; so, as if this outside facing of boards were removed, and the houses built uniform, all of the same height, it were the most complete street in Christendom.' Notwithstanding these criticisms, it may be doubted whether these quaint wooden erections did not really tend to make the street more picturesque than it would otherwise have been, and we may be sure that the very irregularity of the houses gave much more character to it than would have been the case had the houses been built of one uniform height. The roadway was roughly paved with boulder stones, and formed a dry enough passage, though it was so rough as not to be ridden on without danger. So sensible of this were the authorities that, although in 1625, Parliament, in its wisdom, ordered that no Lords of Session should repair to the Court-house unless accompanied by their ordinary household servants, and that they should come, 'in a seemlie manner,' on horseback, with a foot cloth, yet the order was almost immediately cancelled since it was found that most of the Judges lived in narrow closes, 'where there is not a convenient passage for horse and the calsay so dangerous to be ridden upon.' Gutters ran on each side of the street, and had enough to do to carry off the quantity of filth which was thrown into them. The street itself was filled with a stirring, eager and excitable crowd of people of all sorts and conditions: Highland porters with dripping 'stoups' quarrelled and scolded round the wells, for every drop of water had to be carried into the houses. The people

were so lazy, we are told by one writer, that they did not get fresh water every day, but only every second day, which made it—as at its best it was not good—very bad to drink. Here might be seen a nobleman and his retinue in proud array and armed to the teeth, ready to resent any insult, real or fancied, which might be offered to their dignity; there a dainty page with his master's cognizance blazoned on his sleeve, carries a letter probably addressed to some fair damsel in the neighbouring Canongate; out of that 'close mouth' comes a Senator of that College of Justice, which had been founded not quite a century before, clad in his purple robes (which were always worn on the street), and gravely taking his way to the Court of Session; here and there a soldier from the Castle swaggers by with clanking sword, and hand on hip, attracting perchance a stray glance of admiration from some bare-footed servant lass, while all around, though the rattle of carts and carriages, which is so distinguishing a feature in our modern city life, is absent, a thousand noises rend the air. The ring of the armourer's hammer, the click of looms, the clang of St. Giles' bell, the thousand and one cries which proceed both from the peripatetic vendors of wares and from the more substantial burgesses as they walk up and down in front of their booths endeavouring to persuade the passers-by to make trial of their stock, all form a scene which testifies to the life and vigour of an ancient and prosperous burgh.

It was a scene something like this, then, that met the eyes of Mr. Lowther and his companions as they started that morning in 1629 to view the city. Proceeding up the High Street, they passed St. Giles, the 'krames' of various merchants nestling among its buttresses, in one of which, not so long ago, the great court goldsmith, genial George Heriot, carried on business, (his 'Hospital' without the walls, is mentioned, but can only have been in the course of erection at this time.) They were, let us hope, spared the infliction of seeing that dreadful piece of municipal vandalism, the Luckenbooths, which the fathers of the city built in the middle of the street; at least, the erection in its hideous entirety was not there, though part of it may have been. Past the grim old Tolbooth, its gables

not unlikely crowned with an array of human heads, up the steep street, passing on the way many fine residences of the Scottish aristocracy, some of which were then but newly built, with projecting gables and beautifully carved timbers. Arriving at the gates of the Castle, the party are obliged to submit to the rules of the fortress and give their swords to the porter till their return. It is described in a phrase which Mr. Louis Stevenson might use: 'Mounted on stately rocks, having the whole town of Edinburgh, Leith, and the sea, *in its eye*.' Its size was not impressive, 'being no bigger than Appleby Castle,' but its sights were duly admired—the hewn-stone well, thirty fathoms deep, probably the one poisoned by the English in 1572, from which the water was drawn up by a wheel 'which one goeth in,' apparently a species of treadmill; Mons Meg, then as now one of the great objects of curiosity to tourists, and about which we are told a very seventeenth century story, which appears to have formed part of the stock-in-trade of the guide of the period, as we find it related by several other travellers; and the little wooden watch-houses, rickety enough affairs, as Brereton tells us that one with a soldier in it was taken by a whirlwind and thrown over the Castle wall, 'and to the bottom of this high and steep rock, and the man not hurt or bruised, save only his finger put out of joint.'

From the Castle the party proceeded to the Law Courts, and it is in the description of these that the chief interest of Lowther's narrative centres. They appear to have possessed much interest for him, and he not only gives a very full verbal description of them, but draws a careful plan of the hall in which they were held. At the time of its institution by James V., the Court of Session is said to have sat in the Old Tolbooth, then of somewhat larger size than it was in 1629. The accommodation, however, never good, became ere long so scandalously bad that Queen Mary, in 1561, addressed a letter to the Provost and Magistrates charging them to take down the Tolbooth as speedily as possible, and to provide fit accommodation for the Courts. The Town Council, not unnaturally, were rather taken aback by this demand, for they did

not see why the city should be obliged to build a Court House for the Lords of Session. But, after much grumbling, and being threatened with the entire removal of the Courts to St. Andrews if they did not do what was required of them, they continued by dint of forced taxation, borrowing money, and pulling down for the sake of the building material part of the Old Tolbooth, and the whole of an old chapel in the churchyard, to the north of St. Giles', to erect a building called the New Tolbooth, a little to the north of the old one, and actually attached to the west wall of St. Giles' Church. It was here that the meetings of the Scottish Parliament were held until the erection of the new Parliament Hall in 1639, and the Court of Session also sat in it, the former occupying the 'Laigh Hall,' and the latter the upper story of the building. Wilson, in his 'Memorials,' says that the Laigh Hall was a large and handsome room with a fine plaster ceiling, with the rich pendants which were so characteristic of the decoration of the period. The walls were panelled in oak, and were not improbably filled with a series of portraits, one of which, supposed to be that of Mary of Guise, has fortunately been preserved.

The upper hall was, as has been said, devoted to the Courts of Justice, and we are able to make out pretty clearly the general outline of its arrangements from the plan which Mr. Lowther has most fortunately embodied in his account. On going up the stair the visitor found himself in an apartment occupying about a third of the whole hall, and separated from it by a wainscot partition; immediately to the right of the entrance and forming a sub-division of the apartment was the Commissary Court, which was in a small room by itself, the rest of the area being left as an unoccupied space where litigants, counsel, and agents could consult and perambulate. Passing through the wainscot partition alluded to above, you entered what seems to have been a kind of waiting-room for those connected with the cases in progress ; to the left there was a set of benches raised in tiers for the accommodation of the public, who could enter them from the first hall. They were situated at right angles to the wainscot partition, and had

a barrier in front of them, probably spiked, to prevent access to the body of the Court. Immediately in front of this was a long high-backed form 'for lawyers and expectants'; in front of this again was the bar, with two openings in it, one for the entrance of judges, and the other apparently for a point of division between the parties in the case: at least we are told that 'on either side of it the advocates, defendant and pursuant plead.' This does not mean that one party in the case occupied a position inside the bar, and the other outside, but that they pled, one on the right hand and the other on the left hand of the door. Within the bar was a table, where the Registrars of Court sat, and beyond two staged seats, the lower of which was occupied by the Clerks and other officials, and the upper by the single Judge whose duty it was to preside in this, the 'Outer House,' the Inner House Judges taking this duty in rotation. It is not quite clear from the plan whether there was a screen immediately to the side of the Bench next the wainscot partition first mentioned; it is to be hoped there was, for the space between it and the wainscot partition is marked as 'a place for the idle advocates to chat and walk in': and it is not to be supposed that the junior Bar of those days were not gifted with just as much loquacity and fondness for gossip as characterise their successors in the Parliament House of to-day. If this was the case it must be confessed that the Outer House cannot have been a model of silence and decorum; and, indeed, if we are to believe another account, it was not. 'In this Court,' says Brereton, referring to the Outer House, 'I observed the greatest rudeness, disorder, and confusion that ever I saw in any Court of Justice; no, not the like disorder in any of our Sessions, for here two or three plead and speak together, and that with such a forced and strained voice, as the strongest voice only carries it: yea, sometimes they speak about two or three several causes at one and the same time, which makes an extraordinary disorder and confusion, so as no man breathing can hear distinctly or understand anything so promiscuously spoken.' This of course must be somewhat exaggerated, but after making every allowance for the pre-

judices of an Englishman, and his wish to tell a graphic story, there can be no doubt that the Outer House was but a noisy place, and must have contrasted unfavourably with the more dignified Courts of the Southern Kingdom. Habit however is everything, and this practice of conducting business in the middle of a hubbub and turmoil was continued in quite as great a degree down to our own times: for all through the first quarter of this century, and even later, the Outer House Judges sat in these recesses in the Parliament House, which are now filled with statuary, and the pleadings at their bars were conducted in the middle of a surging crowd of counsel, agents, litigants, and witnesses, conversing, arguing, scolding, and laughing, with all available lung power. Before we leave the Outer House an extraordinary custom may be mentioned. It is not alluded to in Lowther's narrative, though it probably obtained in his day; but a young law student of 1684, John Erskine of Carnock, whose Journal has recently been published by the Scottish History Society, under the editorship of Mr. Walter MacLeod, tells us, under date 29th March, that 'this being the last day of the Session, there was a party of the Town Guard (by whose order I know not) sent to the Parliament House to hinder the advocates' men, writers, and others, to break down the bench and barrs in the Outer House as their custom had been formerly: but the new custom of bringing soldiers to keep the house in order was so far from keeping them back or restraining their wonted folly, that it animated the young men to be much more unruly than at other times,' and then follows an account of a fray describing how Lord Pitmedden (Sir Alexander Seton) came out and commanded the soldiers to go away, and when one of the latter seized him by the cravat or collar, how 'the lads' were so furious that they took their sticks—always a weapon very handy to an Edinburgh youth—charged the soldiers, and in the twinkling of an eye swept them triumphantly out of the Court. If this curious custom was so well established and had risen to so great a height as to attract the notice of the authorities in 1684, it was in all probability in existence in 1629, but

as our visitor was in Edinburgh at the beginning, and not the end of the Session, he did not see nor perhaps hear of it.

But to return to the Courts themselves: beyond the Outer House was a wall, the boundary of the Inner House, which occupied the last third of the hall: this third was again divided in half by a wall across its length. The space to the right was empty, save for a small room off it, which might be used for consultations, and which contained writing material. Going through the door in the partition wall the sacred precincts of the Court itself were reached, where the 'auld fifteen' sat in all their gravity and glory. There was here no accommodation for the vulgar crowd: a bar stretched across the apartment with a door in the centre, on either hand of which, as in the Outer House, the parties pleaded. At the back of the Court House was a large table at which the clerks had their places, and *in front of* this table the Judges sat, 'my Lord Chancellor in the midst' in a black gown, the Lord President on his right, in a purple gown faced with red velvet, and the rest of the Lords according to seniority, the Lord Advocate sitting in a corner by himself facing the Bench. There was a fine chimney-piece of plaster work at the side, and the law books which their Lordships might require, delightfully few in number, were ranged in the embrasures of the windows behind the table.

Having given us these details about the appearance of the Courts, the narrator proceeds to enlighten us as to their mode of conducting business, and his story is succinct and fairly clear, considering it is written with a sublime disregard of punctuation. The Inner House was not characterized by that noise which prevailed in the Outer House; on the contrary, it is described as 'very orderly.' The Judges seem to have gone into Court in the morning before any one else, and probably held any necessary consultations with each other. 'When they are all sat the door is shut and none but themselves there, they will ring a bell (and then openeth the Maser the door) when they have any business, and the Maser as they bid him will call the parties and their advocates whom they would have which go in thereupon with their cause; at which time

the Maser will suffer any stranger to go in and hear the cause pleaded upon acquaintance.' Then follows a description of the hearing of a case which, with all desire to credit the narrator, we do not believe he ever saw, though in all probability, the city guide of the period, or some wicked friend with his tongue in his cheek, were originally responsible for the statement. We are gravely informed that 'the advocates and their clients stand each on either side of the door through the bar, at the bar, and the advocates plead in Scotch before them, and in the time of their pleading their clients will put a double piece or more, with an ordinary fee with the poorest and will say to their advocates "thumb it, thumb it," *and then will the advocates plead accordingly as they feel it weigh.*' People were not very delicate in those days in the manner in which they either received or offered money, but it would have raised a blush, we think, even on the cheek of a seventeenth century advocate, to be feed in such a manner as this. The touch about modifying their pleading according to the thickness of the coin is quite delightful, and the retailer of the story to the travellers must have chuckled when he saw it swallowed with ready credence. But the whole appearance of the parties at the bar must have been but short in these days of written pleadings. 'Their pleading,' it is said, 'is but a kind of motion . . . after which they are all dismissed, the door shut, and then it is voted among the Judges and according to the number of the votes it is carried and then the Chancellor if present, if not, the President and if not he in order the next, giveth sentence accordingly, it still remaining hidden to the parties the carriage of the matter.'

The method of admission to the bar is next dealt with, and we are informed that most of the advocates had travelled and studied on the Continent, which, no doubt, was quite true, as it was in keeping with the custom of the day; and, besides, there was no other way of getting an insight into the civil law but by studying it abroad,—England entirely neglecting it, as she ever had done. Before being finally admitted as an advocate, the candidate had to 'dispute a question' before a Judge, probably on one of the Pandects of Justinian, a custom

the shadow of which has come down to our own day: it is almost needless to add that the disputation would be in Latin, but that could not be such a terror for candidates as might be imagined, as the language was taught in the schools to be used almost colloquially. The Courts of Law have always had a reputation for being a home of good stories, and our travellers picked up two in the New Tolbooth which are duly recorded. They were probably not very new then, and, undoubtedly, they are very venerable 'chesnuts' now. They lose their force by not being given in the vernacular, but Mr. Lowther was not equal to that. The first suggests the subsequent description of Cromwell's Judges as 'a wheen kinless loons,' and is given as follows:—'One being to be made Judge of the Session not long ago, he being on his oath not to be partial, he excepted to his friends and allies;' and there is another not unknown one:—'A borderer on a jury gave amongst his fellows wittingly a false verdict, and being asked why he did it, said "It is better to trust God with one's soul, than their neighbour with their geere."'

But we must not 'linger longer' over the Courts of Law: it may be seen from the above summary that Lowther's account of them and their frequenters is minute, interesting, and if not accurate in every respect, is, at all events, suggestive. Nothing that he saw in Edinburgh apparently attracted his attention so much, though this may have been because he was able to get more information from his friends on this subject than on others. On leaving the Courts, the party walked down the High Street and Canongate to Holyrood, which is said to be 'a very stately piece of work uniform,' (a description which we can hardly conceive as applying to the irregular pile of buildings which Holyrood consisted of at that period), 'and a dainty neat chapel in it, with a pair of organs in it, and none else in the city they being puritans.' The tombstones on the wall of Greyfriars churchyard are mentioned, and their absence from the interior of the church itself commented on.

There is an interesting notice of the University of Edinburgh, then quite in its infancy, having been founded by King James in 1582. It was a quaint and picturesque, though rather

mean collection of buildings, and had not yet attained to any great teaching powers. It was governed, according to Mr. Lowther's information, 'by a primate and other sub-regents to read to the several years which follow here in order, there be five classes or seats in it, 1st of Humanity, the 2nd of Greek, 3rd of Logic, the fourth of Natural Philosophy, the 5th of Mathematics and Arist de cals (Aristotle's De Cælo). The first year of students be called scholars, the 2nd semlbijani, the 4th bachelors, the next degree Laureates or Masters of Arts, and no further, tutors they call pedagogues.' It is curious that no vestige of these names with the exception of Masters of Arts, a term common to all British Universities, have survived in the University of Edinburgh. The names indeed were more characteristic than Lowther makes out; 'bejans' (bec-jaunes, yellow beaks or callow birds) was the name usually given in Scottish Universities to the 'freshmen,' in the second year, as the writer says, they were only semi-bejans, in the third year they might take the lower degree of bachelor *(bas chevalier)*, so obtained that name during the session as a kind of brevet rank: the fourth year students who were completing their full course were more often called magistrands than anything else. It is interesting to note that the number of students attending the University at his time was about 300. Lowther probably gives this number on the authority of John Adamson the Principal, or, as he calls him, the Primate, who entertained our travellers one Thursday night at supper and 'made much' of them. Adamson was rather a remarkable man in his day. In 1598 we find him mentioned as Regent of Philosophy, and he afterwards became the minister of North Berwick, where he quarrelled with Sir John Home, who, losing his temper with the clergyman, struck him one Sunday, and then to prevent the consequences of a clerical investigation into the scandal contrived to have him removed to the parish of Liberton. In 1617 he was leader of the College Regents who disputed before the Royal pedant James VI. at Stirling, and he further attracted the notice of the King by collecting and editing in the following year all the orations and Latin and Greek verses with which the Sovereign had been greeted at various places

during his visit to Scotland, a performance which he repeated when Charles I. was in the country in 1633, on which occasion he had the honour of superintending the pageants got up to welcome the King. He held the office of Principal from 1623 to 1651, and is now chiefly remembered as having bequeathed to the University the skull of George Buchanan, a possession which it still retains. Lowther states that the Principal was a strict if not a stern disciplinarian, much to the disgust apparently of the students, as is instanced by a little story which will however not bear repetition here. We catch an interesting personal reminiscence of the man in being told that 'he hath a little dog following him and two fair daughters.'

Our author seems to have gone about Edinburgh with his eyes and his ears open, and to have lost no opportunity of gathering information, but his notices of other matters are short and scanty compared with those to which we have already alluded. The understanding heart, too, did not always accompany the open ear. In his account of the civic government, for instance, he says 'there is an officer they call the Danegeld which disburseth money for the town before the bailiffs, they call him lord.' Misled by the vernacular accent, he is obviously endeavouring to explain the office and functions of that municipal dignitary known as Lord Dean of Guild, and for 'bailiffs,' as is evident from another passage where they are mentioned in conjunction with the Provost and Councillors, we should read 'bailies.'

One picturesque pageant in the life of old Edinburgh, which happily still survives, the travellers had an opportunity of witnessing, viz., a Royal Proclamation from the Cross. The subject of it was very typical of the times: 'On the 10th of November, being Tuesday, at twelve of the clock, see we three heralds standing on the public Cross, which is in the form of a turret, but not garetted, and a wood beam standing up in the middle, the unicorn crowned on the top of it, there is a door up into it. These three heralds, one after the other, did proclaim an edict concerning the Papists of Scotland, reciting them by their names, which get if possible; both before and after they proclaimed, these trumpeters sounded, and so still they do if

it be from the King or his Council but if some common proclamation not so in state. On this cross be all noblemen hanged and headed, as about nine years since, 1619, or thereabouts, the Earl of Orkney headed, his son hanged and others, for the keeping of a castle against the King, being treason; on this Cross be citations read, denunciations and hornings denounced.' With regard to this not too lucid description, it may be remarked that the Cross of 1629 was not altogether the original Cross of Edinburgh. That had been taken down in 1617 and rebuilt, the old shaft, however, being preserved; this cross, in its turn, was destroyed by an act of civic vandalism in 1756, but the shaft, after many travels, was again used in the reconstruction of the edifice, on a different though neighbouring site, a few years ago. It had witnessed many scenes in Edinburgh life; many executions took place under its shadow, and they were not confined, as the text would lead us to suppose, to noblemen. All sorts and conditions of men here suffered the penalties of the law; the Earl of Orkney above mentioned was Patrick Stewart, who kept great state in his northern island home, and had been in actual rebellion against the King. He was brought to Edinburgh, tried on a charge of treason, and beheaded in 1614. Amongst persons of a humbler degree who paid the penalty of their misdeeds at the Cross may be mentioned the Highland cateran Gilderoy, who was executed in 1636. It was also the scene of the infliction of those minor punishments which were characteristic of the time. Writing in 1652, Nicoll tells us that 'twa Englisches for drinking the King's health were taken and bund at Edinburgh Croce, quhair either of thame resavit thretty-nine quhipes on thair nacked bakes and shoulderis; thairafter their lugs were naillit to the gallows. The ane had his lug cuttit from the ruitt with a razor, the other being also naillit to the gibbet had his mouth skobit (gagged) and his tong being drawn out its full length was bound together betwix twa stiks hard togidder with ane skainzie-thrid for the space of half ane hour thereby.'

Not only does Mr. Lowther chronicle the sights he saw, but he gives a vocabulary of the strange words he heard, which is both interesting and amusing, though it must be confessed

that his ears not unfrequently deceived him. We learn that 'my dowe,' meaning doo, or dove, was then as now used as a common term of endearment, but the writer seems to have thought it was confined exclusively to a wife, which it was not. We note many homely Scottish words still familiar to us, 'gigot,' 'scriver,' 'blithe,' 'sib,' 'clans,' and several more are to be met with every day: we can even make a good guess at what is meant by 'mores,' which is translated 'hills,' 'locky,' an old woman (lucky), 'excamen, exchange,' (excambion), 'lumaut, a chimney,' (lum or lum head), 'diswynes, breakfast,' (dejeuner or disjeune as it was more commonly called in Scotland), 'penyells,' in the sense of 'curtains,' might possibly be meant for 'penkle,' which Jamieson gave as a Perthshire word for a rag, but there are many puzzlers, such as 'chaull, a candlestick,' 'creen, rabbit,' 'sile min, bedtester,' 'a coase or leed garran, a kitte,' and several others, the entirely phonetic spelling which is used probably obscuring what otherwise might be intelligible enough.

Our travellers' excursion extended as far north as Perth, but our limits prohibit us from following their adventures in detail. It is sufficient to say that they went to Dowhill, then an inhabited castle, now a picturesque ruin on the estate of Blair-adam, and stayed with the Lindsay who was laird thereof; thence they went to Kinross, passing a place which is chronicled as Geaney Priggle, under which curious guise it is somewhat difficult to identify Gairney Bridge. In Lochleven are said to be fish of various kinds—pike, many as big as a man, eels, perches, 'gelletoughes,' char, 'camdowes.' The latter are described as 'a kind of trout which have not scales,' and are also mentioned by Jamieson as 'camdui,' a Lochleven fish. As to 'gelletough,' we are told it 'is the high char, syssinge the she,' which perplexing statement we must leave to the consideration of ichthyologists. Passing the 'pretty little house' of my Lord of Burleigh, they proceeded by way of the Bridge of Earn to Perth, where they seem to have stayed some days. The route of their return journey is not stated, but on the 2nd of December they re-crossed the Forth with much danger, and again arrived in Edinburgh, where

they spent two days in taking leave of their friends. 'We were offered acquaintance to my Lord Chancellor, my Lord of Underpeter, and others of the nobles, but we weighed more our own pains in going down the street than their countenance,' from which statement we may conclude that the novelty of the place and of their travels was beginning to pall upon Mr. Lowther and his companions. It is unfortunate for us that they would not avail themselves of the proferred introductions, as it would have been interesting to know who 'my Lord of Underpeter' really was.

The account now given to the public by the Historical MS. Commissioners is an important addition to the narratives which travellers have left us of Scotland in the seventeenth century. It is wonderful how it has escaped observation so long, and we can only hope that its appearance may be the indirect means of bringing to light some similar documents which may be still slumbering among the dust of family archives.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

ART. II.—MR. RUSKIN AS A PRACTICAL TEACHER.

THE impractical nature of some of Mr. Ruskin's teachings, especially in Political Economy, his startling assertions and vigorous protests against received opinions, and his apparently eccentric criticisms have, in times past, been often the cause of regret to his friends and the subject of severe animadversion of his opponents. Some have even provoked ridicule and supercilious banter. It is therefore a pleasant surprise to find in the recently published book of Mr. W. G. Collingwood, on the Work and Life of John Ruskin, that there was a remarkable amount of good sense and practical wisdom in the subject of this biography. It is a work carefully and cautiously prepared by one whose chief claim to our attention, apart from his intimacy with the man whose life and work he so aptly records, is the transparent honesty and fairness in

the estimate it forms of both. It was well that some one should undertake to clear Mr. Ruskin's memory of the charge of utter impracticability, and scoffers and unbelievers will be astonished to see here how much can be said in favour of Mr. Ruskin's practical good sense. Readers of this *Review* will be, moreover, specially pleased to discover that this is entirely attributed to his Scottish descent and Scottish acquaintances. As one is occasionally surprised and pleased to find an Irishman of one's own acquaintance—and we have known such—preternaturally calm, cool, and collected, and able to possess his soul in patience, and straightway puts it down to the fact that Scottish blood runs in his veins, so in the case of Mr. Ruskin what there is of practical common sense in his teaching on art and the art of life, both in practice and precept, is naturally attributed to his Scottish origin and breed, and the Scots who influenced his modes of thought and feeling, such as Sir Walter, Lord Lindsay, Principal Forbes, but most of all Carlyle. Mr. Collingwood informs us even that Scotchmen such as Hogg, Pringle, and Lockhart, were among the first to discover the genius of Ruskin. But lest readers of this paper should be, as Scotchmen, puffed up above measure, we could add the testimony of an Englishwoman who knew Ruskin intimately, Mrs. Ritchie, the daughter of Thackeray, speaks in her personal reminiscences of Ruskin's 'conscience and common sense wrapped up and hidden among the flowers.' With the flowers of his poetical mind all men are acquainted, and their sweet odour is readily acknowledged even by his opponents; that Ruskin's conscience had a keen edge and was delicately formed to discern good and evil when others more obtuse morally could see little or no distinction in ethical niceties was never doubted by any one who had read say a dozen pages of his voluminous works. But that there was a practical mind which could with all sobriety of judgment address itself to the bare facts of life is a new revelation to not a few. When more than ten years ago, the present writer, as the founder and first President of a Ruskin Society in a northern town, was called upon to select a subject for his inaugural address, he felt it necessary to select for his theme,

'Ruskin as a practical teacher.' For addressing, as he did, an audience of enquirers into, rather than students of, Ruskin's methods of teaching, he felt that to remove prejudices on this head was his first duty. Since then, with more knowledge of his writings and progress in culture generally, such prejudices have been partially removed, and readers of Mr. Ruskin's books now come to them with minds better prepared and more favourably predisposed, so as to read them with more sympathetic insight and intelligence. Hence we find both from the information contained in that lately published biography, and from other sources, that these books are more widely read than ever, and that they actually furnish at the present time the chief source of income to their gifted author. This may be a sordid fact to record, but of very practical significance in the present day. And practical people may learn a lesson, too, from this. Here is Mr. Ruskin, who starts in life with a colossal fortune (of some £150,000 or £200,000) and we see him in his impractical way lavishing thousands in founding masterships of drawing, and collections to illustrate their teaching; in founding guilds for impractical objects, but on high moral grounds, and spending what remains, in large sums, for objects of private and public benevolence, until he is nearly left penniless; and lo! and behold! the books he writes in the face of opposition of all the commonsense, practical people, are now practically a source of wealth to compensate the writer for his noble unselfishness—the lesson is this, that of lucre as well as of life, it is true sometimes that he who loses shall find it, and here, too, wisdom is justified by her children. Of Mr. Ruskin as a man, little need be said here by way of introduction to his practical teaching. We may content ourselves with the modest estimate he gives of himself: 'Not an unjust person, nor an unkind one, not a false one; but a lover of order, labour and peace.' By many he has been regarded at times in the light of an intellectual despot and literary usurper, but mainly because he was misunderstood. The consciousness of having an important mission entrusted to him, to teach new or neglected truths to a generation unwilling to give heed to them, may have induced Mr. Ruskin to speak with an air of

authority, bearing a strong resemblance to positive self-assertion. But a careful perusal of his re-published works, and a close attention to the numerous footnotes, where he becomes his own commentator and critic, will soon acquit him of the charge of proud self-sufficiency, for they are full of self-depreciatory remarks on his own productions. And no one, in such a man, can doubt the genuineness of these expressions of humility and self-accusation. Unlike some of his affected followers, Ruskin is perfectly free from the 'consummate' pharisaism and self-idolizing aestheticism which are characteristic rather of the minor prophets of culture, sitting like the foolish soul in Tennyson's Palace of Art, on her intellectual throne, and saying (we cannot believe that Tennyson here refers to Goethe, though Professor Seeley thinks so):—

> 'I marvel if my still delight
> In this great house so royal, rich and wide,
> Be flattered to the height.'

He wished his followers, his biographer informs us, should live their lives to the full in 'admiration, hope, and love,' and in his address before the Cambridge School of Art, in 1858, Mr. Ruskin himself says to his audience: 'There is no way of getting good art, I repeat, but one—at once the simplest and most difficult—namely, to *enjoy* it.' He shows that 'if the artist works without delight, he passes away into space, and perishes of cold; if he works *only for delight*, he falls into the sun, and extinguishes himself in ashes.' In other words, enjoyment there must be, but mere indulgence in artistic or aesthetic pleasure is of the evil; intellectual luxury may become a snare and a selfish hoarding of art treasures for private enjoyment, like every other form of selfishness, not to be encouraged; in short, artistic or literary epicureanism, Mr. Ruskin does not preach, or practice. He would have all the achievements of the mind, whether in literature or in art, serve a *practical* purpose. 'Thus end all the evils of life, only in death; and thus issue all the gifts of man, only in his dishonour, when they are pursued, or possessed in the service of pleasure only.'

Those who would have a competent knowledge of Mr.

Ruskin's theory of art, and its relation to the art of life, should read in the first instance the 'Lectures on Art' delivered before the University of Oxford. Here, as Mr. Collingwood reminds his readers, 'we must look for that matured Ruskinian theory of art which his early works do not reach, and which his writings between 1860 and 1870 do not touch.' Though the Oxford lectures are only a fragment of what he ought to have done, they should be sufficient to a careful reader; though their expression is sometimes obscured by diffuse treatment, they contain the root of the matter thought out for fifteen years, since the close of the more brilliant but less profound period of 'Modern Painters.'

But before we proceed to examine that section of the lectures which bears on our present subject, it may be as well to say a word or two on those impracticalities in Ruskin's teaching which it were vain to ignore, so as to clear the way for the unprejudiced consideration of the main argument. We remember how, some years ago, when conversing with the Rev. J. Ll. Davies on the economic theories of Ruskin, and the importance attached here to ethics, our interlocutor, by a shake of the head, gave us to understand he could not agree, and said, his only response, 'he is so very impracticable.' Less calm and cautious thinkers, and some less competent to pronounce judgment on the question, will be apt to be even more severe in their criticism on Mr. Ruskin's economic theories. As a matter of fact, Thackeray, as editor of the *Cornhill*, had to stop the publication of the essays which were afterwards republished under the title *Unto this Last*, because the public were incensed against the author of those strange definitions and descriptions of value and wealth, and the implied or expressed severe criticism on the prevailing modes of industry which they contained. That wealth is 'the possession of the valuable by the valiant,' put into big capitals; that to be 'valuable' is to 'avail towards life,' 'money gain being only the shadow of the true gain, which is humanity,' and such expressions as 'There is no wealth but life,'—this seemed at that time the ravings of a lunatic. When he described in *Time and Tide* competition 'as a confused wreck of

heathenism in whose name all manner of evils might be speciously justified :—"tantum religio potuit suadere malorum"—in short Ruskin's Economy points to an ideal, it calls a *practical* legislation to accept the principle, "I ought, therefore I can," and to drag the world up to a moral standard : whereas, the Old Economy's influence was the reverse. And in practical issues he was fully cognisant of human infirmities, and of the necessity for gradual evolution to the "moral culture" he speaks of.'

His biographer adds a curious anecdote to show the practicalness of this teaching, (which, however, we must add, Mr. Ruskin full well knew would not be received or acted upon by practical people for many a day,) that when the General of the Salvation Army was working out his social scheme, he told the Rev. H. V. Mills, the first promoter of the Home-Colony plan, that he was entirely ignorant of Political Economy, and asked for a book on the subject. Mills thereupon gave him *Unto this Last*—the *Munera Pulveris* would have been a more valuable gift as a guide to the science. The theories and schemes formulated in *Fors Clavigera* have been more than once called 'utterly impractical.' Mr. Collingwood points out, that what Ruskin suggested as an ideal, was never intended for immediate adoption, and differed from other Utopias in being 'far nearer realization than they.' We may add here, as an illustration of this, that one of his suggestions, the re-introduction of the old guild system, and making it universal, not local, to adopt it to modern needs, is held up as a social panacea at this very moment by practical statesmen in Austria and France, and has been partially attempted in the legislation of the former country. And what could be more practical than to say, as Mr. Ruskin does to the workmen in one of his letters in the *Fors*, 'Your prosperity is in your own hands. Only in a remote degree does it depend on external matters, and, least of all, on forms of government.' There are many sayings, no doubt, which are not so easily reconciled with practical commonsense. His definition, *e.g.*, of the 'civilized nation,' as consisting broadly of mob, money-collecting machine (by which he means the State) and capitalists, his unmeasured terms of contempt, in which he declaims against machinery, the exaggerated glorification of 'hand-labour,' and equally exaggerated dislike of steam 'smoking

kettles,' his sweeping condemnation of 'this age of steam and iron, luxury and selfishness,' and 'the discordant insolence of modernism.' All these must be put down as the excusable vagaries of genius, as the rash though vigorous utterances of a chivalric soul trying his lance in the defence of natural beauty and wholesome simplicity, as a champion of what is noble and true, as against all that is ugly, base and churlish, desecrating nature and degrading humanity. Again, his efforts practically to embody his ideals in the formation, *e.g.*, of the St. George's Guild :—

'A body of persons who think, primarily, that it is time for honest persons to separate themselves intelligibly from knaves, announcing their purpose, if God help them, to live in godliness and honour, not in atheism and rascality ; and who think, secondarily, that the sum which well-disposed persons usually set aside for charitable purposes (named the tenth part of their income) may be most usefully applied in buying land for the nation, and entrusting the cultivation of it to a body of well-taught and well-cared for peasantry.'

His rashness in putting £7000 into the St. George's Company, which we need not say was a bad investment; his opening a tea-shop in Paddington Street, to be conducted on high commercial principles; his organization of crossing sweeping between the British Museum and St. Giles's, on ethical principles, and that of bands of undergraduates for digging roads, so as to serve their day and generation by manual labour, and for the benefit of their own moral and mental culture; in these things he cannot be said to have been eminently practical. They were protests against the false assumptions and inconsistent doings of selfish practical people, whom he perhaps too severely taxed with being given to 'sharp practice.' But in doing all this, he practised what he preached, which is not always true of the modern philanthropist. The principle which guided him is contained in the following passage, illustrating his intention in what may seem to some Quixotic attempts to realize his ideals. It is taken from *Unto this Last*, and distinguishes between true and false wealth, the methods of acquiring and using it when accumulated :—

'Any given accumulation of commercial wealth may be indicative, on the one hand, of faithful industries, progressive energies, and productive

less tyranny, ruinous chicane . . . one man of money is the outcome of ingenuities; or, on the other, it may be indicative of mortal luxury, merciaction which has created—another, of action which has annihilated—ten times as much in the gathering of it; such and such strong hands have been paralyzed, as if they had been numbed by night shade; so many strong men's courage broken, so many productive operations hindered; this and the other false direction given to labour, and lying image of prosperity set up on Dura plains dug in seven-times-heated furnaces. That which seems to be wealth may in verity be only the gilded index of far-reaching ruin; a wrecker's handful of coin gleaned from the beach to which he has beguiled an argosy; an army-follower's bunch of rags unwrapped from the breasts of goodly soldiers dead; the purchase-pieces of potter's fields, wherein shall be buried together the citizen and the stranger.'

Stripped of its gorgeous array of style, this passage has its practical suggestions, directly and suggestively on the great question, not only of getting, but also of spending the surplus of wealth at any given time or place; in short, on the relation of commerce to art, and the close connection that exists between the ideals of art and an ideal art of life. This more particularly as applying to our own times and country. For there comes a time in the history of every great commercial community, when the mere acquisition of money for its own sake gives way to the tendency of making a rational use of it in surrounding ourselves with objects of art, which, for their due appreciation, require a cultivated mind and refined taste, the results of leisure, liberation of mind from sordid cares, luxurious ease, and new dangers arise from these. This was the case in the rising towns at the close of the mediæval era, and partly in consequence of the discovery of new treasures in hitherto undiscovered countries. Such, again, is the case now, owing to the vast increase of wealth as the result of the discovery of steam and machinery, and numberless mechanical appliances taught by modern science. With it the interest in art and culture has been growing apace. Among the four causes promoting art studies in our own day enumerated by Mr. Ruskin in the 'Lectures on Art,' there are at least two which affect Great Britain, namely, the frequent intercourse with foreign nations, as a result of maritime greatness, and this facilitates acquaintance with the masterpieces of foreign art; secondly, the impulse given to the production of art treasures

by the rapid accummulation of wealth, as a purchasing power to acquire them. Such, too, was the case with Italian towns of the Renaissance. Both causes operate in the same direction. They make us feel the want of a safe guide to the masterpieces of art, and a guardian to warn us against faults of taste in the encouragement of artists, but the search after the beautiful ends, as it undoubtedly has done in quite recent times, in æsthetic knight-errantry and sensuous degeneracy, a new faction threatening to dominate modern literature as well as modern art, which is apt to regard them as means to 'amuse indolence or satisfy sensibility.' Now this want of the age Mr. Ruskin may be said to supply. This evidently he considers to be his right province, all his works bear testimony to it, unconsciously at first, too consciously since, perhaps, he has made himself the art prophet of his age and nation. As such, it cannot be denied that he combines in his person and doctrine artistic thoroughness with catholicity of taste, having a fine appreciation alike for the lofty idealism and consummate execution peculiar to the 'old masters,' and the truth loving and truth expressing minute realism of the moderns. His lectures on Dutch art, delivered in Edinburgh, are an excellent example of the latter. But what is of still greater importance, he never loses sight of the truth not appreciated by the professed lovers of 'Art for Art's Sake,' that the fine arts are a moral force in society, so that 'the art of any country is an exact exponent of its ethical life,' or as Mr. Ruskin says still more distinctly in the *Crown of Wild Olive*, 'what we *like* determines what we *are*, and is the sign of what we are; and to teach taste is inevitably to form character.' In expressions such as these, scattered broadcast over all his writings, we found our argument that he is a practical teacher, showing the real bearing on every day life of every subject in science, art, or economics, on which he expatiates.

Thus in Mr. Ruskin's exposition of the relationship of art to use, morals, and religion, we have an epitome of his theoretical view of the true functions of art in human life, showing its serviceableness in the lower and higher aims of existence, as a means for the attainment of material competency, moral cul-

ture, and a refined religious cultus, with due regard to the intimate connection which subsists between taste and toil, ethics and æsthetics, culture and commonsense. 'The highest thing that art can do is to set before you the true image of the presence of a noble human being.' And accordingly he goes on to say in the second lecture; 'The great arts . . . have had and can have, but three principal directions of purpose: first, that of enforcing the religion of man; secondly, that of perfecting their ethical state; thirdly, that of doing them material service.'

We may reverse this order, and dwell on the last of them first, so as to see what in Mr. Ruskin's opinion is the practical value of art studies and art productions. It will be remembered that he has given some hard hits to practical people, as when he says, in *Sesame and Lilies*, that 'a nation cannot with impunity . . . go on despising literature, despising science, despising nature, despising compassion, and concentrating its soul on pence.' Here the typical man of practical commonsense is ready to rejoin: 'True, man does not live by bread alone, but all the same he does not live very long without it.' If life simply becomes a graceful recreation, who will do the hard work and collect the pence for purchasing pictures and other art treasures? If Mr. Ruskin's father had not accumulated a fortune in the wine trade, his son could not have enjoyed the learned leisure required for writing *Modern Painters*. Mr. Ruskin would agree so far with the practical man reasoning thus. But he would add, as he says in the *Crown of Wild Olive*:—

> 'No nation ever made its bread either by its great arts, or its great wisdoms. By its minor arts and manufactures, by its practical knowledges, yes; but its noble scholarships, its noble philosophy, and its noble art, are always to be bought as a treasure, not sold for a livelihood. You do not learn that you may live—you live that you may learn.'

In this work, too, showing the value of education and speaking on England's future, he shows that as all education begins in work, so 'the only thing of consequence is what we *do;* and for man, woman, or child, the first point of education is to make them do their best.' But this is an eminently practical

view of education; one of its ends, its chief end in effect is practical work, as thoroughness of workmanship is that on which Mr. Ruskin constantly insists in all his lessons on Art, never forgetting, however, the importance of 'fostering and guarding of all gentle life and natural beauty on the earth.' In short, in his own mind there is no violent sundering of those two, the *utile* and the *dulce*. Speaking of their art studies as part of the University curriculum, he says, in his inaugural address to the students of the Cambridge School of Art, 'You must get it (*i.e.* Art) to serve some serious work.' But nevertheless, it is the mission of Art, too, to provide the needful for our moments of leisure, and to add to the charm of cultured ease,—'Art adds grace to utility.' If impractical people are apt to get into raptures over sun-flowers and old china, and are in danger of a transcendental worship of the beautiful which strikes the practical mind as exquisite trifling, the practical man of the nineteenth century is but too apt to think that, as Carlyle says,—we quote from memory the thought rather than the words—there is no other heaven but success, and no other hell but failure, in the ordinary concerns of life. In this practical Utopia the profitable and the hideous are often close neighbours, the dwellers in a fool's paradise, which is only an earthly paradise of their own creation, being as much deceived by their illusions as are the least practical of dreamers. If we can manage to remove the ugly neighbour without going to extremes, there is no reason why in some way Philistia may not be turned into Arcadia. 'To get the country clean and the people lovely' by improvements in dress and dwelling, might, in a very practical way, increase our present stock of 'mental health, power, and pleasure,' and thus add to the 'joys of existence.'

Again, if as a commercial community, we pride ourselves on being matter-of-fact people, we are reminded by Mr. Ruskin, in these art lectures, that it is one of the functions of art to record *fact*, as in the case of drawing rocks, plants, and wings a [illegible]ls, thus assisting in a serviceable manner the study of [illegible], Botany, and Zoology. Now, all these are practical, [illegible] become even profitable studies. In the faithful re-

production, moreover, of the appearances of sky, the phenomena of animal life, and the skilled portraiture of human features, art renders transitory impressions of fact more permanent and records otherwise easily neglected facts in an impressive manner. But, we ask, what can be more practical than facts.

Again, although it would be lowering our ideas of the functions of art simply to endeavour to develop art-skill with a view to profit, yet Mr. Ruskin even shows that a well-trained nation may ultimately profit by the exercise of its peculiar art-skill, though he adds, that art-skill can never be developed 'with a view to profit' successfully, though it may do so incidentally. For this reason he despairs of the English ever excelling in decorative design, because of the oppressive anxieties which cramp their mind as a commercial people. But this is only a question of degree. It is not denied that such skill can be acquired, and that its acquisition tends to profit, and this is pre-eminently a practical consideration.

Passing on from the lower to the higher function of art, from the material to the moral standpoint of Ruskin, as an art critic, we find him saying 'Life without industry is guilt, and industry without art is brutality.' But the brutal man is immoral. Hence, it would follow that art is a moralizing force. In what way may it be regarded as a moral lever in a materialistic age? Mr. Ruskin, with other social reformers of the day, speaks again and again of the need of more integrity and simplicity in modern life. He also points to simplicity and sincerity and truth to nature as the first requisites of true art, and recommends them both to artists and art-students. But are simplicity and sincerity the characteristics of an age which begins to take a deeper interest in art, so that the latter becomes actually an important ethical factor in the refining process of society? Art has mostly flourished in the midst of a corrupt society, the product itself of a perishing civilization, reflecting in its later developments a contemporaneous degeneracy in mind and morals. This is simply a historical common-place. Mr. Ruskin replies after this manner:—Tracing the rise, progress, and decline of high civilizations, he

speaks of a period bearing strong resemblance to the times we live in, when 'conscience and intellect are so highly developed that new forms of error begin in the inability to fulfil the demands of the one, or to answer the doubts of the other.' 'Then,' he says, 'the wholeness of the people is lost; all kinds of hypocrisies and oppositions of science develop themselves; their faith is questioned on one side and compromised with on the other; wealth commonly increases at the same period to a destructive extent; luxury follows; the ruin of the nation is then certain.' He shows how in such a case art becomes the exponent of each successive step in the downward course, not as the *cause*, but as the *consequences* of such a state of things. 'If in such times fair pictures have been misused, how much more fair realities.' And if Miranda is immoral to Caliban is that Miranda's fault?'

Ours it would seem is an age in perilous proximity to this stage in the development of civilization. If this be so, then the most powerful preservation of society is the creation and maintenance of lofty standards and high ideals to save it from corruption, affecting alike the canons of art itself, and the regulating principles of the art of life in their mutual action and re-action. The sensuous realism in some forms of modern art is not so much a return to nature as a reflection of a practical materialism. The highest efforts of art, whether in poetry or painting, are a rebuke to, rather than a reflection of, the prevailing utilitarianism or hedonism in ethics and æsthetics. The art of any country is not always 'the exponent of its social and political virtues,' nor is it true, invariably, that 'the art, or general productive and formative energy, of any country, is an exact exponent of its ethical life,' as Mr. Ruskin affirms in his inaugural lecture. For in the masterpieces of Greek sculpture, of Gothic architecture, and Renaissance paintings, we have the h[illegible] ideals of the best minds, the heroic efforts of a small [illegible]nant of high-souled artists living in a realistic era, and s[illegible]ing against depressing and degrading influences around [illegible]o, if they could not avert the coming catastrophe, [illegible] the survival of what was best in an age of de-[illegible] art may preserve the continuity of human

development in holding up the indestructible standards of order and goodness in the world. This moral function of art, appealing to the imagination, stimulating noble passion, and illuminating the path of duty, as a light in a dark place, is one of the most important truths taught by Mr. Ruskin in his works, and exemplified in his private and public career, 'the highest thing that art can do is to set before you the true image of the presence of a noble human being.' He insists on 'the ethical state of mind and body,' the moral force which guides the hand, the mental energy which gives muscular firmness and subtilty to execution.' So, in the *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, he shows how 'the truth, decision and temperance, which we reverently regard as honourable conditions of the spiritual being, have a representative or derivative influence over the works of the hand, the movements of the frame, and the action of the intellect.' Here, again, we are on debateable ground, the question arises, how far can good work proceed from bad men? Is it true as an axiom in the theory of art that the moral temper of the workman is shewn by his seeking lovely forms of thought to express as well as by the force of his hand in expression? 'Thus to select an example from the Art of Poetry, is it possible that such a piece of work as the *Paradise Lost* could have been written by a Royalist contemporary of Milton, tainted though he might have been by the profligate surroundings of his class and party, as some of the best poems of Burns and Byron bear no trace of the feebleness of moral fibre in their composition? Burns and Byron were called the two 'most poetical geniuses of the time' by Carlyle, and no one will accuse Carlyle of obtuseness in moral perception. It is almost impossible at this time of day to decide whether any one but Milton could have written what is best in the *Paradise Lost*. But there can be no doubt that the sincerity and natural sensibility breathing through every line of Burns's lyrics remain unimpaired by the sordid coarseness of the man and his surroundings, while the earnestness and energy which mark the masterpieces of Byron's muse are as little weakened by the egotism of the 'Sulky Dandy,' or marred by the 'sulphurous humour' of this 'Chief of the Satanic School.' True,

in not a few of Byron's poems we see reflected the incontrollable individualism of the man as well as the force and ferocity of his time. Unconsciously, he reproduces the stirring activities of that era of material progress, and the rapid triumphs of the pushing middle class. But, consciously, he rebels against all this and the social hypocrisies and paltry pride resulting therefrom. Thus Byron, like Burns, becomes a compound of inspired clay. What is best in both, *i.e.*, the inspired portion, the product of their best thoughts, conceived in their best moments—this survives, the rest is destined to perish, unable to bear the crucial test of time, 'when every man's work shall be made manifest.' And so the truth of Mr. Ruskin's dictum on the intimate connection between art and morals remains firmly established. 'If there be, indeed, sterling value in the thing done, it has come of a sterling worth in the soul that did it, however alloyed and defiled by conditions of sin, which are sometimes more appalling and more strange than those which all may detect in their own hearts, because they are part of a personality altogether larger than ours, and as far beyond our judgment in its darkness as beyond our following in its light.'

We come next to speak of the relation of Art to Religion, remembering what Butler says in his Analogy that 'Religion is a practical thing.' The object of Art is not only to support man in the battle of life and in the conflict with adverse forces in the universe, which is the province of the useful arts of life, promoting technical skill and ethics, promoting the habits in moral conduct, but, also, as Mr. Ruskin says again and again, with characteristic insistence, 'Art in its higher revelations is intended to vitalize religious faith and to supply aids for the furthering of the higher life.' This we have reserved for treatment in the last instance, not in the spirit of wayward caprice, but with a purpose; not because in a practical age we assign the first and foremost place to the practical value of Art, but because this arrangement enables us to treat of the three functions of Art in the ascending order of importance, taking the religious aspect last, as presumably the most important, even to practical people. Besides, it is not too much to assume that in the natural evolution of man in the nineteenth century, he passes first through the two stages

of Mammonism and Ethical Materialism before he reaches the higher stage of religious spirituality. We know, as a matter of course, that it is quite possible for religious idealism to co-exist with the worship of a 'splendid materiality,' the historian of Materialism lays this to the charge of the English people. There is no doubt such a thing as the 'Ethics of the Dust,' we mean here what Mr. Ruskin does not mean by this title of one of his books, we mean gold dust. But no one in his heart believes in these simulacra of morals and religion. They are those who, in the words of Mr. Ruskin, turn the 'household gods of Christianity into ugly idols of their own.' The practical question before us is how far Art may aid religion in the present day, adding its 'sweetness' to the 'light' of religious thought, so that grace and truth may walk the earth together, and Art, in the best sense of the word, become auxiliary to religion.

The restlessness of our life at high pressure, wasting as it does, our energies in the pursuit of industry, and marring, as it also does, our enjoyments, snatched from endless occupations during short intervals of disturbed leisure; this restlessness of which we hear complaints on every side, is not without its effects on the religious life of the present day. It produces a species of stirring and exciting religionism which Mr. Ruskin severely, but not inaptly, describes as 'gas-lighted and gas-inspired Christianity.' How far may Art become serviceable in counteracting these tendeneies and, as the handmaid of religion, help in adorning and beautifying her mistress? And in order to this we may inquire with Mr. Ruskin, 'how far in any of its agencies it has advanced the cause of the creeds it has been used to recommend.' He evidently considers the functions of Art to consist in producing feelings of reverence without superstition, aiding the exercise of practical piety as the most beautiful form of godliness. He shows how realistic Art, in its lower forms, does not produce this effect, addressing itself, as it does, to the vulgar desire for religious excitement; and in all this he is pre-eminently practical. He shows how for a long time, *e.g.*, the pictorial representations of Christ's Passion 'occupied the sensibility of Christian women, universally, in lamenting the sufferings of Christ instead of preventing those of His people. He ridicules

the 'gentlemen of the embroidered robe,' and reminds modern lovers of an æsthetic ritual that 'the melodious chants and prismatic brightness of vitrious pictures and floral graces of deep-wrought stone 'were not intended for their poor pleasure, or to serve as means for attracting "fleshly minded persons,"' but that the artistic love of these things should not exclude practical work among human beings, and the practice of common virtues in 'useful and humble trades.' At the same time, Ruskin admits that realistic art in its higher branches 'touches the most sincere religious minds' in fixing, re-calling and symbolizing truths in a class of persons which cannot be reached by merely poetic design. He points out that though religious symbolism has not unfrequently had a mischievous influence in enabling men and women to realize as true things untrue, as in the case of representing false Deities in Greek art, yet that these very representations, as the expression of perfect human form, exercised an ennobling effect on a naturally artistic people. From which it may be deduced that Mr. Ruskin does not regard the advance of art and religion as an unmixed good. This conclusion is strengthened by an allusion to another phenomenon in the history of religious art, the exhibition of a maiden's purity and maternal self-renunciation in the paintings of the Madonna, symbolizing the feminine virtues of Christianity, and thus becoming the means of softening and refining the manners of a rude age, whilst in the encouragement of the lower forms of Mariolatry the same pictures exercised a baneful influence in retarding the progress of religious culture. But in balancing the effects of art and religion thus much may be taken for granted if we accept Ruskin's well-balanced theory that, as art has often been ennobled by religion, so by the alliance of art with religion the ideal life of man has been exalted and transfigured, and that in the same way art may still prove a vital element in revealing or recalling noble truths to the religious mind, or become the acknowledged interpreter of religious thought and feeling. Thus it happens that the severe gloom of Egyptian, compared with the sunny airiness of Greek temples, that the massive solemnity of Gothic architecture, compared with the ornate style of the later Renaissance, suggest at once the

respective phases of religious thought and feeling under varying conditions as to time and place. Even we might try the patchwork of Church restoration in the 19th century, as compared with the solid and original work of 13th century church-architecture is in some way symbolical of the contrast of religious life past and present, symbolizing, so to speak, the constructive and re-constructive tendencies of two religious eras, and reflecting the wide difference existing between the mediæval and modern spirit, the one rearing, the other repairing the edifice of religious opinion in the ages of faith and doubt, respectively.

We may mention here, too, an apparent inconsistency of Mr. Ruskin's in connection with this subject, the architecture and ornamentation of places devoted to sacred purposes. In the lectures on art there are some paragraphs directed against localizing the Deity in temples made with hands before 'we have striven with all our hearts first to sanctify the body and spirit of every child that has no roof to cover its head from the cold, and no walls to guard its soul from corruption, in this our land.' On the other hand, in the 'Lamp of Sacrifice,' though the main portion of the *Seven Lamps of Architecture* was written at a time when Mr. Ruskin was under the domination of anti-ecclesiastical ideas, he speaks thus: 'I say this emphatically that the tenth part of the expense which is sacrificed in domestic vanities, if not absolutely and meaninglessly both in domestic discomforts and incumbrances, would, if collectively offered and wisely employed, build a humble church for every town in England, such a church as it should be a joy and a blessing even to pass near in our daily ways and walks, and as it would bring the light into the eyes to see from afar, lifting its fair height above the purple crowd of humble roofs.' The inconsistency disappears if we note in this place that churches are regarded as national rather than ecclesiastical structures, and that it is the idolatry of sacred places at the expense of sacred human beings, and the building up of stately edifices instead of edifying humanity, which Ruskin attacks. He pronounces his severe strictures on the neglect of natural and domestic sanctities on the part of those who, in their eagerness, and at great expense, provide spiritual sanctuaries. As it often happens, in such attacks by men of strong feeling

and convictions against the abuse of a thing, they unconsciously omit to do full justice to its legitimate uses. 'I know,' he says himself, by way of apology, in the fourth Lecture, 'that I gave some pain, which I was most unwilling to give, in speaking of the possible abuses of religious art; but there can be no danger, if any, so long as we remember that God inhabits villages as well as churches, and ought to be well lodged there . . . in thus putting the arts to universal use, you will find also their universal inspiration, their benediction.' So far from being not practical enough in this way of subsidiary art teaching, Mr. Ruskin is almost more practical than the most practical people themselves in his wrath against their fussy and fidgetty methods of adorning religion externally, and surrounding religious worship with a stately magnificence, he would rather see them engaged in acts of practical beneficence. 'You might sooner get lightning out of incense smoke than true action or passion out of your modern English religion,' he says, in *Sesame and Lilies.* 'You had better get rid of the smoke and the organ pipes, both; leave them, and the Gothic windows, and the painted glass, to the property man: give up your carburetted hydrogen ghost in one healthy expiration, and look after Lazarus at the doorstep. For there is a true Church wherever one hand meets another helpfully, and that is the only holy or Mother Church which ever was, or ever shall be.' In short, he prefers holy work to holy worship, the cultivation of virtue to religious cultus. He sees the great danger of modern religion becoming simply a graceful occupation of the mind, heart, and senses, an absorption in problems that interest, in emotions that please, and in religious observances which simply delight, and in the following of which the weightier matters are omitted or neglected; in short, he is deeply impressed by a sense of danger lest a graceful religionism should serve as a substitute to practical piety. 'The greatest of all the mysteries of life,' he says, 'and the most terrible, is the corruption of even the sincerest religion, which is not daily founded on rational, effective, humble, and helpful action.' This, again, we submit, is a very practical view of the matter.

We may leave here the subject of the relation of art to reli-

gion, morals and use, and dwell in what remains of our space on the relative duties of men and women in self-culture, 'social action and affection,' and their common mission of life, taking here *Sesame and Lilies*, perhaps the most popular of Mr. Ruskin's works, for our text. The substance of the first lecture may be described in the words of Bacon's aphorism, 'Knowledge is Power.' Its purport is to show, besides, that companionship with the royal leaders of thought, hence the title, 'King's Treasuries,' is the most ennobling condition of humanity. Rules are laid down accordingly for a careful selection of books, and the manner of reading them. If we cannot quite reach Mr. Ruskin's own standard of minute analysis in reading, or his curious trick of nice discernment for the multifarious shades of meaning in every single word, and even syllable, of the books of great authors, we can at least see here the practical tendency of the specialist combined with both elevation and catholicity of thought. The advice he puts into the mouth of the great teachers of mankind, as addressed to small learners: 'You must rise to the level of our thoughts if you would be gladdened by them, and share our feelings if you would recognise our presence,' is an instance illustrating the latter. And it is the absence of this higher sense, as distinguished from common sense, which no doubt prevents the best ideas from gaining currency among the literary mob, and which renders the works of Mr. Ruskin himself caviare to the mixed multitude of general readers. These lack 'spiritual understanding.' And to give another instance to show the practical nature of his teaching as an apostle of self-culture—like Matthew Arnold, understanding thereby literary culture as 'the study of perfection' in the best authors,—'Consider,' he says, 'all great accomplishments as means of assistance to others.' Literature is not to serve the purpose of self-indulgent intellectual luxury, but to become the instrument for effecting the general good, mentally and morally.

It is needless to dwell on Mr. Ruskin's definition of the duty of men and women respectively; suffice it to quote a passage recalling some well-known lines of Schiller's *Glocke*, though, if space did permit, we should much like to quote an expansion of

the whole idea it conveys in the sixty-eighth paragraph of 'Queen's Gardens':—

'The man's duty, as a member of the Commonwealth, is to assist in the maintenance, in the advance, in the defence of the State. The woman's duty, as a member of the Commonwealth, is to assist in the ordering, in the comforting, and in the beautiful adornment of the State.'

It is touching to read the following words, too, on the true wife and the ministry of women, when we remember some of the sad experiences of the author of the words in his own domestic life, his ill-fated love for the beautiful Scotch lady whom he married, and the other whom he did not marry, but neither of whom were destined to be to him what he yearned after in the desire of a wife, a subject delicately skimmed over by his biographer, and which we must pass over in the same spirit:—

'Wherever a true wife comes, this home is always round her. The star may be only over her head; the glowworm in the night-cold grass may be the only fire at her foot; but home is yet wherever she is; and for a noble woman it stretches far round her, better than ceiled with cedar, or painted with vermillion, shedding its quiet light far, for those who else were homeless.'

On life in general it is well to listen to the weighty words of a man like Ruskin, who, whatever his faults and heresies as an economist or art teacher may amount to, commands reverential respect when he speaks on the significance of life as a whole, and the conclusion of this book contains the gist of the matter. 'Whatever our station in life may be,' he says in the last chapter, headed 'The Mystery of Life and its Arts,' 'at this crisis, those of us who mean to fulfil our duty, ought first to live on as little as we can; and secondly, to do all the wholesome work for it we can, and to spend all we can spare in doing all the sure good we can.' Thus, he thinks, the mystery of life may be solved in performing life's common duties, and by means of harmonious self-development to enrich the life of the race. It is the gospel of work by those well furnished by self-culture that is preached here, so it is in Gœthe's second part of Faust, as pointed out by the present author in a previous paper in this *Review*, it is the religion of the cultured of the nineteenth century. But whatever we may think of it from a theological point of view, it

is eminently practical as a theory of life. It brings again Ruskin before us as a practical teacher, and this is all we try to prove in this paper. On this 'sacredness of work' he dwells in the *Crown of Wild Olive* as when he says thus, that the best grace before meat is the consciousness that we have justly earned our dinner. What he says of the crown of wild olive, the reward of our labours, is true of his own work, which is to teach a practical age how to combine what is best and most elevating in labour and leisure, both being 'serviceable for the life that now is; nor, it may be, without promise of that which is to come.' Throughout these voluminous writings we shall find the same lesson taught, the importance of practical every day duty, and the importance, too, whilst keeping to the firm ground of the real, never to lose sight of the deeper significance of life and its aims, its final goal. The useful arts of life, the ideal arts of the higher life, all human effort, in practical appliances and moral aspirings, religious inspiration and striving after spiritual excellence, in the opinion of Ruskin, serve the purpose, singly and collectively, of discipline for some distinctive good, making the increase of healthy life and development in the individual subservient to the progress and well-being finally of the race. For in spite of many melancholy and desponding utterances, Mr. Ruskin is all the time inspired 'by a solemn faith in the advancing power of human nature,' and 'in the promise, however dimly apprehended, that the mortal part of it would one day be swallowed up in immortality.' A complete solution of the enigmas of life we must not expect from him. New questions rise at every turn, demanding a practical reply which is not always forthcoming. To what extent the refinements of art and culture incapacitate man for the rough encounters of daily competition, how far in quickening the finer sensibilities of man we may weaken his moral fibre, and how much will-force may be sacrificed in the excessive development of our receptive and æsthetic faculties; how we may maintain a right balance between active energy and passive enjoyment —these are some of the practical questions which are suggested here, but not answered. Mr. Ruskin does not profess to answer them fully or finally. But we owe much to him for suggesting them, and stimulating inquiry in order to their ultimate elucida-

tion and solution. He has done so effectually by the freshness of his treatment, the simplicity of his statements, the clearness of his reasoning, his fervid earnestness, scholarly integrity, and enticing truthfulness in style and treatment. In the pursuit of high aims and a noble purpose in life, he has helped as few have done in this practical age in transforming the common into the Divine by the force of commanding genius, the rhythmical cadence of his inimitable word music, itself, becoming symbolical of the chief endeavour of his life and work, to resolve the discordant tones of modern life into something approaching to harmonious unity.

M. KAUFMANN.

ART. III.—'SOME ASPECTS OF THE MODERN SCOT.'

> 'O wad some power the giftie gie us,
> To see oorsels as ithers see us.'

APROPOS of the great lexicographer's definition of oats as 'a grain, which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people,' somebody (doubtless a patriotic Scot) is credited with the observation that while one country turned out the best steeds, the best people were the product of the other. But in these days, when, as with golf, whisky, songs of the North, and many other excellent things, the virtues of oatmeal porridge have long since been made known to the dwellers in the South, the point of this connotation loses much of its force. Both nations have indeed borrowed much from one another, as was inevitable in face of the enormously increased facilities of intercommunication thrown open to the two countries during the latter half of the present century. Nevertheless, in many respects, it is undeniable that Scotsmen and Scotswomen remain to-day, if not quite as much so as they did a generation or two back, still very markedly differentiated from their Southern kinsfolk. And, though to some it may seem a bold, if not presumptuous, undertaking, on the part of an Anglo-Briton, to make such an attempt, my aim

in this paper is to present to the reader a few personal impressions or character-sketches, if I may so style them, derived during the wanderings of many years, more or less in every county of Scotland, and into all sorts of odd nooks and corners therein. If one is to be permitted to venture upon *études* dealing with the characteristics of a people, I suppose constant travel among them with the eyes and ears open may be taken as one of the best credentials for the task. Moreover, has not the discerning Boswell truly said, 'that scenes through which a man has passed improve by lying in the memory: they grow mellow.' So also, I take it, of persons, manners, and customs.

It has, of course, to be noted at the outset in forming any generalised estimate of the Scottish character, that the Highland Celt and the conglomerate Lowlander are in many ways very dissimilar. In like manner, certain local and dialectic peculiarities may be traced, as *e.g.*, in the Aberdonian, the Ayrshire man, and the Borderer, while there are distinct contrasts between the people of two cities so near to each other as Edinburgh and Glasgow. But this is equally true of England, or almost any other nationality, while yet there may be sufficient assimilation of the various components to embody one marked main type.

It would be out of place here to enquire how far the racial varieties, the feudal environment of his ancestors, the diversified landscape features of his country, so largely moorland or mountainous, its climate, and sparseness of location, its admirable parochial system of education instituted near two centuries since, and so on—have contributed to mould the character and idiosyncrasy of the Scot, and to tint his pervading political complexion. Certain it is that these influences have carried him on to the present time a strongly marked individuality, contrasting with the rest of the inhabitants of our islands, and one which, it will be admitted, constitutes a very interesting study. Nay, has not a great living statesman paid a high tribute to the Caledonian pre-eminence. 'I say with national humiliation,' was the observation of Lord Salisbury on a recent memorable occasion, 'that England has not improved so fast as Scotland. But that is the result of that extreme superiority

in respect of all mundane affairs which is shown by all those who are born north of the Tweed.' *

First, then, what is the dominant note in the average Scottishman's character? We hear much of his thrift, his caution, his perseverance, his dogged resolution, his faculty for pushing his way in the world, and undoubtedly these are strong representative constituents in his composition. But I think it may be asserted without fear of challenge that the keystone of his mental structure and disposition is self-esteem. The Scot's primary form of prayer has been waggishly described as 'O Lord, gie us a gude conceit o' oorselves,' and the answer to the petition when put up is, it must be confessed, seldom denied. The thing may be hidden in reserve, overlaid by shyness, dignified under gravity of demeanour, but all the same it is there, a sort of inward conviction of that superiority in mundane affairs we have just noted. You may soften it down by naming it self-possession or self-confidence, if you will, but draw a northern Briton into conversation in any rank of life below the gentle, and the strength of the sentiment will soon make itself apparent. The history of his country, his sanguinary and patriotic struggles against the hated Southern in days of yore, his extraordinary success in every quarter of the globe, the roll of great statesmen, distinguished viceroys and proconsuls, soldiers, divines, literati, merchant princes, he is entitled to boast of; all these are so many bays in the garland of laurel he is ever ready to entwine round the national brow, to minister to his own self-satisfaction.

This is not said invidiously: the Scot does well to be proud of his countrymen and their record; I only contend that intense self-esteem is the predominant element to reckon with in estimating his character. Often have I been amused with the calm assumption of perfect equality with the whole world†

* Speech in the House of Lords on the Government of Ireland Bill (8th September, 1893.) *Times* report.

† A Scotch M.P. [Mr. Hunter], speaking recently in the House of Commons, said that his countrymen would have no grades or ranks, and that they had always exhibited a passion for equality.—Debate on Scottish Grand Committees, 17th April, 1894.

evinced by Sandy, the farm hand, Davie, the railway porter, Wullie, the boots at mine inn, and such like worthies. The self-appraisement of a certain ducal clansman 'She's as goot as the dook, and maybe a little petter too,' entirely voices the general underlying conviction of the modern fisherman, crofter, or loafer in the Highland glens and estuaries, though it may not always be expressed exactly in that way. The shop-boy of the town, however, the artisan, the son of handicraft whatsoever it may be, lags but little behind the Highlander in this respect. Only the other day I had a specimen of this conjoined to great good-nature, or I may say kindliness. In one of the quaintest of old-world slumberous villages, not a hundred miles from Dunedin, I accosted a fairly respectable-looking man, and asked if I was going right for the railway station. 'Man, ye're gaun a far *rod* tull't' was the rejoinder, and then he took me in hand, got the keys of the old show ruins of the place, did cicerone for an hour or more, and finally assured me it was not hindering him at all, for that 'naebody had ony business, like, in the toon, except just in summer when the visitors came.' I can recall another occasion when, having some official business to transact with a small educational underling in a Scotch parish, after the business was done he calmly invited me to join him and some other of his village gossips in a rubber of whist!

Then again, another manifestation of the same self-estimation is to be noted in the rarity of the use of 'Sir,' or 'Ma'am,' north of Tweed. This is very striking to an Englishman. Perhaps the freeborn Scot considers that to address such apellatives to others, in whatever grade of life, would be derogatory; an admission of inferiority, a badge of servility. Just so: the self-assurance coming out again. 'A man's a man for a' that'—have they not their national bard's word for it? The same with the children. Who ever sees a boy of the Scotch working-classes doff his cap, or a girl curtsey? No disrespect is intended, I firmly believe, in this general elimination of the stereotyped salutation customary elsewhere. The Scot is a born democrat, and this is one way of showing it. Personally,

I am bound to say, I have not seldom been treated exceptionally in this matter.

An apposite instance of a boy's abrupt bluntness of speech occurs to me. I had been sketching for two or three days in a northern glen, within a field where a halt herd-lad was tending cattle. Save for an occasional interval when he would stump off with imprecatory cry to intercept a straying beast, he had steadily taken his stand behind me and my easel, and gazed at the developing picture, but without ever uttering a word. At last, near about the finishing touches, almost out of patience with the youth's persistent but mute observation, I suddenly wheeled round and asked him, 'Well, what do you think of it—is it like.' 'Man—it's most horrible like,' was the sole rejoinder.

Having started with perhaps the least eulogistic trait in the Scot's mental repertory, let me now devote a few words to his pronounced sense of humour. The trite saying as to the Caledonian's difficulty in seeing a joke may be partially true in respect of plays upon words, turns of phrases, and so forth, as in the story of the Scotch M.P., who described a certain lanky lantern-jawed statesman as the greatest 'allegator' in the House, without the faintest perception of any wit in the appellation.* But none who have ever dipped into the delightful collection of stories by a late Scottish dean, which is now almost a classic, could doubt the North Briton's possession of a vein of genuine fun, and a broad sense of dry humour. Possibly, it is the half-unconsciousness or quasi-innocence of any attempt at joking, which so often enhances the real raciness of the things said. Or, the mere drollery in the way of

* A capital recent case in point on the part of one of our most brilliant Scottish statesmen was commented upon in some of the newspapers. Speaking of Mr. Rhodes in the Matabele debate of 9th Nov. last, Mr. Arthur Balfour said he thought 'we were exceptionally fortunate in having such a man, and his great resources, which had been so freely used for extending the blessings of civilisation, extending railways and telegraphs and extending *roads*' (much laughter) 'through those dark regions.' (*Times*, 10th November, 1893). The Right Honourable gentleman, so said the newspaper, failed to see the joke !

saying them may be what so appeals to one. The pew-opener who, seeing a young fop stopping in a church aisle to survey his brand-new Sunday garments, remarked, 'This way, my man, and we'll look at your new breeks when the Kirk comes oot,' is a specimen of what I mean. Very recently I was in a hotel 'bus *en route* to a railway station, a young woman being seated opposite me, quiet looking and rather pretty. On getting in I was smoking, and wanted to go outside, but 'boots' interposed at the 'bus doorstep with 'She'll no mind the smok-king—smoks herself, I shouldna' wonder,' in an inimitably good-humoured and patronising manner, which none but a Scot could emulate, the girl smiling with equal good-nature at the remark. A Cockney young lady in similar circumstances might probably have given the man something pretty sharp in return for his impudence!

On another occasion I was waiting at a station on the Highland railway for the up-express, when a goods train also bound southward came creaking and groaning along with great shriek and splutter of steam, and drew up at the platform. As the trains on this line are often mixed and unconscionably lengthy, so that a traveller is liable to get a little 'mixed' also as to where the passenger carriages come in, I asked an old weather-beaten porter if this was my train. 'Na, it's the *fesh* train.' 'But I suppose it's going to shunt for the express,' I said, 'and not going on ahead of us.' He laughed a broad laugh. 'Dinna you fear, ye'll just hae to wait on *her*. What's a wheen passengers the like o' you to oor company beside the fesh train.' Not till then had I fully realised the relative importance of convoys of men and of fish! Almost as good this in its way as *Punch's* railway official who, to the frantic vociferations of an irascible old gentleman, looking out of window of the starting train and spying his luggage left behind on the platform, calmly replied, 'Ye're liggage is no sick a fule as yoursel'—ye're in the wrang train.'

On the whole, I am not sure whether the Scot's quaint semi-serious manner of putting his sallies is not a partly conscious attempt to realise the aphorism *Ars est celare artem.*

As an illustration, however, of really unintentional humour

absolutely turning on the matter-of-fact attitude of the speaker, let me cite the following, which, so far as I know, is quite original. It came to me from a gentleman of large means in a midland Scottish county a good many years ago. This gentleman, Mr. C——, had a very fine hothouse vinery, which was celebrated for its choice produce. On a particular occasion when the Queen was on one of her periodical journeys through Scotland, the Royal train was timed to stop for luncheon at a well-known through station in this county, and Mr. C—— availed himself of the opportunity so afforded to send Her Majesty an offering of his best grapes. In due course, a letter of acknowledgment expressing the Royal appreciation of the gift, and complimenting the donor on the fineness of the fruit, reached him; and, feeling sure his head gardener would be greatly interested in the contents of the letter, Mr. C—— read it to him. The man of horticulture gravely listened, and this was all his comment: 'She disna say onything aboot sending back the basket!'

No one who is much given to moving about the country can fail to notice a familiar figure, which is for ever confronting him: the commercial traveller. Now, in many respects the Scottish 'bagman' is distinctly featured from his English or Hibernian brother. The trappings of his guild are, of course, very much alike wherever you meet him. The same piles of enormous dirty-brown stuffed bales and prodigious padlocked baskets blocking up the doorways of the inns, or laden upon hand-carts to be dragged from shopdoor to shopdoor, are always in evidence. These are the sign-manual of his craft, in every medium-sized town or village from Duncansby Head to the Bay of Luce. You cannot well escape him if you would, for in many of the middling Scotch towns the chief inn has no recognised coffee-room, and the only practicable substitute for all comers is very likely to be the 'Commercial Room.' Moreover, you soon discover that the 'commercial gentleman's' apartment is generally better warmed, better furnished, and better catered for than what would be assigned to you by way of so-called coffee-room. This does not, of course, hold good of the better class of hotels.

The Scotch man of bags is, I think, on the whole quieter and staider in his deportment than the average Englishman of like avocation. I have usually found him well-informed and very shrewd in his passing remarks on politics or other current topics. He is generally courteous in his manner, and a kind of 'camaraderie' of the road appears to subsist among his fraternity. One sees, also, principally among the Scotch 'travellers,' that a silent grace is often said before meals, a mark of reverence not too frequent at public dining-tables. I like, too, their custom of greeting the company with a friendly 'good-night' or 'good-morning, gentlemen,' when retiring to rest, or on first appearance at the breakfast table. This urbanity is noteworthy, and I must say has sometines suggested to my mind a refreshing contrast with the leaden taciturnity so prevalent in the coffee-rooms of the larger hotels among people of a higher social grade, or indeed in fashionable clubs where men meet and stare at one another for years, and never utter a syllable. Most commendable too, is the daily custom throughout Scotland of placing a charitable money-box on the table while the itinerant traffickers are taking their one o'clock prandial meal. This box is labelled 'Commercial Travellers of Scotland Benevolent Fund,' and is for the benefit of necessitous widows and families of deceased members of that Association. It is, I believe, *de rigueur* for everyone dining to contribute something to this box.

One amusing sub-variety of the bagman I have not infrequently met with is absolutely and peculiarly Caledonian. He is commonly of benevolent, self-satisfied aspect and elderly. On entering the room and hurriedly removing his wraps, should there be others of his calling present, he will at once seat himself by them, and after a moment's conversation launch out into a succession of those enigmatical northern grunts, which I am not sure that even any Scot has ever attempted properly to translate into intelligible language. I can only try to write them down thus :—'Ay, umh-umh—umh-umh, ay,' half to himself, half to his audience, with a momentary cogitation after each. My own idea after long study of them is that these guttural ejaculations may be taken to be nearly the

equivalent of 'Heigho! 'tis a weary world, and yet not so bad after all.'

In former days, I am told, the etiquette of the commercial room excluded from the *entrée* there all but those connected with trade, but this is not so now. Moreover, a lower tariff is charged to its occupants (if traders), but I have not found my hotel bills diminished by occasional admission thereto. A bumptious bagman is a very disagreeable individual to encounter, none the less so for being Scotch, especially when he proves too inquisitive as to your line of business. But in my experience these are rare, and in what situation of life are obnoxious people not to be met with?

It is, then, encouraging to find amid so much that is falling to pieces in these modern days that the race of 'commercial gentlemen' is apparently rather improving than otherwise. This, while partly perhaps the result of the spread of education, may also in part be due to the fact that, under the stress of existing trade competition, heads of business firms who used to rely entirely on their paid traveller, now to a considerable extent have taken to 'travel' themselves.

Another study not without interest is the fisherman of the Scotch coasts. I should describe him as stolid and reticent for the most part, and apt to be somewhat stand-off to a stranger. Of dogged pertinacity and deep-rooted prejudices, he is inclined to keep himself to himself, and has nothing of the frank outspoken bearing and almost polished courtesy of the southern English fisher folk (Devonshire or Kent men, for example). Ashore he is the laziest of operatives, lolling about the wharves and harbour-corners with his hands invariably deep down in his 'breeks' pockets, his women folk meanwhile doing most of the work, and toiling along bent nearly double under their heavy creel-loads of fish. Well does Jenny, Oldbuck's serving-wench, put it,—'As sune as the keel o' the coble touches the sand, deil a bit mair will the lazy fisherloons work, but the wives maun kilt their coats, and wade into the surf to tak the fish ashore.' Their method of baiting the lines with a multitude of hooks is very neat and pretty to watch,

the whole being arranged so systematically. In this branch of shore labour, the men do sometimes take a share.

Some of the fishing villages along the north and east seaboard of Scotland are singularly quaint and picturesque, Netherlandish almost in their details,* worthy studies for a Ruysdael or a Van de Velde. The rows of little split fish skewered on sticks or triangular lath-frames nailed along the cottage walls, are quite distinctive features. So also are the cottages themselves, with their vermilion pan-tiled roofs and outlying stairways; but these are fast disappearing and giving place to a modern style of tenement, which makes one miss the old-world forms and warm colour. Well were it, however, if primitive dirt and archaic scavengering could in many cases make way for more modern sanitary arrangements. The fisher folk of both sexes are very commonly of a serious inscrutable cast of countenance, generated, I suppose, by the precarious nature and constant risks of the seafaring occupation. 'It's no fish ye're buying,' quoth the masterful Maggie to Monkbarns, 'it's men's lives.' The men do indeed carry their lives in their hands, and it were strange if this did not give a certain solemnity and God-fearing set to their characters. The Eyemouth people still speak with bated breath of the terrible catastrophe which overtook them in the great storm or cyclone of some years back, and turned wellnigh every homestead into a house of mourning. The fisherman has a long memory for such visitations.

These littoral folk, as a rule, marry early, and in many villages almost exclusively among themselves. In fact, it is held to be a kind of breach of etiquette or traditional custom to assort out of your own particular locality. A natural consequence of this 'in and in' system of unions must surely be to accentuate in time one constitutional inter-tribal type, and not to its advantage physically or mentally. Indeed, this may account in part for the exceeding ugliness and gaunt, flattened figures of many of the older women. Swart and coarse-

* And without doubt the villagers themselves bear in their veins a strong hereditary tincture of Flemish blood.

featured, they look as if they had been shrunken up by scant fare, hard labour, and the rigour of the east wind. And, poor souls, the conditions of their life are doubtless for the most part trying. One also sees occasional specimens of the 'Muckle-backit' type; viragoes, huge, dirty, and defiant of aspect. But, on the other hand, here and there one comes across a fisher lass or young wife passing handsome, with ringed ears, sunburnt hue, smoothened hair, brown, or sometimes lint-white, and blooming physique.

Non-conformity, I believe, is largely predominant among the Scottish fishing communities, and as in religion so in politics, they are intensely gregarious. I was told of one large village on the north-east, which curiously is almost entirely Episcopalian. Quite recently I had the good luck to witness a fisher's wedding in one of the most notably archaic fishing towns in Scotland. The whole piscatorial population, pretty nearly, turned out in couples, headed by a piper, the juvenile belongings showering rice on the bridal couple from start to finish of the procession.

The hatred of these people to trawling is intense, and they are uncommonly wideawake to their rights and requirements in the matter of boats, mussel bait, and harbour facilities. If they, and the miners, can only be persuaded that benefits to their class are not the monopoly of one particular political party, the unexpected may yet happen in the future representation of the Scottish electorate.

Another fitting subject in national portraiture is the Scottish retail tradesman, since he exhibits points which strongly demarcate him from the rest of his genus. First of all, a certain air of gravity and solid respectability generally impresses you as customer. But something more distinctive is made apparent to an English apprehension after some little experience of the 'gentleman' in a Caledonian shop. While unfolding to him your requirements, you become aware not only of an intelligent readiness on his part to ascertain them, but also of a sort of kindly impulse or persuasiveness, as it might be of an interested Mentor, in the direction of your intended purchases. feel it is genuinely meant and honest advice which is

being tendered, apart from and perhaps even counter to the vendor's interests; a feature by no means so frequent in a London mart. Yet withal, the Scottish retailer exercises over you a kind of gentle patronage—discusses the business on hand from a friendly standpoint, as it were—seems to concern himself about you apart from that business—and does so all the time with an air of equality which is yet so remote from all appearance of pertness or assumption that it is impossible to find fault with it. Nor, (and this we have already noted of his countrymen generally), does he usually address you as 'Sir' or 'Madam' after the wont of his Southern congener, yet again there is no impression of incivility about this. I have known a Scotch salesman to pat a lady affectionately on the shoulder to emphasize some point under explanation. Imagine one of Peter Robinson's or Marshall & Snelgrove's employees in London doing the same thing.

The subtle difference, then, between the Cockney shopman and the shopman of Edinburgh or Glasgow, Dundee or Aberdeen, is that with the former you feel yourself merely a customer; with the latter, a customer and something more—a man or woman 'for a' that.' It may be a spice, possibly, of the self-appreciation we started with, the sentiment, unexpressed but latent, that one man is as good as another, trade or no trade. Or, it may be the outcome of that prevalent benevolence and obligingness, which has given the Northern Briton the designation of 'the kindly Scot.' Certain it is that the relations across the counter, which obtain between the average Scotch shopkeeper—or 'merchant' as in the smaller localities he prefers to call himself—and his customers, are peculiar.* And they have always struck me as among the laudable characteristics of the national idiosyncrasy, in which opinion I am confirmed by many English friends.

Next to his self-esteem, and in a sense foster-brother to it, comes the Scot's love of independence. Down from the days of his forefathers, through successive epochs of turbulence and

* This racy contrast, however, between Scotch and English retailers is diminishing year by year with the march of the times.

insecurity: whether under the tribal sway of a number of bickering Kinglets; in deadly feud with the Norseman; in temporary bondage to a detested foreign garrison; during later mediævalism the prey of contending factions of rapacious nobles; or, again, in the subsequent periods of civil strife when it required all his shrewdness and calculation to steer an even keel; the Scot of the middle and lower classes has steadily asserted and stubbornly maintained, side by side with a persistent claim for popular rights, a character for sturdy independence. For this principle he has not hesitated in the past to shed his blood: for this doubtless he would in certain circumstances be as ready to shed it again. But times have changed; and the edifice of freedom he has slowly built up for himself is unlikely ever to be destroyed. Unless, indeed, he should allow himself to be hoodwinked by the false prophets of a vindictive demagogism bent upon dragging down not only Crown and Constitution, but creeds and classes, to their own dead level; and thus with his own hand pull out the corner stones of the structure, and uproot the foundations thereof.

But, happily, alongside of the intense impatience of control and jealousy of class distinctions, which the neo-radicalism of the day has done its best to rub into the Scottish masses, there exists in the national fibre a counteracting element—strong intelligence, deliberative caution, and on the whole, good common sense; while, above all, there is in the Scot a shrewd perceptiveness of his own interests. If these qualities, then, can but get fair play, may we not hope they may yet prevail against the mass of Jacobinism and Socialistic rubbish which is now being thrust upon him in all directions.

The sentiment of patriotism is one that the Scot has been assumed to possess in a high degree. In a sense this is no more than his due, but to-day it seems necessary to accept the claim with a limitation, and to ask ourselves the question,—how comes it that it is so difficult to enlist him in humble life for the regular military service of his Sovereign. There was a time not so long since when the Highland regiments, originally raised entirely among the territorial clans, drew mainly

from the same sources, and when the ruddy straight-limbed peasant of Ross or Sutherland, Argyll or Inverness-shire, was proud to take the royal shilling and serve his country. Now all this is changed. We are told of thousands of starving crofter people, of an army of unemployed soliciting work, of fisher folk struggling precariously for a scanty subsistence. Yet, the recruiting sergeant goes to remote localities, special parties are sent out to make the advantages of the army known: and all for the most part in vain. The miserable squalid occupant of a peat hovel will rather starve, idling with his hands in his ragged homespun pockets, and girding at his landlord, than take in exchange good food and raiment, a comfortable well-warmed airy lodging, reasonable hours of work and recreation, facilities for carrying on his education, an honest honourable occupation, with good prospect of promotion to the intelligent and well-conducted man. One need scarce go back a generation to call to mind the splendid material Scotland was wont to supply for the voluntary brotherhood, which has contributed so many heroic deeds of arms to the annals of British history. Probably more Scotsmen, proportionately to the other nationalities used to work their way up into the higher non-commissioned grades of the army. And fine steady responsible men of *weight* they usually were, in whom both the officers trusted and the private soldier believed. But now, no! 'Gie me ma luberty,' is pretty much Sawney's response to the appeal to follow his country's flag.

Why is this? The Volunteer force is undoubtedly popular in the country, and especially flourishing North of the Tweed. There is something akin to enthusiasm at times exhibited in its ranks. Those who know will tell you of artillery-men in some of the remote islands, farm labourers and others, walking seven or eight miles from their homes, after a day's work, to attend an evening drill, and this not seldom in the teeth of discouragement from their employers, who should know better. In other technical branches, too, the men of Volunteer Corps frequently work with marked zeal under great difficulties. Then again, the Militia man, with his month's training in the year, good rations and daily pay, out of which he saves, comes in readily:

it is a sort of healthful holiday outing for him. But to get recruits for real soldiering is quite another matter, though the Volunteers certainly do supply an odd one or two now and again. And the causes are not far to seek. There is the craze for personal independence—distaste to come under strict rule—a rooted dislike to rigid discipline. There is the short period of service, and the question what is to come after, in the absence of the old pension which provided for the discharged soldier in his declining years. Now we have ex-Tommy Atkins tramping about the highroads of the country asking alms, or besieging the Soldiers' Employment bureaux for work, which, until Government finds place for its deserving dischargees in its public service, can only be doled out to the few. And lastly, in the old days itinerant demagogues and paid organisers had not instilled into the crofter and farm labourer that it was the function of the State to dry-nurse its children and enable them to 'live and thrive' with a maximum of wage and a minimum of work.

So, then, the army does not tempt many to its ranks in the Scottish Highlands, or indeed elsewhere in Scotland, outside a few of the larger towns and manufacturing districts. Furthermore, there is said to be a curious traditional prejudice among the country folk against soldiering, especially in the North. I have been told that this is a survival from Culloden days, when the English dragoons earned for themselves an unenviable reputation. In some instances, too, local feeling among quiet country folk is adverse to the recruiting agent, possibly from a notion prevalent with some, but quite erroneous—that soldiers are less moral than the average of the civilian class they are taken from. To all this, it may be answered, that the Scotch are patriotic but not inclined to militarism; that the red-coat enters the army, for wages rather than from warlike ardour: that the operative classes are now better paid and better educated; and so on. But, all the same, the head and front of the recruiting difficulty in Scotland comes, I rather think, back to this—'We'll no pairt with oor luberty!'

In this connexion, let me mention an incident illustrative of the martial spirit which sometimes animated the young Scotch

recruit of former days. It was told me quite recently by a country gentleman, who at the time was adjutant of a distinguished Highland regiment. When the intending recruit was brought up to the orderly-room for inspection by the commanding officer of this regiment, he was measured and found to be a trifle under the regimental standard of height. Nevertheless, he was a strong-built and likely-looking young fellow. The colonel reluctantly decided that the youngster could not be accepted, being too short, and thereupon informed him accordingly, expressing at the same time his regret. The recruit became much excited, and exclaimed 'Oh, Col-nel, ye'll shurely no turn me back. I'm wee but I'm *wicked.*' ('Wicked' meant in this case, Scottice, spunky, mettled.) The colonel stretched a point and passed him.

By way of contrast to this, I heard the other day of a young man of the farming class in one of the northern Scottish counties, who had just enlisted out of a volunteer corps into the regular army. No sooner was this known to his people, than with speed the mother and sister hasted in to the sergeant who had enlisted him, both urgent to buy out the new recruit. It is curious, but the old traditional prejudice against anyone 'going for a soldier' is not confined to northern Britain. And yet it might surprise some people if they knew how many sons of gentle-folk now enlist into the army under the stress of high-pressure competition for commissions.

I hope I may without presumption be allowed to say a word about the Scotch minister, who figures so largely in Northern anecdotes of wit and humour, and whom one so often finds possessed of a racy individuality entirely his own. A charming picture has been painted for us of the Highland pastor of former days by an eminent and popular son of the manse, now gone to his rest. There was the homely, unostentatious, but snug and comfortable dwelling-house, with its sheltering porch and arboreal shrubbery planned out for 'a covert from the wind,' what time—

'November chill blaws loud wi' angry sough,
The shortening winter day is near a close.'

There was the daily fare, plain but plentiful, at the hospitable board, everything good of its kind, and a never failing welcome to the friend or stranger who should come within the gate. There was the genial intercourse, the ready counsel and generous help to the poor and needy. There was the paternal tuition to the sons of the family, the helpmeet's matronly schooling of her daughters in the housewifely craft to fit them to become, it might be, wives and mothers in Israel themselves. And oftentimes with but slender purse, the young men were launched out into the university and thence passed on into the ministry or other spheres of professional activity, not seldom to turn out with marked distinction and success. It is a picture of Scottish home life, frugality, self-denial, determination, achievement; and happily in the Presbyterian Church of to-day, Conformist and Non-Conformist, there are still many subjects who might sit for the same portrayal.

But to anyone who can remember the Scotch minister of a generation back, the revolution that has taken place both in church fabric and pastor is remarkable. I can recollect when the hideous square or oblong erection, with commonplace roof and little squat 'campanile' covering its single 'chappin' bell, was the prevailing type of parochial church building in most country districts of northern Albion. Commonly, a low gallery or loft was reached by an external stone stairway (as in the fisher's cottage); the pews or pens were of unvarnished wood, the walls bare and whitewashed, doorways and window openings of unredeemed ugliness; and not a vestige of ornament or taste to soften the ministrant's hard, dry Calvinism, dry as the 'stoor' that was wont to be thumped out of the pulpit cushion by his intermittent oratorical exertions.

All this has well-nigh departed. An era of 'sweetness and light' has supervened with the advent of the young ambitious cleric, who is everywhere superseding those he doubtless regards as the effete fossils of days gone by. The old-fashioned dogmas may still be formally subscribed to at ordination, but the 'covenanted mercies' reserved exclusively for the elect, and the torments in store for the condemned, are no longer proclaimed Sunday after Sunday from a thousand rostra of the

National Kirk. A small remnant of the old Evangelical type survive, but they are conspicuous by their rarity: like the excavator's so-called 'buoys' or pillars left standing in the soil, only to mark and measure the surrounding mass of material which has been dug up and carted away.

I can recall, too, the primitive kirk-structures of remote Highland wilds, spots more out-of-the-way even than Sydney Smith's Yorkshire parish, which he described as being 'twelve miles from a lemon.' I can remember the service in sonorous Gaelic; the collie dogs of the shepherds present slinking into the pews to curl up under their master's feet; the hands of these same masters stealing out to the pew handles ere yet the parting blessing was come to an end; and then the precipitate outrush of all and sundry to the open air, as though with a profoundly thankful sense of a once-a-weekly duty legitimately finished.

Notwithstanding that one's own form of worship may be with accompaniment of surplice and liturgy, yet, inasmuch as in the less frequented localities an Episcopal service is not always available, one may share in the ministrations of the Presbyterian Church with satisfaction, and, I hope I may say for myself, edification. And I must confess to feeling strong sympathy with the movement in the Kirk which is assimilating so much from the sister Church southward of the Border. The immensely improved hymnal, the general introduction of good instrumental music; the beautifying of the church fabrics, the drawing towards liturgical and weekday services; the added order, reverence, and dignity in conducting the ordinances;—in all these points surely Scotland has done well not to be above borrowing what is good and seemly from her Anglican neighbour. On the other hand, I think some of our surpliced clergy might usefully take a hint from the sort of excellent preaching and good oratory one may not infrequently hear in Presbyterian pulpits: pointed, intellectual, reasonable discourses, with apt illustration and impressive fervour, which are surely better suited to the wants of the church-going multitude than elaborate analysis of dogma, or even than expositions of ritualistic symbolism. Still, there would seem to be a tendency

in the modern preacher of the Kirk, sometimes to over-transcendentalism, sometimes to a kind of enquiring scepticism or scientific research, cultivated in what is termed the modern philosophic spirit. Nay, we are told indeed, that this same spirit has largely 'caught on' to the Kirk's great seceded rival, and that the Evangelical guinea stamp which once distinguished the separatist communion of Chalmers and Candlish from the Erastian school of the 'Moderates' is gone.

Howsoever this may be, the fact remains that Presbyterianism, both as to pastor and people, has greatly changed in the lapse of a generation.

Many recollections of hospitality offered and accepted at odd times in country manses crowd over me. Among these, in the persons of one or two pastors still living who have celebrated their ministrating jnbilees, I call to memory a type of rural minister perhaps the most interesting of all. Gentle, genial, courtly, and courteous with an old-fashioned flavour of manner; using hospitality and giving of their best without thought of return, I know not if the centuries to come will produce many of their like. One has presided over the same parish, in a rich carseland valley, for nearly sixty years. The pastorate of another, a veritable George Herbert, covers well-nigh as long a period. Yet a third, in a far-north retreat, nonagenarian almost, is, or recently was, still ministering to his flock, and not even laid by from occasional travel. To the old age of such as these may we not aptly apply the words of Cicero: 'Quiete et pure et eleganter actae aetatis placida ac lenis senectus.'

From the Scotch minister it seems a natural transition to the Scotch Sunday, or, in local parlance, Sabbath. One may be no Sabbatarian, and yet thoroughly enjoy the reposeful quiet of 'the Lord's day' in an average Scottish village, or small country town. The stillness of the streets, no shriek of railway whistle in your ear, no display of wares in shop window or chaffering of merchandise in the thoroughfares by the itinerant chapman. The drinking-houses contraband for the day to all save the so-called *bona fide* wayfarer, to the enormous profit of the general community. Then the sound of bell and the

flocking to public worship. And in the afternoon or evening the quiet social stroll along the links, lane, or highway. It is in its way an idyllic picture. But here again there is change. Bicyclists in scores now fly through the quiet Boreal hamlets, and find their way to the public taprooms of a Sunday in the guise of *bona fide* travellers: while bands of excursionists packed into *char a bancs* shake the dust off their chariot wheels as they rattle past the village church, but go not into it. This is, no doubt, in accord with the *fin de siècle* spirit, the 'perfect law of liberty' after the up-to-date manner. And, in judging the poor man or the busy toiler whose week days give but scant opportunity for enjoying the God-given boon of fresh air and sunlight, let us not be too censorious.

Perhaps, after all, Samuel Johnson was not so far wrong in his quaint dictum about the observance of Sunday. 'It should be different from another day. People may walk, but not throw stones at birds. There may be relaxation, but there should be no levity.' Excellent, though the inference is perhaps rather droll—that on week days one might throw stones at birds. Not unlike the plea I once heard put forward for polygamy: that it is only a *bishop* who in Holy Writ is enjoined to be the husband of *one* wife!

Did space permit, I should be tempted to enlarge upon the glimpses of Scottish peasant life that have been afforded me in many a tramp across moor and strath, along highway and byway. But, in his exquisite idyll on the Caledonian cottar, the national bard has, in a few master-strokes, limned us a portrait of him and his home that will live to all time. Indeed, it might savour of impertinence to attempt here a necessarily feeble repetition of what has been so nobly and realistically done by Scott, Burns, Allan Ramsay, the Ettrick Shepherd, and so many other Scotsmen of genius and patriotism. Certain it is that Scotia's 'hardy sons of rustic toil' are a characteristic study, especially when drawing on into years. Thanks to their parish schools, they are almost invariably intelligent and fairly educated, shrewd and observant, 'takin' tent' to purpose of things in general. Get hold of an old Scotch farm servant, and the chances are you will find him full of sagacious sayings

and homely mother wit. I admire also his ruddy weather-beaten visage and, for the most part, sturdy well-knit if somewhat bent frame, product of the daily sweat of his brow. For, has not a noble devotee of husbandry well said, *Hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris?* The Scottish rustic's 'milieu' is behind the ploughshare and in the barnyard, but the breath of the strong northern breezes is for ever in his lungs, the scent of broom or gorse blossom in his nostrils, and the blue bloom of distant hills within measure of his eyesight. This is what, I take it, differentiates him from the ordinary genus of southern chawbacons, although it must be admitted that as to intelligence English Hodge is growing much more wideawake than he formerly was.

Knock at the door of the humblest rural homestead betwixt Cheviot and the Pentland Strait, and more often than not you will be greeted blithely by the goodwife: 'Come ben and sit ye doon,' or, 'Will ye no hae a cup o' tea or a drink o' milk?' will be asked with warmth and a certain innate dignity of hostship. And there, in the 'but and ben' dwelling, by the 'wee bit ingle blinking bonnily,' you will be bid to seat yourself, and speedily pass into friendly converse, while

> 'The mither wi' her needle and her shears
> Gars auld claes look amaist as weel's the new.'

Only be sure you put on no patronising or condescending airs, which the Scot, man, woman, and child alike, hates and resents, as implying his inferiority. You must meet the cottager as a brother man, and he in his turn will not, as a rule, be lacking in a certain respectfulness of demeanour. And I think the Scotch peasant, in common with most of his countrymen, has in the main a distinct appreciation of the landscape and seascape amenities of his native land. Probably the ploughman-poet of Ayrshire, whose songs, like those from the Hawthornden lyre, are so saturated with the burden of nature's loveliness, has done much to drive the inspiration home to many and make them realise the pricelessness of their common inheritance.

'Yet nature's charms, the hills and woods,
The sweeping vales, and foaming floods,
Are free alike to all.'

In truth, it has always seemed to me that in the intense insistence upon human brotherhood added to the fine sense of natural external beauty which informs the verse of Burns, is to be found a sort of reflex of one aspect of the Scottish character.

I have left nearly to the last certainly not the least interesting of the 'études' in my sketchbook—the Scotswoman. Like her masculine compatriot, she also has her varieties and subvarieties. One of the first notes a stranger will make in Scotland is the reserve of the middle and lower classes of women in public places. Notice them in tramcars, railway carriages, steamboats, etc. There they sit quite silent and quiescent, seldom or never venturing on a remark one to another, the younger of them often pretty but 'couthy' and shy, those more matured self-possessed but reticent, if not stiff and at times even repellent in manner. Generally speaking, the Englishwoman and her Irish sister are, I think, easier in their bearing to strangers. The next point is the forbearance, or, let us say, the reluctance to find fault with or question public officials in their working arrangements. Scotswomen (I leave out of this count the upper classes) will stand an amazing amount of rough brusque treatment, not to say positive rudeness, from surly boorish underlings, such as tram conductors, railway porters, and the like; and some of these can be rude with a vengeance when it so pleases them. Where an Englishwoman would launch out on an official, and threaten to report him, take his number, or what not, her Scottish cousin will hold her peace and pass on. Not, I believe, from any real lack of spirit, but from natural complaisance and a certain shyness or shamefacedness inculcated in her upbringing. Well, 'a shamefaced and faithful woman is a double grace,' and to my mind this quality in her is far preferable to the sort of forward flippant pertness and feminine aggressiveness occasionally resorted to by her sex elsewhere.

'The beauty of a woman,' we read, 'cheereth the counten-

ance, and a man loveth nothing better.' Now, how fares the British Northland in this matter? It has been truly said that probably no quarter of the globe can show a greater proportion of pretty women than London. The pick of the world are to be seen there: the best-looking and best-dressed women from all quarters of our own land—to say nothing of the foreigner—find their way there at one time or another. And, no doubt, for refinement of feature, symmetry of form, freshness, and natural unaffected grace, Englishwomen need fear comparison with none other. To be sure, a humorous French author has made merry over a certain ungainly type of British female, flat-chested, angular, large of foot and tooth; and it is not infrequent to find Southerners associating a pronounced variant of this type with Scotswomen. And Scotswomen, undoubtedly, there are, large, hard-featured, bony, inclining to gawkiness; but these merely serve as foil to a much more representative and interesting variety. One sees, for example, the piquant, wistful face, nose a thought *retroussé*, grey or violet eyes, and brilliant fresh colour of damask or carnation—these set now and again upon a full robust figure moulded with all the shapeliness of the Cnidian Aphrodite. There may be neither 'style' nor the art of the *costumier*, but there is nature's modelling of limb and lineament, palpable and admirable. It may be a girl fresh from the labour of the factory, or a farm lass in kirtle and short skirt, barefoot and bare-headed, each perchance with a wealth of splendid tresses built up anyhow into a massive canopy, worthy setting for fair features and fine form. It may be the 'young lady' from the shop, the youthful school-teacher, the new-wed wife of the smaller professional or mercantile class. Everywhere north of Cheviot the type crops out instinct with a certain burgeoning bounteousness of vitality superadded to a gentle flavouring of womanliness, very attractive to the average man.

And yet, like her own plaintive and touching national music, full, yet with the minor note ever recurrent, with this sort of girl or woman, it seems as if the tears were not far behind the smiles. Nay, have not the very tones of her voice in speech as they ascend the gamut an appealing strain,

suggestive of her northern clime—cloud-shadows never far away from sunshine: or, again, as though we saw in her a survival of the archaic bitter-sweet minstrelsy of her land. And herein we can trace the strong family likeness to her Cymric cousins.

I am well aware that such is not the presentment of man's modern rival most in vogue with the promoters of the Woman's Rights movement. To be strong of mind, unsexlike, assertive, and jealous of male ascendancy, are a side of her character, which falls more to be insisted upon by those who deem it an impertinence to suggest that women are to concern themselves with the art of pleasing men. But, fortunately, these views as yet are confined to a very scanty assortment of the sex in Scotland. I think it was Oliver Wendell Holmes who remarked that 'the brain-woman never interests us like the heart-woman,' and as yet the average Scottish lass has not unlearned this cardinal fact. Kindliness is of the essence of her manner, and a certain warmth and heartiness of demeanour pervade all classes. This I have always considered one of their strong points—

> 'Kindness in women, not their beauteous looks
> Shall win my love '

is the saying of an immortal writer, and who shall gainsay it?

The Scottish matron, too, like her younger sister, can be very charming. Often have I noted matured and even elderly women, ruddy, brilliant, with sparkling black eyes, and frames Titianesque but still shapely; every line of their physiognomies speaking of alert observation, common sense, and amiability. Of such I call to mind a sample much seen in the eastern parts of Scotland, as though a raven-haired stock had at some early time been grafted upon a blonde race. Then there is an auburn-haired variety, with beautiful soft complexion and oftentimes opulence of figure. I have seen striking specimens of this latter kind with hair verging upon pronounced red: a *throw-back* or atavism, possibly, from the primitive Celt.

From such reflections, one turns to Burns's delightful descriptions of his countrywomen, not the least felicitous of

his various appreciations. And who can refuse sympathy with their genuine touch of humanity, making the 'whole world kin,' that has nevertheless a sad savour when read into passages of the poet's own life.

> 'Then gently scan your brother man,
> Still gentler sister woman :
> Tho' they may gang a kennin' wrang
> To step aside is human.'

The Scotswoman, then, remains an illustration for the most part of a certain northern 'naiveté' and naturalness, piquancy and semi-bashful reserve, which the advanced sisterhood have as yet failed to modify into a more obtrusive attitude. And so long as she retains these feminine attributes, with the natural charms she has inherited from the vigorous blood and bone of her race, and the life-giving air of her native soil—so long will the praise of her, as of her sex voiced aforetime in ancient writ, endure for ever: 'These bring glory unto men . . . and have not all men more desire unto her than unto silver or gold, or any goodly thing whatsoever!" *

It would take too long to discourse on the 'canniness' of the Scot, and his inveterate dislike to give a direct answer to a question. 'Weel, I would na say but it micht,' I have heard a score of times in reply to queries which admitted of an absolutely affirmative response. The national caution is everywhere, and is writ large in the bewildering jargon of Scots law, which double-bars every conceivable loophole for evasion in setting out a bargain, yet 'without prejudice' to doing something else thereafter if desired. In the 'Epistle to a young friend' Burns has probably given us the most concise and telling crystallisation of this trait of Scottish character it is possible to have.

> 'Conceal yoursel' as weel's ye can
> Frae critical dissection ;
> But keek thro' every other man
> Wi' sharpened sly inspection.'

The advice has a somewhat Machiavellian ring, but, I fear I

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* I. Esdras, iv., 17-19.

must add, is not altogether neglected by the knowing Northerner.

His pushing ambition is another of the commonplaces of criticism in respect of the Scot. Apropos of this, the oft quoted or misquoted remark of Johnson at a metropolitan tavern naturally comes up. 'Sir, the noblest prospect that a Scotchman ever sees is the high road that leads him to London.' And, were the great 'hogshead of sense' alive and amongst us now, no cause would he have to withdraw the observation. For the exodus of successful barristers, doctors, artists, business men, from the 'Land of Cakes' to the great southern metropolis is unceasing; and the Scot's determination to better himself has generally gone hand in hand with his efforts to acquire knowledge. 'There is something noble,' said Johnson, of the Hebridean farmer's son, who was wont to go annually on foot to Aberdeen for education, returning in summer and acting as school teacher in his native island, 'there is something noble in a young man's walking 200 miles and back again, every year, for the sake of learning.' On the other hand, a more critical view of the national peculiarities might incline to translate Scotch ambition as an eye to the main chance. Which at once brings to mind Dean Hole's capital story, as to why St. Andrew was selected to be the patron saint of Scotland, and the Archdeacon of Calcutta's suggestion that it may have been 'because he discovered the lad who had the loaves and fishes.'

Out of the Scot's self-esteem grows his obstinacy, and his reluctance to change his opinions, or be shown to have been any wise wrong. We have heard of the raw Sawney who, at a public dinner, being served with asparagus, a dish that was new to him, began eating the wrong end of the stalk. To his next neighbour's suggestion that this was not the edible part of the vegetable his reply was, 'Much obleeged, but a' prefer it.' This is it exactly. And thus perhaps may his prevalent political mould be accounted for. But I must not stray into politics.

Lastly, let me say a word as to many memories of hospitality in Scottish country homes. England has grown too cos-

mopolitan and is too thickly permeated by the modernising railway to open the doors of its country houses freely to the chance way-farer. In the northern recesses of our island it is, or was different. Antique chateau-like demesne mansions, solid and deep-walled, with steep-pitched roof and dormers, flanking turrets, griffinish gargoyles, and carved escutcheons, crowd in upon the mind's eye. Old-world gardens trim and formal, with quaint sun-dials in their midst, lofty and massy box borders, enormous holly hedges. The ancient dovecot, near hand to the dwelling house, its walls honey-combed into cells for the domesticated birds. Stately belts of plantation clothing the knolls and uplands, within view of the laird's windows. Outside, the 'sough' of the firs, the white whisk of a rabbit's tail, the whirr of disturbed pheasant, the curlew's warning 'tremolo,' or the little sharp 'screak' of startled snipe from some marish hollow. Indoors, the snug well-found library with assortment of many generations of books, the corridors set off with portraiture of ancestral warriors point-laced and rapiered, and family beauties displaying ripe Cytheræan charms that Peter Paul might have coveted to place upon his easel.

In such homes the essence of hospitality was to be met with. You had the genial welcome, the superabundance of good fare and good drink. There was the sturdy keeper, encased in gamebag and gaiters ready with his leash of dogs, should you like to try the hill. Or the gillie with gaff or landing-net was at your hest for loch or river, if the rod was your fancy. In time of snow or winter gale, when the woodcock were in and the blast roared down the chimneys, big cheerful fires lit in hall, reception room, and bed-chamber. Noteworthy, too, the forthright affability and care for your wants in the possessors of these secluded homesteads, sweetened in my own recollection by the graciousness of many delightful and accomplished women. It was as though the claims of 'the salt' were a traditional obligation, not to be set aside, a remnant of the fashion of earlier days before the world paced so feverishly fast, when locomotion was difficult, and society scarce. Among other laudable old customs was

that of 'passing on' a guest from one country-house to another. Money, to be sure, was not always too plentiful, and a *Caleb Balderstone* might once in a way turn up, though never in my experience with an empty larder. To-day, such is the stress of agricultural depreciation, Scottish estates have changed hands extensively, and upon an old territorial seat nowadays it is quite a chance if you find the historic name and race of former days. More likely, Timkins of Manchester or Jones of Hackney will have bought himself in, with a South country retinue as remarkable for superfluity of airs as for lack of aspirates. Or, mayhap, a successful Scots trader with a broad native brogue may be the latest proprietor. What this invasion of Scotland by the English and general upturn of the old properties is, none but those who go much about the country can conceive! In some respects, no doubt, the influx of wealthy newcomers to impoverished estates has its advantages, improving the dwellings of the tenantry, and circulating more capital all round to the benefit of the community.

The Scottish capital has always numbered among its residents many delightful gentlemen of the old school, cadets ofttimes of ancient and noble families, whose lot it has been to pass into various avocations of professional life. These brought with them into the higher social coteries of their beautiful chief city the stately and dignified hospitality of their ancestry.

It has been the good fortune of the writer of these pages to meet with some such, and to have enjoyed their personal acquaintance. With mention of two, both of whom are gone to their rest, I will conclude these sketches. Of one I have already spoken, in connection with Scottish humour. The charm of his captivating presence and manner was the property of all. A singularly representative example, he, of the ancient 'gentle' breed and bearing, genial, dignified, courteous, soothfast, hospitable. No ostentation, no straining after show or effect, no abruptness, bustle, or hurry, in his manner or ways. The grace and amenity of a refined home were secured to him by the presence of the charming young ladies, kinswomen, who tended his household. He was brimful of excellent stories of the past. I remember on one occasion at

his dinner table being much struck with an observation he made very pointedly, evidently anticipating my surprise. 'My grandfather told me he knew a man who had seen Charles I. executed.' The statement seems *prima facie* difficult of belief; but, seeing that the narrator was far into years when I heard him tell the story (now some twenty years since), and his grandsire was a boy when he met the individual who had witnessed the execution, it becomes intelligible.

The other example of a race of 'Gentilhommes' nurtured in 'Auld Reekie,' was a scholar of uncommon research, a man of culture and latterly of leisure; one who fully realized the advantages of *otium cum dignitate.* Moreover, he was a philanthropist, and civic benefactor in no small degree. Here again was that indescribable charm of manner, the gentle urbanity, the unfailing sprightliness and play of humour, conjoined with the delightful gift of conversational power, which is so fast becoming a lost art at this jaded end of an outgrown century. And there was the hospitable board always spread for any friend who might drop in to partake of it. I remember mention by this gentleman of a circumstance as within his own recollection, that Mr. Gladstone was once on the point of offering himself as a candidate on the Conservative side for a certain Scottish constituency. One incident in which Mr. S—— personally figured, is worth relating. Travelling north from England by rail on a certain occasion, and not being a smoker nor liking the smell of tobacco, he had taken his seat in a non-smoking compartment. Presently, ushered in obsequiously by a railway official, enters a gentleman, pompous-looking and portly, who, seating himself opposite Mr. S——, proceeds to produce a cigar case, and take out a cigar. Mr. S—— hereupon politely ventured to draw his fellow-traveller's attention to the fact that this was not a smoking carriage, but was jumped upon instantly in a strong hectoring tone.

'And what right have you, Sir, to assume that because I took out a cigar I was going to smoke. Perhaps you will be good enough to mind your own business.'

Mr. S. said no more, but, after the imperious gentleman had alighted from the train, asked the guard if he knew who he was.

'Why,' said the railway functionary, 'that is —— —— ——'

The odd coincidence was yet to come.

On arriving home that night what should Mr. S. find awaiting him but a communication from a high official of State announcing in complimentary terms that Her Gracious Majesty had been pleased to confer upon him (Mr. S.) an honorary literary distinction. The State official and signatory of the letter was the *compagnon-de-voyage,* a well known senatorial swash-buckler.

To sum up. The sample modern Scotsman is genial, neighbourly, kindly, and full of 'pawky' humour. Square and solid in build, he is usually large of bone, and with strongly marked facial lineaments. Keenly intelligent, yet somewhat deliberate both in his bodily and brain movements, he is controversial and apt to be dogmatic. As a rule, he is weighty and law-abiding, staid and respectable, though not without a stray turn for conviviality. For the rest, he has a soft side to the diviner sex; as *Cuddie Headrigg* puts it in 'Old Mortality,' 'there's naebody sae rough but they have aye a kind heart to the lasses.' Having an abundant and unfailing conceit of himself, he is not easily disconcerted: but, on the other hand, he fiercely resents the suspicion of being patronised. Being at once ambitious and yet mainly democratic, he hates privilege till he has tasted its advantages, and despises all distinctions in the social ladder till he has himself climbed to the higher rungs. Less fanatic in religion than his forbears, he retains his attachment to the 'Auld Kirk,' and is not so insane as to desire her downfall, or the loss of that status and substance which contribute to her potentialities for good. Proud of his nationality, but not fool enough to clamour for a sham nationhood, he is shrewd enough to discern that his own lion-rampant would gain nothing by dissociation from the triple lions-passant of England. Hard at a bargain, provident and prudent, pertinacious and pushing, strong of will, long of head, and blunt of tongue, the average Scot makes shift to shoulder his way through the world, commonly with success, a staunch friend and a 'dour' foe.

In the typical Scotswoman we meet with neither pertness,

smartness, nor flippancy. She is quiet, domesticated, 'douce,' and sympathetic, but seldom either impulsive or volatile. Blithe, frolicsome, and often of madcap spirits while a school-girl, her adult maidenhood seems to take on a certain coyness and restraint, as though some lingering threads of her past Puritan garments still clung to her. Nevertheless, the northern lass can be both arch and 'sonsy,' while frank and simple-minded withal. Moreover, she has plenty of character when the time comes to bring it out. She is usually reflective and observant, well taught as to school learning; sagacious but not sharp, with a good stock of common sense. In countenance she is often high-coloured, piquant, and expressive, though the even-featured prettiness of her English sister may be lacking. In figure, commonly tall, robust, and of vigorous vitality. In matronhood, and even advanced age, the Scotswoman is wont to retain her fine health-tints, the sheen of her eyes, the fair and full proportions of her shape. Child or maiden, wife, mother, or grandame, her sense of melody and love of song cleave to her, they are her national gifts. Finally, she is imaginative and often original; practical, but penetrated with an undercurrent of ballad lore and romance. And, like most of her sex at all periods of their life, she fully appreciates a 'proper man' when she sees him.

If, then, I have not overdone the colouring of the above sketches, my readers will doubtless find some excuse for the rather rhapsodical utterance of a popular modern and patriotic novelist—'the happiest lot on earth is to be born a Scotsman.'

T. PILKINGTON WHITE.

ART. IV.—MOLTKE.

1. *The Prussian Staff History of the Campaign of* 1866.
2. *The Prussian Staff History of the War of* 1870.

I REMEMBER when it was thought treason to question the perfection of Wellington's conduct in the great struggle that ended on the field of Waterloo, yet history has given her

verdict for the doubting sceptics; and Lord Wolseley has lately ventured to say that had Napoleon retained the vigour of his youth, the allies in 1815 would have fared as ill, as Beaulieu and Colli fared in 1796. A similar change of opinion may take place, hereafter, in the case of the warrior whose achievements have been held up to the admiration of mankind, since the great war of 1870. We cannot feel surprised that victorious Germany should have given Moltke the name of 'the great strategist,' and should have declared 'that he invented a new strategy,' and that he 'surpassed Napoleon in the direction of war;' the intoxication of success may excuse this judgment. Nor can we expect France fairly to describe her conqueror, or to avoid detraction and caricature, though Moltke's campaigns have been thoroughly studied and appreciated, in the main, justly, by two or three Frenchmen of eminent parts.

It is to be regretted, however, that in Great Britain, the Prussian chief has, with few exceptions, passed into the hands of a class of critics, ill-adapted to pronounce on his exploits, who have erred on the side of extravagant eulogy. These writers are nearly all soldiers, some not without professional mark; but, like many soldiers, they have been led astray by the false worship of mere success. Under the influence of lessons, that appear suggested by the campaigns of 1866 and 1870-1, they have underrated 'the divine part of war,' that which belongs to genius in the field, and have dwelt too much on its 'terrestrial part,' * that which relates to mechanism and organization; and, being unaccustomed to weigh evidence, voluminous and extremely conflicting, and to search out the truth through masses of details, they have swallowed the German accounts of Sadowa, of Gravelotte, and of the national rising of France, as if these were in all respects trustworthy, and little was to be said on the opposite side. They, have, accordingly, extolled Moltke as an ideal warrior, supreme not only in the preparation of war, but also in the direction of

* See the beautiful passage in the Napoleon Correspondence, 32, 123. It should be studied by every real thinker on war.

armies; they have glossed over, or disregarded facts, which tell against the views they have formed; and they have misinterpreted whole passages, in the great conflict of 1870-1, which ought to have been placed in their true aspect. A reaction from this system of undiscerning praise has set in of late in British opinion; and it will be accelerated by the publication of German works, which have proved that Moltke and his lieutenants committed grave mistakes, after the triumph of Sedan, mistakes from which he was by no means free in many of his other operations in the field. In this slight sketch I shall endeavour to show what Moltke was in his real nature, what estimate should be made of his exploits, and what is his place among the great men who have organized victory, or led armies. It would ill become me to speak of myself; but few in civil life have possessed the means I have had to master the principles of war; and education and experience ought to have made me fitted to conduct an enquiry, in its essence, judicial.

The features of Moltke's strongly marked character, as they were moulded by nature, or shaped by habit, are evident to a thoughtful observer. He was God-fearing and had deep affections, throughout the course of a domestic life of singular beauty in all its aspects; he was admirable as a son, a husband, a brother, a staunch friend, and a loyal comrade; and the old age of the warrior, amidst his youthful kinsfolk, as it flowed on beside the woods of Creisau, forms an idyll of peculiar charm and interest. Moltke, too, was very brilliant in the social hour; the austerity of his bearing to strangers was put off when he was among friends; his conversation was pregnant and keen; and it is wholly untrue that he was 'a morose recluse,' the 'military monk' of more than one French writer. His accomplishments, indeed, were so great and various that he could not fail to delight companions, whatever might be their rank or station; and he had the learning, the culture, the force of expression, nay, the delicate, vivid, and light fancy, which would have gained him distinction in the sphere of letters, though, curiously enough, few of these gifts are exhibited in his writings on war. These are always able and

thoroughly worked out, but they are not striking in thought and language, the opposite, in this respect, to those of Napoleon.

Moltke's qualities, however, are most distinctly seen in the various phases of public life in which he played a conspicuous part. His greatest gift, perhaps, was immense strength of character, the chief excellence, Napoleon has said, of a soldier; and though fortune was seldom adverse to him, this stood him in good stead on more than one occasion. His intellect was not of the very first order, but it was admirable for its clear perception and force, and within certain limits it approached perfection, especially in the calculations that precede war. His industry and perseverance were intense ; we see them in every turn of his career, whether in the assiduous studies of his youth of hardships, in his work as a teacher or a surveyor, in his incessant training of the great Prussian Staff, in the far-reaching and never-ending toil, by means of which he prepared victory. Moltke, too, was a daring and ambitious man; some of his movements in war prove this clearly; and the hesitation and slowness to be detected, in more than one of his operations in the field, are not to be ascribed to a want of boldness or energy. The conqueror therefore of Sadowa and Sedan, had many of the natural gifts of a great warrior, but he was deficient in some that require attention. He did not possess the imagination that sees into the unknown, and intuitively grasps and interprets facts; this was apparent in more than one part of his career, especially in his hazardous advance on Paris. He excelled in carrying out preconcerted plans; but he was wanting in dexterity and art, and was liable to be perplexed and deceived, as appeared in several striking instances, though this cannot be deemed surprising, if we reflect that he was an old man when he first directed war. He had nothing of Napoleon's marvellous skill, in what we may describe as 'tours de force' in the field, and he seems to have been wholly devoid of the great master's genius of surprize and stratagem, one of the most splendid of Napoleon's gifts. The most marked defect of Moltke's nature, however, was a certain inability to understand men, and to

interpret rightly the teachings of history. We see this repeatedly in his writings; and this, added to his hatred and contempt of Frenchmen—the bad creed of a Prussian junker—led him into errors in 1870-1, the results of which will long remain manifest.

In 1858, through the influence of the Prince Regent, afterwards King William and German Emperor, Moltke was made Chief of the Prussian Staff. He had by this time reached his fifty-eighth year; and if he had seen very little of war in the field, he had long commanded the Staff of the 4th Corps d' Armée; he was thoroughly versed in military work; and he was one of the most learned and accomplished of soldiers. The main labours of his life begin at this point, and those form his principal title to renown. The Chief of the Staff has always held a conspicuous place in the Prussian army, and Moltke, partly owing to his great abilities, and partly to the power of his staunch friend, the King, acquired, ere long, a well-marked supremacy. His principal work, as Chief of the Staff, was to select the best officers for the service of the Staff, to superintend their training in its different branches, and to make them thoroughly fulfil their duties; and under his incessant and skilful care, this most important part of the army became an admirable instrument for its many uses. Moltke too, always attentive to the prospects of war,—a tradition indeed in the Prussian service—inaugurated the practice of seeking information on the state of the great Continental armies, especially of those of Austria and France, and the elaborate statistics that were thus compiled, proved, when the occasion came, of the very highest value. War, however, the diligent enquirer knew, was chiefly to be understood, so far as regards its large combinations and highest parts, by the study of the exploits of great captains, and Moltke employed many pens on the Staff in compiling narratives of different campaigns. The series began with his account of the war of 1859, a characteristic, but masterly sketch, full of sound criticism and careful description, if sometimes rather too minute in its details, and wholly without imaginative power.

Moltke, however, was far more than a Chief of the Staff; he

became the master spirit of the armed strength of Prussia. To the King and Roon was, no doubt, due the great increase of the Prussian army, which took place after 1859, and which gradually raised it to 700,000 men, including the large reserve of the Landwehr, and also the general arrangements for these vast masses, with the material they required to take the field. But it was Moltke who fashioned the mighty instrument of war, and gave it its terrible power and efficiency. It was his peculiar and distinctive merit that, better probably than any soldier of the time, he saw how the circumstances of a new era must create new conditions of war, and that he turned them to the very best advantage. Since the long peace which succeeded Waterloo, the population of every State had been rising; education had been diffused through the masses; agriculture had improved, roads had been multiplied, and the railway system had been developed; the electric telegraph had been invented; and weapons of destruction of the most formidable kind, the rifled gun and the breech-loading musket, had been brought gradually into use in armies. Moltke adapted with admirable resource and skill these facts of the time to the military force of Prussia. He saw that the immense size of modern armies, the result of population ever on the increase, would make them unmanageable in a single hand; and he insisted that the armed forces of Prussia should be formed into separate armies under independent commands. He saw that mental culture had improved the soldier; and he laboured hard to develop the self-reliance of the individual man in all parts of the service, making him an intelligent warrior, not a fighting machine, and thus greatly increasing his effective power. He saw again, that war could be made more rapid and decisive than it had ever been, owing to increased facilities of obtaining supplies, and improved methods of locomotion; and he drew fruitful results for operations in the field, from the growth of husbandry, of roads, and of railways. He made also material inventions of the age to minister, with success to his art; he caused the steam engine and the telegraph to yield their best uses to the events of war and the conduct of armies; and he laid it down clearly that the new warfare must cause fire to

be the chief force in battle, and not the shock of charges, however fierce; though it was some time apparently before he thoroughly understood the relations of the three arms in these days.*

The higher organization of the Prussian army, for actual operations in the field, was, therefore, in the main, the work of Moltke. That army, too, it should be remarked, remained formed on the local territorial system, that is, was divided† into distinct corps, according to the provinces of the Prussian Monarchy, and with all their requirements at hand, on the spot, an arrangement which made its assembly rapid, and secured celerity in its first movements in war. The Prussian infantry, too, at this period, was the only infantry generally armed with the needle gun, a breech-loading rifle; and this single circumstance gave it an immense advantage over the footmen in the other armies of Europe. Two additional points require to be noticed in this brief survey of the armed force of Prussia, as it was fashioned by degrees after 1859. True to the traditions of Frederick the Great, and perfectly familiar with the lessons of war, Moltke spared no pains to ensure that the army should be always ready to take the offensive, and to possess the initiative in the field: and indeed many of his reforms had this object in view. It seems probable, too, that through his influence with the King he had much to do with nominating to the higher commands. It is certain at least that the Prussian generals, if none could lay claim to supreme genius, became leaders of a very superior order, bold, active, resolute, trained to work in concert, and skilled in every part of their calling; and this was Moltke's idea of what they should be, as we see repeatedly laid down in his works.

Though not so perfect, as it was made afterwards, the Prussian army thus soon became by far the best of the great Continental armies. It could be divided into units not too

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* See 'a Retrospect of the Tactical Retrospect.' The translator of this work, Colonel Ouvry says it was from the pen of Moltke under a feigned name, though this has been denied.

† The single corps d'élite of the guards is, in some respects, an exception.

great in size; it possessed extreme celerity, and ease of movement; it had been brought up to the level of the age, in every kind of material invention; it was better commanded and more formidably armed than any hostile force it could meet in the field. The results appeared in the great war of 1866, especially in the campaign in Bohemia, to a considerable extent directed by Moltke. I can only trace this conflict in the barest outline, though it is one of the deepest interest for the true student of war. When hostilities began on the 15th of June, the Prussian armies, about 270,000 strong, and divided into three great masses, the Army of the Elbe, the First and the Second Armies, were disseminated along an immense front of from 180 to 200 miles,* from the Middle Elbe to the Upper Neisse; and Moltke at once assumed the offensive. Saxony was overrun by the 20th of June, and on the 22nd orders were given that the three armies should invade Bohemia, converging in double lines, and from wide distances, on Gitschin, a point many miles south of the great mountain ranges of the Gebirge. The Austrian army, perhaps 260,000 men, taking into account its Saxon contingent, had been, by this time some days in motion, from its principal leaguers at Brünn and Olmütz, one corps and the Saxons being on the Upper Iser; and the object of its commander, Benedek, was to reach the table land between the Iser and the Elbe, and to separate and defeat the Prussian armies before they could effect their junction. By the 25th the Army of the Elbe, and the First Army, both now directed by Prince Frederick Charles, were close to the line of the Upper Iser; but the Second Army, under the Crown Prince of Prussia, had not even crossed the Bohemian frontier, being eighty or ninety miles away from its supports; and though Benedek, who had moved very slowly, was probably by this time too late to carry out his original plan, a grand opportunity lay open to him. On the 26th and 27th of June the mass of his army was on the Upper Elbe, from Josephstadt to Opocno, and Tynist in the

* The Prussian Staff History makes the distance between 100 to 125 miles. But this must be a misprint. See p. 29.

rear; and had he drawn towards him his corps exposed on the Iser, and directed his main force against the Crown Prince, the Second Army, immensely inferior in numbers, would hardly have escaped a serious reverse.* Benedek, in fact, at this moment, possessed a central position, and interior lines against converging armies widely apart; and what great captains have done with this advantage has been shown from the days of Turenne to those of Lee, and has been illustrated by Napoleon with peculiar splendour.

Benedek, however, was merely a brave soldier; he had none of the powers of a great commander. He made no use of his position of vantage; and in his subsequent movements he simply played into his enemy's hands. His corps on the Iser, his left wing, remained isolated and open to attack; he endeavoured to push forward the main part of his forces, his centre, when there was no longer time; and he directed only two corps against the Crown Prince, to the right, instead of falling in full force on him. The results developed themselves with amazing quickness. Prince Frederick Charles assailed the weak Austrian left in a series of combats, and advanced on Gitschin; the Crown Prince suffered a defeat at Trautenau, but broke the feeble Austrian right at Nachod and Skalitz, and Benedek's centre stood as it were paralyzed, unable to give either wing support. In these engagements the Austrians lost from 30,000 to 40,000 men, the Prussians not more than 10,000; and though bad generalship was chiefly to blame, the overwhelming superiority of the Prussian armies in every respect was made clearly manifest.

By the 30th of June the three Prussian armies were advancing on a broad front towards the Elbe, still however, with a wide dis-

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* This is admitted by the *Prussian Staff History*, pp. 65, 67. The writer, however, followed by Major Adam's *Great Campaigns*, p. 415, says that Benedek had no information, but this is flatly contradicted by the *Austrian Staff History*, 3, 48. Lord Wolseley, an enthusiastic admirer of Moltke, *United Service Magazine*, October, 1891, p. 4, significantly remarks 'Had the great Napoleon commanded the Austrian armies, the Prussian forces would have been hurled back into the mountains and defeated in detail.

tance between them, a movement which has been very differently judged; and Benedek, drawing in his defeated forces, was falling back on all points to the Bistritz, an affluent of the Elbe, to the north-west of Königgratz. Moltke had ere long taken the direction of affairs; but he lost contact with his beaten enemy, a marked fault often to be observed in him. By the 2nd of July, however, Prince Frederick Charles ascertained that the Austrians were behind the Bistritz; he resolved to attack with his two armies, but as Benedek would be largely superior in force, about 200,000 to 124,000 men, he sent a message to the Crown Prince, at Könighinhof, about 10 or 12 miles from his camp at Kamenitz, to come to his aid with part of the Second Army. Moltke, however, as he was at this time at Gitschin, saw that this was a bad half measure; * and he ordered the Crown Prince to advance at once, with his whole forces, to support his colleague, a most admirable move as affairs stood, but, owing to the distance between the Prussian armies, by no means promising certain success. The great battle of Sadowa followed, but I can only glance at the broad results. The Army of the Elbe and the First Army made little progress in the attack for hours, and were in considerable danger for a short time; for the Crown Prince could not speedily appear on the field. At last, however, the Second Army, after immense exertions, came into line, from 90,000 to 100,000 strong. It fell on Benedek's right, which had been exposed, and reached his centre, almost by accident, and from that moment the battle was lost to Austria. The defeat, though decisive, was not overwhelming, for Benedek drew off the mass of his forces, and the conquerors were unable to pursue. The strength of Austria was nevertheless broken, and peace was made in a few weeks.

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* Colonel Lecomte, sometime Jomini's first aide-de-camp, an admirable and well-informed critic, distinctly asserts—*Guerre de la Prusse*, 1, 406—'that this all important order was not sent in duplicate, which would have been a grave omission. This has been scornfully denied, and reference is made to the *Prussian Staff History*, p. 166. The passage may well mean that one single order was sent to Prince Frederick Charles at Kamenitz, and another to the Crown Prince at Konighinhof.

An immense majority of soldiers believed the victory of Austria certain in 1866. The decisive superiority of the Prussians was, however, manifest, though the needle-gun was for a time set down as the paramount cause of the triumph of Prussia. Moltke's strategy, too, was generally condemned, especially the advance, in a double line and at wide distances, into Bohemia, the Austrian army being not far off: no critic of repute attempted a defence until after the war of 1870-1. Since that time apologies have been profuse, for success will always command advocates, even though the movement set at nought principles of the military art that may be deemed axioms. Most of these pleas, however, cannot stand the test of impartial enquiry, when fairly examined. We may reject the argument of the Prussian Staff, for it does not meet the facts, and it avoids the issue. Benedek, we may concede, had not time enough to carry out his original design, to reach the table-land between the Iser and the Elbe, and to strike right and left at the Prussian armies; had he persisted in this course he might have been crushed between them. This circumstance, however, did not prevent him from gaining a central position and interior lines on the 26th and 27th June, and from having it in his power, on those two days, to direct a preponderating force against the Crown Prince, and afterwards against Prince Frederick Charles; and his possession of this advantage, which might have been made decisive, was wholly due to the fact that the Prussian armies were drawing towards him with a wide gap between them.

We may also summarily disregard the view that the electric telegraph reduced the danger of Moltke's operations almost to nothing, for it enabled him to keep the converging armies in hand and to regulate their pre-concerted movements. In the first place, it did nothing of the kind, for Prince Frederick Charles, in his advance on Gitschin, did not march as had been projected; and, in the second place, Benedek had the advantage of the electric telegraph rather more than Moltke, and his gain was as great as that of his enemy; it can be proved, I believe, that it was much greater. Nor can I admit the justice of the last plea I shall notice, that Moltke, as may have been

well the fact, knew that Benedek was a bad general, and that the Austrian army was a bad army, and therefore ventured on operations, in theory false, but not actually hazardous as affairs stood. As Napoleon has written over and over again, and Moltke has more than once remarked, a whole plan of a campaign founded on the notion, that the adversary is certain to make gross mistakes and to do everything wrong, is open to censure, whatever liberties may be safely taken with an incapable enemy actually within reach.

The Prussian army, in 1866, was infinitely superior to the Austrian army, in the real elements of military power. Why then did Moltke disregard a principle of supreme importance in the conduct of war, with this result that the Prussian armies would have been in the gravest peril, for two days at least, had Benedek been a capable chief? We must seek in events that preceded the campaign the only true apology that can be made for him. Moltke wished to assume the offensive as soon as the forces of Prussia could be assembled, that is long before the middle of June, and in that case, there is reason to believe he would have invaded Bohemia on a single line. King William, however, would not hear of this; he refused to collect the Prussian armies, for weeks, and kept them, when collected, in a defensive attitude; and it was not until the last moment, when the three armies were spread along the frontier, that he gave his consent to attack Austria. Thwarted and restricted as he had been, Moltke, therefore, had two alternatives only, either to invade Bohemia on double converging lines, taking risks impossible to avoid, or to lose time in drawing together the Prussian armies, along the widely extended front they held, and making the attack on one line only. In this situation of affairs, it appears probable that he took, on the whole, the better course, beset as it was with danger; and though good judges have denied this, their arguments do not carry conviction with them. Under the special circumstances of the case, therefore, the strategy of Moltke may perhaps be justified; but it can be excused in this way only; and it is no grand illustration of the art of war. As to the direction given by Moltke to the Crown Prince to march on Sadowa, with all his forces, this

was a fine and well-conceived movement; but, here again, success was very far from certain, as the Prussian armies had been kept apart, and Benedek, with his defeated army, had a good chance of victory for some hours.

Moltke gave proof, in the Campaign of 1866, of boldness, readiness, and force of character, but assuredly not of strategic genius. He was the chief architect, however, of the armed strength of Prussia; the Prussian army had completely eclipsed the Austrian; and this was his real title to fame. We do not know exactly the part he had in the immense aggrandisement of the military power of Prussia, which followed the triumphant Peace of Prague, and in the development and improvement of the German armies, but unquestionably it was great and conspicuous. Within less than four years from the day of Sadowa, the Prussian army had been increased by nearly a third; the states of southern Germany had joined Prussia, and had given her large auxiliary forces; the armies of northern and southern Germany reached the prodigious total of 1,100,000, including the Landwehr, as a reserve, the standing army being about 600,000, and extraordinary exertions had been made to bring these vast arrays to the highest point of excellence. By this time war with France was known to be at hand; but Napoleon III., crossed by routine and faction, endeavoured in vain to make the army of France fit to cope with its coming gigantic enemy. Even in numbers that army was very inferior, it had only 336,000 men in first line, and the great mass of its reserves was only a force on paper. Its organization too, was antiquated, and out of joint; it could not assemble with ease and quickness; the three arms in it were not well trained, and its chiefs versed in Algerian warfare, had little knowledge of the higher parts of war, and of the strategy and tactics of great modern armies. The French infantry, indeed, had, in the Chassepôt rifle, a better weapon than the Prussian needle gun; but this advantage was more than overborne by the superiority of the German artillery; and the French cavalry had almost lost the habit of exploring, at great distances, in which the German had been taught to excel.

Apart from numbers, there was no comparison between the two armies as instruments of war.

The war broke out in July, 1870, and Napoleon III., enfeebled by disease, assumed the supreme command of the French army. His plan for the campaign had been formed for some time; it was borrowed from that of his uncle in 1815, and it was based on the principle that an inferior force, if ably led, might contend with success against divided enemies superior in numbers. The Emperor hoped to assemble 250,000 men behind the great strongholds of Metz and Strasburg; to cross the Rhine between Maxen and Germersheim; to separate the armies of North and South Germany; and then, calling up a reserve of 150,000, supported by Austrian and Italian contingents, to fall in full force on the Prussian armies. This forecast, however, quickly proved vain; the military organization of France broke down; the assembly of her forces was very slow, and they were left without all kinds of requirements, and even in numbers they fell far short of what the Emperor had been led to expect. Eight corps indeed, were formed, and sent towards the frontier, but they hardly exceeded 200,000 men, even by the closing days of July, and they were still in the need of many appliances to enable them to make a bold offensive movement. In these circumstances, the ill-fated sovereign left the mass of his forces spread along the frontier, on an immense arc from Thionville to Belfort, in positions exposed to a most dangerous attack, his enemy being at hand in irresistible force. He probably ought to have fallen back speedily, but he dreaded the wrath and contempt of Paris, one main cause of the disasters that followed.

Unlike what had happened in 1866, Moltke was not hampered on this great occasion, and he was freely given the chief direction of the armed strength of Germany. He had anticipated the design of Napoleon III. by summoning the South German forces to support the North; and the Emperor, in any event, would have probably failed. The assembly of the united forces of Germany, from the Niemen to the Rhine and the Moselle, was one of the most marvellous of events in war. The system of organization, brought gradually by Moltke

almost to the point of perfection, worked with a celerity and precision that astounded Europe; but organization was sustained by a mighty effort of life, and Germany rushed to arms against her ancient enemy. The gigantic movement was completed in about sixteen days, and three armies were set on foot: the First, about 60,000 strong, in the region around Trèves, under the veteran Steinmetz; the Second, not less than 130,000, spreading from Mayence along the roads to Lorraine, and with Prince Frederick Charles at its head; and the Third, about equal in force to the Second, having the Crown Prince of Prussia as its chief, in the tract around Landau, overhanging Alsace. These vast arrays, fully 320,000 men, were supported by reserves of 150,000, and they were already threatening seven French corps, now perhaps 210,000* strong, disseminated widely on a vulnerable front. The general plan of Moltke was to take the offensive; to invade France on her weakest frontier; to penetrate into Alsace and Lorraine; to overthrow the armies opposed to him; and having driven them towards the northern provinces, to make his way to the capital of France. With certain changes, due to the accidents of war, he carried out this plan with unflinching constancy, and with a success that probably he had not ventured to expect.

There was nothing original in this design of Moltke; the invasion of France, upon these lines, had been arranged as far back as the day of Gneisenau; and Moltke borrowed in this the thoughts of others, as he had followed the example of Frederick the Great, when he entered Bohemia before Sadowa. What is really to be admired in these operations, as a whole, is the proof they gave of the supreme excellence of the organization for war of the German armies; and here again Moltke may claim high praise. Yet an opportunity was given Napoleon III., which a great general might have turned to advantage. The First Army was isolated for a few days; and it was possible to have directed against it a force largely superior

* There is no official French account of the war, and these numbers can be only approximate to the truth. Of the eight French corps one, the 6th, was at Châlons.

in numbers; a movement which might have had immense results, and given a new turn to the whole campaign.* The Emperor, however, remained inactive; and after the puny demonstration of Sarrebruck—which, however, made Moltke pause for a moment—the tempest broke over Alsace and Lorraine. The Third Army, moving across the frontier, routed a French division, dangerously exposed, and ignorant of the approach of the enemy, owing to the bad exploring of the French cavalry, around the old frontier town of Wissembourg; and on the 6th of August, it completely defeated the right wing of the French army—known by the general name of the Army of the Rhine—in position on the Sauer in front of Wörth. Meanwhile parts of the First and Second Armies had attacked a corps of the French Army, preparing to fall back from the Sarre, and after a fierce struggle on the heights of Spicheren and the adjoining tract, the French retreated beaten.† These battles, however, were altogether premature, were fought against the wish of the chiefs in highest command, and certainly were not well directed, as far as regards the German movements, though Moltke, who was far distant, was in no sense to blame. At Wörth, 46,000 Frenchmen resisted 100,000

* This is well pointed out by General Hamley, *Operations of War*, p. 334, ed. 1889; and is made very clear, and in full detail, by General Derrécagaix *In Guerre Moderne*, I. 512-13. The *Prussian Staff History* and the worshippers of success in England maintain a significant silence.

† The descriptions of Wörth and Spicheren in the *Prussian Staff History* are not always candid or trustworthy, and some of the accounts compiled by the courtiers of fortune in England are worse. For instance, a writer in the *United Service Magazine*, of January, 1894, practically denies that the situation had become critical with the Germans about mid-day; that the noble charges of the French cavalry were of any use; and that the 1st Bavarian corps had a most important influence in deciding the battle. He is contradicted on these points by the *Prussian Staff History*, I., pp. 162, 163, 177, 187, 191. He is, however, more fully confuted by General Derrécagaix, *Guerre Moderne*, II., 178, 199, whose careful and exhaustive account he appears not to have read. The *Prussian Staff History*, it should be added—and most English writers blindly follow it—assumes that the French were largely superior in numbers at Spicheren; but General Derrécagaix, who gives precise figures, emphatically denies this. *Guerre Moderne*, I., 535.

Germans, and had for hours a distinct advantage, a result which could not have been obtained, had not the German attacks been made piecemeal; and at Spicheren the Germans must have been defeated, had the French corps received the assistance of large supports, a few miles from the field. The consequences of the defeats of Macmahon and Frossard, the commanders of the French in these engagements, were certainly, as affairs stood, very great; but considering the immense superiority of the invaders in force, taking into account the theatre of war, they might unquestionably have achieved more than they did.

Wörth almost destroyed Macmahon's force, and sent its remains, in rout through the Vosges, whence, joined on the way by the corps under Failly, they ultimately arrived at the Great Camp of Châlons. Spicheren compelled the other parts of the army of the Rhine, placed in a position critical in the extreme, to fall back on all points through Lorraine, in a state of confusion, distress, and terror, greatly aggravated by all kinds of conflicting orders. Yet Moltke, who was in communication with the victorious hosts by the telegraph, on the whole scene of action, made no effort to pursue the enemy; in fact, even the chiefs of the Third Army scarcely tried to press the wrecked troops of Macmahon. The invading armies made a well marked pause; Moltke's object being, in part, to call up the great reserves of his second line, and, in part, to carry out leisurely, without gathering fruits from his recent success, the plan of operations he had formed for the campaign. The Third Army began to move on the 8th of August; made its way very slowly through the passes of the Vosges, and proceeded to the region around Nancy, reaching this early on the 16th, and having completely lost sight of the enemy. The First and Second Armies, which had assembled on the Middle Sarre, in immense force, did not begin to march until the 10th of August; they formed the pivot, in fact, for the wider sweep to be made on the left by the Third Army; and they were not on the Nied until the 13th, having, also, nearly ceased to be in contact with the French. The object of these movements was to bring an irresistible force upon the Moselle, a

line the French army, it was supposed, would defend; and having defeated the Army of the Rhine, to drive it northwards, and to advance on Paris.

This strategy is not to be lightly censured, and, in the end, it completely succeeded, if this is no real test of its merits. An invasion of France has been always hazardous; Moltke thought the French would make a stand on the Moselle—a very strong, nay formidable line—and he seems to have believed this part of the Army of the Rhine was still about 200,000 strong, though it is difficult to give this statement credit.* Nevertheless, an impartial student of war can have little doubt but that at this conjuncture, a great opportunity was lost by the German leader. I may pass by the question whether the Third Army might not have annihilated Macmahon's routed force, had it made a real effort at pursuit; the feeble attempt it made was in the wrong direction, and was abandoned within a few hours. The First and Second Armies, however, had it in their power to destroy the remaining part of the Army of the Rhine, and in this way probably to cause the war to close in a single and completely decisive battle. That army, not yet joined by the corps from Châlons, was only on the German Nied on the 8th of August. It was not more than 135,000 strong; chiefs, officers, and men had lost heart; even when the corps from Châlons reached it, it was not more than † 170,000 strong, a great part of this force being mere levies; and it was not on the French Nied until the 11th. But on the 8th of August not less than seven corps ‡ of the First and Second Armies, with large reserves in their rear, were collected upon the Middle Sarre in possession of the great main roads from the frontier; they must have been

* *Prussian Staff History*, I., 280. This statement seems to have been made to excuse the loss of the opportunity that Moltke had.

† See the numbers given by Bazaine. *L'Armée du Rhin*, p. 46. General Hamley's *Operations of War*, p. 320, ed. 1889, make the figures considerably less.

‡ *Prussian Staff History*, I., 271, 279. The seven corps were the 1st, 7th and 8th of the First Army, and the 3rd, 4th, 10th, and Guards of the Second.

200,000 men in first line; they were not more than twenty miles from the French on that day, and it is idle to deny that, had they advanced at once, they would have reached and overwhelmed their much weaker enemy. This was not done,* and a grand occasion was missed; but this was thoroughly in keeping with Moltke's leading. With advantages Napoleon never possessed, he was not to be compared to Napoleon on the path of victory; he excelled in carrying out well meditated plans, but he had little of the inspiration and resource of that first of warriors.†

While the German armies were thus advancing slowly, the French, we have seen, were falling back from the frontier. The intention of the Emperor at first was to retreat far to the Marne and Châlons, and being, as he was, not pressed by the enemy, he probably could have attained his object. The fear of opinion in Paris, however,—his curse and that of France in this part of the war—induced him to stand on the French Nied, as if to challenge his approaching foes; but this unfortunate resolve was soon given up, and the Army of the Rhine, less by Macmahon and Failly's forces, fell back once more seeking to reach Metz, and, we repeat, in a most disheartened state. The chief command was now taken by Bazaine, and that Marshal received directions to march through Metz, and to advance to the Meuse, with the object doubtless of getting to Châlons at last, and effecting his junction with Macmahon. The retreat of Bazaine was extremely slow; but, shameful as his conduct

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* That an opportunity was lost is practically admitted in *The Prussian Staff History*, I., 280. It states, in its wonted guarded language, 'The Germans were apparently lingering in their advance.'

† An English apologist for Moltke, writing in the *Broad Arrow* of Nov. 18th, 1893, denies that the French Army, retreating through Lorraine, was in a state of demoralization. I may refer him to Bazaine, *L'Armée du Rhin*, pp. 40-41, Bazaine, *Guerre* 1870, pp. 42, 43, 44. As to the opportunity lost by Moltke, see Major Adams, one of his chief admirers, *Great Campaigns*, pp. 614-15. 'The one quality in which Von Moltke seems deficient is that of reaping the full and instantaneous fruits of victory. The time that was permitted to elapse, after the first struggle, lost to the Germans the opportunity of bringing the war to a rapid and brilliant conclusion.'

became afterwards, it would be unfair to blame him for this, for he only just had his troops in hand; and, curiously enough, his first idea was to attack the Germans, now at a little distance, a movement that might perhaps have succeeded. By the 12th of August the First and Second Armies had almost come up with the retiring French; and Moltke ordered the First Army to move to the French Nied, supported by two corps of the Second Army. Had Bazaine fell boldly on, on the 13th,* he would not improbably have gained a victory; but he was already defiling through Metz, and an opportunity was, perhaps, lost to the French. By the 14th of August a part only of the French Army was west of the Moselle, the other part being still on the eastern bank, for the march through Metz had been greatly delayed; and this part was attacked by two divisions of the First Army, supported ere long by a third, and by reinforcements from the Second Army. The battle was well contested and stern, and from a tactical point of view was drawn; † but strategically it kept the whole French army back, and this gave the Germans a great advantage.

Moltke drew fruitful results from the conflict known as Colombey Nouilly or Borny. The Third Army was now approaching Nancy, a considerable part of the Second Army was sent across the Moselle to the west of Metz, and the First Army was brought towards the fortress, its advanced guards drawing near the Seille, an affluent of the great stream of the Moselle. This movement, screened by masses of horsemen, was admirably executed, and has been justly admired; but it may be remarked that it simply carried out the general plan of the operations of Moltke, and his ability, in this respect, has been never questioned. A great mistake, however, was here made, which might have been attended with the gravest results. Moltke had wished that the mass of the Second Army should

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* See General Derrécagaix, *Guerre Moderne*, II., p. 57.

† This has been contemptuously denied by the writer in the *United Service Magazine*, before referred to. Major Adams *Great Campaigns*, p. 534, says, 'Night fell on a drawn battle, in which both sides claim the victory.'

advance westwards, and attack Bazaine, intercepting him on his way to the Meuse, and striking him, in force, in front and flank; but Prince Fredrick Charles had convinced himself that this operation would be too late; he resolved to follow Bazaine at once; and he directed two corps only, to positions in which he hoped to assail the rear of the Marshal, assumed to be in precipitate retreat. This was a feeble and most erroneous movement; how far Moltke has to account for it, will probably not be known for years; but it deserves notice that he was apprised of the Prince's intentions on the 15th of August, and counter orders were not despatched.* These arrangements led to the great battle, fought on 16th, and called by the Germans Mars la Tour, a battle glorious for Germany, but which might have been fatal to her. Bazaine had retreated only a few miles from Metz: he had about 140,000 men in hand, and he was successfully assailed and brought to bay, at first by a few thousand men only, and even to the last by a very inferior force. Each side lost about 16,000 men, in an indecisive struggle only closed at night; but had Bazaine been a real general, his enemies should have been trampled in the dust.

The operations of the contending armies became, at this point, of peculiar interest. There was but one opinion in the German camp, either that Bazaine would attack on the 17th, and so try to force his way to the Meuse, or that he would march northwards, and avoiding a battle, would seek to retreat in that direction. Preparations were made for either attempt, and Moltke no doubt is responsible for them. The Third Army was left where it was, its chiefs intent on a march on Paris; but two corps † of the First Army were placed near Metz, to the west of the Moselle, while the third corps ‡ was

* *The Prussian Staff History*, I., 351-7, if carefully studied, shows that this account of these operations is, in substance, correct. Mr. Archibald Forbes, *United Service Magazine*, March, 1894, has written a well considered description of what he has called 'Prince Frederick Charles's Misconceptions.' I noticed this mistake as far back as 1891, in my *Great Commanders*, p. 290; and more fully in my study of Moltke, pp. 146-49.

† The 7th and 8th corps. ‡ The 1st corps.

left on the eastern bank of the river, with directions to observe and menace the fortress, and, if attacked in force, to fall back to the Nied. Meanwhile the five corps of the Second Army, at hand, were ranged in a line of about eleven miles in extent, from the right of the First Army at Ars,* to Hannonville on the main roads to the Meuse; and one corps † in the rear, not yet across the Moselle, was ordered to cross, and to join the main body. Contact had once more been lost with the enemy, save where the First Army approached Metz; and the general plan of operations was that the part of the First Army, west of the Moselle, should hold the French engaged on the spot, and should form the pivot for the movement either to attack Bazaine, or to follow him should he retreat northwards.

These arrangements occupied the 17th of August, and Bazaine did not attack on that day. Let us now consider what had become the situation of the German armies, on the night of the 17th, and until the next morning. One corps only of the First Army was on the eastern bank of the Moselle; the Third Army was far away; and eight corps of the First and Second Armies were gathering together west of the Moselle, with little means of knowing the movements of the French, their leaders, besides, being, one and all, convinced that Bazaine was marching westwards for the Meuse. On the other hand, Bazaine, at the close of the 16th, was only eight or ten miles from Metz; and once within the fortress, he would have a great opportunity for an offensive movement, for he would hold the chord of the arc on the field of manœuvre, and the communications of the Germans lay exposed before him, covered only by the one corps of the First Army, an insignificant force compared to his own.

Experience has shown what, in these circumstances, he might have accomplished had he had the genius, the readiness, the decision of a great commander. He had ample supplies of food

* That is the right of the two corps of the First Army, west of the Moselle.

† The 2nd corps. All these movements should be studied in the *Prussian Staff History*, 2.

and munitions;* and had he made up his mind, on the night of Mars la Tour, his army, leaving the killed and wounded behind, and perhaps making demonstrations to conceal his purpose, might have been around Metz on the morning of the 17th. To cross the Moselle should have been now his object; he had six bridges already made,† and three or four might have been constructed; and, leaving a detachment in the fortress behind, and giving his troops supplies for four days, he could have passed through Metz, and reached the eastern bank of the river by the forenoon of the 18th. The country before him was open, and the great roads excellent; and it is not too much to suppose that by nightfall he could have been on the French Nied—a distance of less than ten miles—with from 100,000 to 110,000 men, moving, with their impedimenta, on a broad front. The single corps of the First Army, if not defeated, would, according to orders, have fallen back; and it is scarcely possible that Moltke and his lieutenants could have been apprised of Bazaine's movement with anything like an approach to certainty until the Marshal was on the Nied. Any general placed in a situation like this would have required some hours to form a decision. Moltke, as his career distinctly proves, would have paused for some time, surprised and perplexed; and bearing in mind that the German chiefs all thought that Bazaine was on his way westwards, and not eastwards, as in the supposed case, and that to direct huge masses of men to a direction contrary to that laid out for them, is an affair of immense difficulty, causing delay, it is idle to contend that the German armies, or even a considerable part of them, would be in a position to retrace their steps, and to follow Bazaine until the 19th at soonest. But this operation would have been too late; the Marshal could have reached the Sarre on the 20th, long before the Germans could be even near; and he would thus have seized the communications of his foes, and practically compelled them to think of themselves. In that event he would have saved himself and his army, have caused

* *Report of Riviere*, pp. 31, 34, 38. † *Ibid.*, p. 22.

a suspense of the invasion for weeks, and given the war a wholly new turn.*

Bazaine, however, a most worthless chief, was incapable of making a movement of this kind. He arrayed his army, about 125,000 strong, along a range of uplands to the west of Metz, and awaited his enemy in an attitude of passive defence, a bad attitude as the experience of ages has proved. The Germans, immensely superior in force, and ultimately more than 200,000 men, marched against Bazaine on the 18th of August; but they had all but lost sight of the French army; and their march was at first in the wrong direction, a false move that had bad results. This led to the great battle ot Gravelotte, the most fiercely contested of the whole war. The advance of the Germans, when they learned where Bazaine was, has been justly admired, as an instance of admirable organization in the field; but the battle was not well conducted by the German leaders, whatever may be urged by the courtiers of fortune. The first attack on the French lines was made at the wrong place; the Prussian Guards were nearly cut to pieces; the First Army was almost routed, and that this sacrifice was

* This movement has been indicated by the late General Hamley, with a slight variation, *Operations of War*, ed. 1889, 329-32. That it was practicable is virtually admitted by the *Prussian Staff History*, II., 533. I believe it would have been accomplished certainly by Napoleon, who, at Arcola, succeeded in carrying out an operation somewhat analogous, but far more difficult; probably by Turenne, Eugene, Villars, or Frederick the Great, who all performed feats at least as arduous. It is a complete mistake to suppose that General Hamley is the only soldier who thought of this movement; it suggested itself to two Generals at least of Bazaine's army, to the Austrian Staff, to the illustrious Chanzy, I have reason to believe, and, as I know, to one distinguished General of the British army since dead. Mr. Archibald Forbes has tried to prove in the *United Service Magazine* of February, 1894, that the operation must have failed, and would have been defeated by the Germans. I think he has shown that General Hamley did not suggest the best course that could have been adopted, but I dissent from his main conclusions. His reasoning looks at war like a game of chess; assumes that the German generals saw at once all the pieces and moves on the board, and had perfect knowledge of the facts; and, above all, ignores the element of surprise and perplexity that must have delayed, perhaps paralysed their movements.

intended is an idle tale; and the great turning movement by which the battle was won was only just successful, and might have been repulsed with ease. On the other hand, the French, who had regained heart from the results of the fighting of the last few days, displayed remarkable valour and constancy; they successfully maintained their positions for hours, though prevented from making counter attacks; and they would have baffled the decisive turning movement had Bazaine—he was actually not on the field!—sent the Imperial Guard to support his right wing. The German tactics, in a word, were far from good; how far Moltke, who was on the spot, is responsible, will perhaps be never known; but it appears most probable that his constant habit of not keeping in contact with his enemy was the cause of delay in the first instance, and afterwards of precipitate attacks, ill-directed, and frightfully wasteful of life. The ultimate results of Gravelotte were immense; but the battle itself reflects no credit on the skill of the German generals in the field; and this may be the reason that attempts have been made to misrepresent the real force of the opposing armies, and to conceal how largely superior the Germans were in numbers.*

* I believe I can lay claim—see the *Academy,* 19th December, 1891—to the credit of having been the first writer to point out the flagrant miscalculation made by Moltke in his *Precis of the Franco-German War,* I., 84, as to the numbers of the armies engaged at Gravelotte. Attempts have been made to excuse him, at least as to one gross mis-statement, but they have either been futile, or have got him out of Scylla to fling him into Charybdis. It is said that he did include the 2nd corps in his enumeration of the German forces in the field, but that he wrote the figure 'seven' corps instead of 'eight.' This is improbable in the highest degree, and it deserves special notice that the *Prussian Staff History,* which Moltke, no doubt, had before him, vol. I., 438, refers to 'seven' corps only, and only includes the 'eight' corps in an appendix. But, be this as it may, Moltke, taking this apology as correct, confessedly omitted the whole of the German cavalry, about 25,000 sabres, out of the account, and this was very nearly the strength of the 2nd corps. No one has attempted to justify his omission of part of the 1st corps of the First Army, which shelled Metz from the eastern bank of the Moselle; very possibly kept the Imperial Guard on the spot; and certainly played an important part in the battle. In short, in any view of the case Moltke has under-rated the German

The operations of Moltke, from Wörth and Spicheren to Gravelotte, have been more or less censured. Passing by the idolaters of mere success, General Hamley has remarked that the German leader gave opportunities and missed chances; and I certainly think that he ought to have crushed his enemy before he reached Metz; that Mars La Tour ought to have been a German defeat; that Bazaine, had he been a great captain, might have severed Moltke's communications and escaped; and that Gravelotte, in itself, was no triumph to boast of.* Moltke, with remarkable daring and energy, invested Metz after the battle of the 18th, with the First Army and part of the Second; but the investment was at the outset so weak, that Bazaine, the Prussian staff admits,† might probably have broken through the German lines, a tolerable proof of what he might have done had he struck the blow indicated after Mars la Tour. The operation astounded soldiers in Europe; but Bazaine had already given proof of such complete incapacity in the field, that Moltke, as the event showed, was probably justified in adopting a course without an example in war before. How Bazaine made no real effort to escape, how he even neglected to husband the supplies which would have enabled him to hold out much longer than he did, and how he dabbled in treason and betrayed his country, is one of the

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forces at Gravelotte, by at least 30,000 men. As to his enumeration of the French forces, he has over-estimated them by from 60,000 to 55,000 men; and this has not been seriously disputed even by his most ardent admirers. The French were not 180,000 strong, as he asserts, but from 120,000 to 130,000 at most; and this is a higher figure than those of Bazaine, of General Hamley, and of Col. Malleson. Curiously enough, the *Prussian Staff History*, vol. II., p. 10, lets the truth out in one passage, and says, 'the enemy was estimated at 100,000, or 120,000 men.' No one wishes to charge Moltke with wilful misrepresentation, but his misstatements are not less most palpable, and it is really too much to ask any reasonable person to swallow the German figures in many parts of the war of 1870.

* That Moltke was not satisfied with his own operations at this conjuncture is evident from the *Prussian Staff History*, II. 165-7. These pregnant comments are probably from his pen.

† *Prussian Staff History*, II. 533.

darkest tales in the annals of France; no one is equally to blame for the results of the war.

Moltke now formed the Army of the Meuse, and directed it with the Third Army against Macmahon's forces, as a prelude to the intended advance on Paris. Macmahon had by this time assembled from 130,000 to 140,000 men at Châlons, and his first resolve was to fall back on the capital, and to defend it with the last army possessed by France. How he was turned aside from this judicious purpose, partly by an ambiguous message from Bazaine, but chiefly from dread of Parisian opinion, once more causing immense disasters, is known to every student of the war of 1870-1, and I need not repeat an often-told tale. I shall not dwell on his fatal advance to the Meuse, ending in the catastrophe of Sedan, for I examined the subject in this *Review* lately; * suffice it to say that operations n war were never worse conceived or worse carried out. Moltke's plans, if somewhat tardy, were admirably laid, and the movements by which the German armies were directed against their doomed foes, were those of a real master of war. Fine and just conception, and able execution, were the characteristics of these great efforts, but when it is asserted that they surpassed all that Napoleon achieved, the student of the History of War smiles. The march to Sedan was not to be compared to the march on Ulm and the march that led to Marengo.

After Sedan Moltke advanced on Paris, with his mind bent on the plan he had formed, and in the exultation of immense success. The invaders on the march were but 150,000 strong; Bazaine and his army lay in their rear, imprisoned certainly, but a real danger, that kept a great investing force on the spot; the German communications with the interior were hardly opened; and not one even of the main railway lines leading to the capital had been mastered. This operation was founded on the contempt Moltke entertained for the French character—a sentiment that has cost many a warrior dear—he believed that France would not lift her head, and he was convinced that Paris would at once succumb, and that the war

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* See *The Scottish Review*, January, 1894, article "Marshal Macmahon."

was close to its end. The calculation, however, was wholly vain; the movement, it is admitted now by the Germans themselves, was a mistake resting on false assumptions; and King William, who judged correctly what the patriotism and resources of France were, protested against it to no purpose.*

Moltke was completely undeceived before long; he succeeded, indeed, in investing Paris, and maintaining his hold on the great city, but the Germans were placed in grave peril for months, through the efforts of the beleaguered capital and the heroic national resistance of France. The invaders, in fact, owed much to fortune, and other accidents if they triumphed at last. Had Bazaine broken through their lines at Metz—and this remained possible for many weeks—they could hardly have escaped a disaster; and but for the premature and unexpected fall of the fortress, the Army of the Loire would, after Coulmiers, have marched on Paris and raised the siege with consequences of supreme importance. Even afterwards, save for Gambetta's mistakes, D'Aurelle and Chanzy might have reached the capital, defeating on their way the covering armies, ill placed and greatly inferior in numbers; and the issue of the contest remained uncertain, until Bourbaki was directed to the east, and recklessly involved in a second Sedan. Surrounded as they were in the midst of France by the waves of a gigantic national rising, of which their commanders never dreamed, the invaders were endangered for a considerable time; indeed, until Paris was subdued by famine, and this too, after triumphs in the field, without a parallel in the annals of war. The march on the capital, therefore, in the circumstances in which it was made, was a capital error, it involved risks enormous alike and needless.

The operations of Moltke, too, in the second part of the war—by many degrees its most attractive part if slurred over by mere soldiers—were often imperfect and very mistaken. Excellent in carrying out pre-arranged plans, he was perplexed when confronted with a state of affairs on which he

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* I cannot read German, but can refer the reader to a review of the works of Kunz and Hœnig, contained in *The Times* of the 8th and 9th February, in which this is distinctly asserted.

had not reckoned beforehand; and not possessing the searching eye of genius, he was greatly troubled by the rising of France. For weeks after the investment of Paris, the German movements were weak and tentative; they exhibited indecision and want of knowledge, and they were badly arranged on more than one occasion. Moltke, at a conjuncture of extreme importance, sent large forces in the wrong direction, deceived by an apparition of a French Army of the West; before Coulmiers he was surprised, after Coulmiers he was wholly at fault in separating the Grand Duke and Tann; and he was again surprised by Gambetta—a man of extraordinary powers despite his faults—when the Army of the Loire was collected in front of Orleans, before the battles of the first days of December. He was, also, baffled by Chanzy—a real chief whose premature death was a great loss to France—and in the last stages of the contest he had no conception that Bourbaki was being sent to the East, and he was ignorant of this movement for many days. His idolaters take care not to dwell on these things, and simply point to the result of the war, but history notes, and pronounces on them.*

But if these mistakes of Moltke were grave, and very nearly changed the course of the war, he rose superior to the threats of fortune, on the only occasion when she appeared frowning. His grand strength of character stood him in good stead, while he was struggling for a time in a sea of troubles; and his capacity became again manifest towards the end of the contest. He took the right course in investing Paris, and not risking the perils of an assault; and when it had become evident that the rising of France, and the stubborn resistance of her heroic capital had imposed on him a gigantic task, he addressed himself to it with unflinching constancy, disregarding murmurs and fears in the German camp. By degrees, owing to his fine arrangements, a great external zone, composed of troops marched to his aid, was thrown around the zone of investment; and this double barrier repelled the

* See for most of these mistakes of Moltke the review of Kunz and Hœnig before referred to. I may say they are one and all anticipated and explained in my study on Moltke.

efforts of Paris and of the provincial armies advancing to her relief. The distribution of these forces was sometimes incorrect, but ultimately Moltke gained and secured a central position and interior lines against the enemy on the theatre of war; and from this position of vantage he directed operations against the French levies, marked, in some instances, by conspicuous skill, especially in the march against Bourbaki, which really put an end to the war. Yet these exertions of Moltke might, perhaps, have failed, had he not been seconded by a great national movement, which has not been sufficiently kept in view. The war, in its last phases, became a strife of races; Germany, aflame with intense and revengeful passion, flocked across the Rhine to support the invasion; and this powerfully contributed to her final triumph.

France was stripped of two of her most loyal provinces by the unwise and ominous Treaty of Frankfort. Moltke insisted on the cession of Alsace and Lorraine; on this, as on several other occasions, exhibiting a want of knowledge of human nature, and a contemptuous dislike of the French character. His memory will probably have to answer for this; Germany and Europe may yet lament the day when the Tricolor was torn down from Metz and Strasbourg, and the pride and patriotism of France were wounded to the quick. My estimate of this most remarkable man may be collected from what I have already written. Moltke was truly great in the preparation of war, though even in this department of the art, he achieved no marvels like those achieved by Napoleon in providing for the descent on England, for the invasion of Russia in 1812, for the reorganisation of the military force of France in 1813 and 1815. But Moltke had the faculty to perceive with a fulness of insight that approached genius what were the new conditions of war in his age, and he adapted the armed strength of Prussia to them, with an intense perseverance, an attention to details, a far reaching, and sound and practical judgment which entitle him to the very highest praise. The Army which conquered Austria and France was mainly his creation in its highest parts; it proved irresistible in the field, and was perhaps the best instrument ever forged for war; and this is Moltke's enduring title to renown.

In the conduct of war the Prussian leader did not excel in the same degree. His success in the field was indeed astounding; Jena and Austerlitz were less decisive than Sedan, but this is not a real test of his powers as a warrior. Moltke had almost always an overwhelming superiority of force; he was opposed to generals of a very low type; he had the advantage of mistakes on the part of his enemy, especially in 1870-71, beyond all example, and his prodigious triumphs were due far more to these causes than to his capacity to lead armies. Genius is not seen in his conceptions of war; the plans of his campaigns were all borrowed; and if he could work out most ably preconcerted schemes, he was unequal to sudden and brilliant resolves, to those strokes of inspiration and power which are the distinctive marks of the greatest captains. Feats of arms due to rapid decision, to stratagem, to craft, to bold surprises, are not to be found in his operations; and though as a mere strategist he was extremely able when he had time to mature his projects, his strategy was not of the very first order. On the other hand, he committed at least his full share of mistakes, especially in his advance on Paris, in his constant and very dangerous habit of losing sight of a defeated enemy, and scarcely ever trying to pursue; and his movements, after Wörth and Spicheren down to the investment of Metz, disclose many and plain shortcomings, and have been rightly subjected to adverse comment. He was never tried by what is the true criterion of generals of the highest type; he never was victorious with an inferiority of force; he never made genius supply the want of numbers; he did nothing that can be compared with what Napoleon accomplished in 1796, in 1814, and even before Waterloo. It may safely be affirmed, as we survey his career, that he could never have achieved exploits like these: strong, patient, able, but requiring time to work out what he had designed, he could not have carried out the movements that have made Arcola, Rivoli, and Montmirail immortal. Nevertheless Moltke holds a real place, if not the highest, among great commanders; he was admirable in executing operations in the field, grand, complicated, vast, and often very difficult, based on plans he had

laid down beforehand ; here his power of organization appears again ; and on several occasions he certainly gave proof of the readiness, the daring, nay the perfect skill which generals of renown possess. Had he been a younger man when he first directed war, his military career might have been more brilliant.

To superficial observers the most striking feature in the great wars conducted by Moltke was the superiority in organization of the German armies. Their celerity, their ease and power in manœuvring were as remarkable indeed as their immense numbers, and as the skill and good will of their chiefs in acting in concert. From these facts it has been inferred that mechanism, and not genius in war, is the most decisive element of success; Moltke, it has been said, 'has displaced the axis of ideas in the art'; a great organizing chief ranks higher than a great commander. This is a false and most dangerous notion ; and Moltke himself has protested against it. That mechanism and organization can do much in war is a truism on which we need not dwell; but superior direction has always been, and will always be, the dominant force that decides the issues of campaigns and battles. The wars indeed of 1866 and 1870 exhibit this truth with remarkable clearness. Napoleon, even with Benedek's army, would probably have overthrown Moltke, in the advance into Bohemia on a double line; the Germans must have lost Mars la Tour, would have had, it is likely, their communications severed, and would have not been successful at Gravelotte, had Moltke had a real general in his front. Assuredly Wellington, in Macmahon's place, would never have marched an army to Sedan, but would have fallen back and defended Paris, a movement which would have given a new turn to the war, and have saved France from an ignominious peace. The issues of war in their main results depend on the powers of man more than on anything else; mind rules matter, and will always rule it, a great captain, with forces even nearly equal, will subdue an adversary of inferior power.

WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS.

Art. V.—GERMANY IN 1826.

Extracts from a Diary of the late Rev. David Aitken, D.D., Minister of the parish of Minto from 1827 *to* 1864.

THE 'Diary' from which the following passages have been taken consists simply of rough jottings written down from day to day, with considerable gaps here and there. Apparently it has never been revised. Missing words have not been supplied, and some names, familiar enough to the writer in later years, are misspelt (*e.g.*, 'Washington Irvine.') This fact, while detracting from the literary finish of these records, adds to their historical value. They are the impressions of the moment in the mind of a sympathetic student of German theology and literature. I have added brief notes here and there on some of the less obvious allusions. Readers of the *Scottish Review* may be able to throw light on some matters that I have failed to explain or in respect to which I have fallen into error. I have to acknowledge the very kind help of Dr. Fairbairn in identifying for me several of the theological writers referred to. The recent publication of the *Life of Dr. Pusey* has recalled attention to the controversy raised by 'Rose's book,' which had just appeared before Mr. Aitken's visit to Berlin, Halle and Leipzig, and the opinions of various German theologians on the book regain a fresh interest. With regard to the interview with Hegel I confess a certain disappointment. It is less picturesque than the description which Dr. Aitken in his old age (it must have been in 1873 or 1874) gave me of his visit to the philosopher. He told me how, as he entered the room, he saw at first only a cloud of smoke; as the smoke cleared away he discerned 'a jolly German in a dressing-gown,' who talked to him about English politics and *The Edinburgh Review*. Being asked whether it would be possible by attending a lecture or two to get any idea of his philosophy, Hegel answered: 'In the first *Semester* you would know nothing about it; in the second *Semester* you would know

nothing about it; in the third *Semester* you would begin to see something in it, and in the fourth you *might* begin to make progress.' But did Hegel smoke? To the Nürnberg schoolboys he spoke of smoking as *eine unanständige Unsitte*—'a bad-mannered bad custom': yet this and his constant snuffing do not absolutely prove that the Berlin professor did not smoke. But it is possible that, after so many years, Dr. Aitken's memory may have mixed up the picture of Hegel's outward aspect with that of some other Berlin professor. The deterrent advice about attending a stray lecture is characteristic enough.

D. G. RITCHIE.]

[Berlin] Sunday 16 [April, 1826]. At 7 a.m. heard Schleiermacher in the Dreifaltigkeitskirche, a plain, circus-formed building. Text, Christ's address on having washed his disciples' feet. Leading idea, that true Christianity consisted in displaying the obedience and service due to our master, Jesus, by love and beneficence to his disciples, our fellow-men and neighbours. Illustrated, plainly but interestingly, the value of this connection of love to God and beneficence to men, and that charity performed in this spirit had a higher character and more valuable influence than when practised as a separate duty. The true end of individual exertion thus achieved, and instead of losing himself, or what is due to himself, the Christian attained both the welfare of others and his own by this service tendered to Christ through his disciples.* S. has nothing striking in appearance or manner, speaks in a low tone, yet with distinct enunciation. The church thin, but this might be owing to the wetness and cold of the morning. A considerable proportion of students, and not a few of the military present.

At 9 went to the Dom church. This is one of the most modern and least meritorious in its style. Its towers are of the pepper-box form. The building is meant to be Doric. Within, it is narrow and long; arched over, the galleries resting on rows of Doric pillars. Strauss † very different from Schleiermacher.

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* This sermon, on John xiii., 12-20, preached on *Jubilate* Sunday (third after Easter) 1826, will be found in Schleiermacher's *Werke* II[te] Abth. Bd. 9 p. 387 *seq.*

† Gh. F. Alb. Strauss, a native of Iserlohn, born 1786, from 1822 Professor of Theology in Berlin and Court preacher; a very influential man both in Academic and Court circles. He is referred to in *The Life of Pusey*, i. 78.

A spare, tall, dark-looking man, with powerful, not unmusical, voice, bold and animated in manner. This sermon was very orthodox, and, as these sermons not unfrequently are, somewhat declamatory. The subject was the Christian victory, the weapons by which it was to be fought, and the crown with which it is accompanied. The first part refuted the opinions of those who make the chief value of a character consist in the enlightening of the understanding, in the attainments of the mind. This was done on the ground that to perceive and to perform were not the same thing; that to know what is right may be attained without leading to the performance thereof. It was then shown in what the victory consists, in conquest of the world, sin, ourselves, weaknesses, and propensities. The means of attaining this, firm faith in Christ. It was certainly a trait of the military character of the place that he appealed to his audience as soldiers, who knew how often large armies had been routed where there was a want of confidence in the leader, and how, on the contrary, the smallest bands had conquered where there was the conviction that their general could not be overcome. This may be called a seven-years'-war simile. There was another *argumentum ad hominem* of the same kind, where he appealed to their knowledge of the serenity with which the dying warrior could enter on his rest—which might be extended with greater force to the Christian hero. There was certainly pith and energy in the discourse, in style as well as delivery. The church, a large one, was full, but this might be owing to the circumstance that this was the *Hauptpredigt* [principal sermon] as much as that this was the most popular preacher. But popular men are usually of the same mould and stuff as Strauss.

Returned to the same place at 11 and heard Neander. Sermon coincided with my idea of the man. Fluent and feeling. It treated of the fluctuations of life, and painted in a ready style the cases in which it was most apparent, or those where it was most disguised; with the consolation against this evil. The whole might have been improved by a little of Strauss's superfluous verve. None of the three clergymen I heard wore the Lutheran ruff or wig. The service shorter than in Hamburg—a few verses sung before the preacher enters the pulpit, short prayer, sermon, benediction, and a concluding psalm; but neither the minister nor the greater part of the congregation wait for this. . . .

Monday 17. Began to deliver my letters. Went first to Schleiermacher. Found a number of his catechumens [grown-up girls] waiting for him in an antechamber, so that there

was no room for conversation. Had no idea on seeing him in the pulpit how very diminutive he is. A small, spare figure, with shrunk visage, and a few elfin locks straying on his forehead. Enter from the antechamber or lobby at once into his study, a large room flanked with books. Through this a door seemed to lead to the sitting-room of the family, from which the sounds of a piano proceeded. Such a neighbourhood and study, nay, occupation, presented Schleiermacher in another light than the imagination of a stranger is apt to place him.

Next found Prof. Marheineke,* whose study and looks seemed those of a man of the world. Received me politely, yet spoke somewhat reservedly. Promised to make out a list of useful theological books.

The third person I visited was Dr. Lachmann, a youngish man, probably turned of thirty,† agreeable and conversational. Fair in countenance, verging to sallow. Talked at length on old poetry, especially that of Germany. Spoke rather dispraisingly of Tieck's *Minnelieder* [absurd system of spelling], Scheller's *Reineke Vos*, and Von der Hagen's ‡ merits, although he allowed that the writings of the latter were deserving as having disseminated a greater knowledge and love of the subject. Said the *Klage* not to be compared with the *Nibelungenlied*. *Tristan*, rather dry. Publishing with Benecke a new edition of *Iwein*, the text of which by Lachmann, and the notes by Benecke; the work ready, only awaiting Benecke's *Anmerkungen*. § Spoke of Irish fairy tales translated and prefaced by Grimm, cutting off or curtailing the excrescences of the English annotations. || Grimm says, in them the spirit and turn of Sir Walter Scott; good in him, bad in his imitators. Seemed very desirous to learn whether or not any German MSS. existed

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* Best known now, perhaps, as one of the editors of Hegel's *Works*.

† Lachmann was born in 1793. He is best known in this country as editor of the *New Testament* (1831 and 1842-50) and of Lucretius (1850).

‡ Professor of German literature. 'The first to bring old German into the circle of academic study' (Goedeke).

§ Lachmann and Benecke's edition of *Iwein* was published in 1827.

|| Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm published in 1826 *Irische Elfenmärchen aus dem englischen*—a translation of *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (1825), which was written by T. Crofton Croker. Croker published a second part in 1828, and P[illegible] III. (same year) contains a Dedicatory Letter to Dr. Wilhelm ([illegible] the Brother Grimm's Essay on Elves. Jako[illegible] n of by Lachmann, as the *Deutsche Gram*[illegible]

in England. The second volume of Grimm's *Grammar* almost too learned—Grimm himself not aware to what length the work might extend. No good dictionary of the Old German language —best notices and explanations to be had in the Glossaries to Benecke's *Bonerius* and *Wigalois*. Acquainted with the Danish language, but sparingly with the Icelandic. Expect from him a list of books. . . .

Called on Neander. Found students waiting in an ante-room. After they had been with their Professor some time, I entered a small room booked round and littered with literary lumber. No parade or display of a library. Their owner equally unpretending—a thin, common-looking personage, with dark hair and Jewish look, wearing an old blue chintz morning-gown. Not talkative, speaks in isolated sentences, without continuing a subject or supporting conversation. Knew Erskine,* who sent his books to him, and had read M'Crie's works with pleasure. Talked of the Scotch as having a biographical talent, and said of the practical turn given to theology in Scotland that that was what ought to be. Spoke praisingly of the efforts made by societies and missionary bodies in England. Talked of Merle.† Indicated indirectly and in passing words a warm and Christian spirit. Kindly gave me a letter of introduction to Raumer, whose work he commended, and whose studies he said were continued. Could not be less pretension or pomp of circumstance about any man. Promised me likewise a list of books.

My last call this day was to Dr. Hegel, Professor of Philosophy—a free and communicative man with whom I had a long, but not very philosophical conversation, although upon philosophy. Better lodged and garbed than Neander. Spoke of Scotch metaphysics, the leading principles of which he knew, but apparently not from the originals and not very profoundly. I endeavoured to impress him with some idea of Dr. Thomas Brown.‡ An intimate friend of . . . § of whose talents and knowledge of German philosophy he spoke highly. In answer to a question of mine repeatedly said that there was no book or books which he could recommend as giving a correct idea of German philosophy. That the Germans wrote for themselves, and not only that, but also only for men of profession, and did not possess the talent of writing for the public. Tennemann and Tiedemann's histories both bad,

* Of Linlathen. † *i.e.* Merle D'Aubigné.

‡ Those who have heard pupils of Brown speak of him will know the admiration and affection with which he was regarded by those who came under the spell of his personal influence.

§ Name illegible : seems to be 'Anstie.'

the Abridgment by Reichardt [?] * of Leipzig, which I have, better. Expected a work from Krause of Göttingen, † which would be '*gediegener*,' [more solid]. Kant's philosophy not only no longer in vogue, but to be a Kantist something like a term of reproach—that, nevertheless, Kant's philosophy explained in his and other lectures as forming an era, and being the foundation of modern German metaphysics. Kant's best works—*Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, *der praktischen Vernunft*, and a third . . *kraft*.‡ . The work upon religion never made a great public impression, yet internally very interesting. Hegel ascribed the commotions of modern theology to the circumstance that philosophy or reason was excluded from theological enquiry. For, if it be adopted as a principle that reason can judge or decide nothing, then there must be another source from which our notions and views are derived. This exists—the Bible. But the Bible is subjected to exegetical interpretation, and thereby every sect and every party bring out of it just what is desired. No one of Schelling's writings (the last person who has formed a system) gives a good idea of his principles. They rise and are concatenated—has expressed them most condensedly and decidedly in some numbers of a *Zeitschrift*. § Thought that little possibility of German philosophy being known out of the country. Said that, whatever difference there might be in the development, the radical principles of the French and British philosophy were the same, viewed in contradistinction to the German. The starting point of Kant Hume's scepticism. An ——‖ person, though perhaps a little commonplace sometimes, and not possessed of much clearness of utterance. Read *Morning Chronicle* and *Review*.**

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* The abridgment of Tenneman is by Wendt, published by Bahrdt. Can this be confused with Reinhard's *Compendium Historiæ Philosophiæ*, Lipsiæ, 1724?

† Krause went to Göttingen in 1823. He never published a History of Philosophy.

‡ The syllable *kraft* is written and a space left; but the missing title, *der Urtheilskraft* has never been written in—clear proof that the diary is quite unrevised.

§ Schelling edited the *Zeitschrift für speculative Physik* in 1800 and 1801, the *Neue Zeitschrift für spec. Phys.* in 1802, and, in combination with Hegel, the *Kritisches Journal der Philosophie* in 1802-1803. Hegel probably refers to the 'Exposition of the system as a whole' in the first of these.

‖ The missing word I leave my readers to supply for themselves.

** The *Edinburgh Review*, I suppose; but the word may be 'Reviews.'

Tuesday 18. Visited Von Raumer and had a conversation with him for more than two hours. Of littlish stature, lively, active and pleasing expression of countenance. Talked of various subjects, of history in particular. Has begun to prepare a work on the Reformation,* which he expects to be equally voluminous as the other. Does not mean to publish any part till the whole is ready. Knew M'Crie's *Life of Knox*. Had studied particularly the reigns of Elizabeth and Mary. Said it was rather odd that Robertson in the preface to his history so confidently avowed his ignorance of the German—disappointed with Fox's history †—had read Burke's sketch of early English history, ‡ which he regarded as a gem. Kindly shewed me his library, and gave me a list of the most interesting books. Müllner [? has written] a novel where several old English poets are introduced. Praised Madame Stich's § Juliet.

Visited Dr. Blume, collaborator of the *Bibliothèque*, ‖ but found him engaged. Expect to see him Thursday. Visited Waagen,** director of the Kunst Gallery—a plain sallowish countenance. Talked of Rumohr, †† whose attainments as well as talents he admired. The most attractive objects have their repelling side—complained of the heat of Milan and the gnats of Venice. Spoke favourably of Hogarth and Wilkie—one picture of the latter ('The Opening of the Will') he had seen, belonging to the King of Bavaria, and admired the truth and character displayed therein. (Schenkel the architect travelled to France and England, meant to proceed as far as Edinburgh.)

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* This refers, I suppose, to his *History of Europe from the end of the 15th Century*, (1832-50, 8 vols). 'The other' must be the *History of the Hohenstaufen* (1824-26, 6 vols).

† Charles James Fox, *History of the Early Part of the Reign of James II.* Published after Fox's death, in 1808.

‡ Burke, *Abridgement of the History of England* [to reign of King John].

§ Auguste Düring, afterwards Madame Crelinger (died 1865).

‖ There is no further allusion to Dr. Blume in the diary. I do not know whether 'the Bibliothèque' [*sic*] means some publication, or refers to the Royal Library. In the latter case 'collaborator' would seem to be written by mistake for some other word.

** A book on *Works of Art and Artists in England*, by G. F. Waagen, Director of the Royal Gallery at Berlin, 3 vols., was published by Murray in London in 1838 (translation by H. E. Lloyd). Waagen wrote similar works on pictures in Paris, etc. He speaks of himself as a native of Hamburg.

†† K. F. L. F. v. Rumohr, 1785-1843, author of works on Italian art, etc.

Met with an equally kind reception from Prof. Strauss, whom I visited this afternoon. In him perhaps, more than in any other I have seen, more of the bustle and consequence of kindness. In darkness of look and in manner perhaps a little of Dickson of the West Church.* Likewise spoke favourably of the theological condition of Scotland, and of the circumstance that the clergymen seek less to be distinguished as authors, than as useful pastors. Spoke of Rose's book.† Approved of it on the whole, and said that it was approved of by the more evangelical party, though censured by the Rationalists.‡ (Strauss was not in Berlin when Rose was here.) Still the work is only true as speaking of the condition of Germany four or five years ago, for since that time a very considerable and increasing change had taken place. This change he ascribed to a variety of causes. At the beginning of the century state of religion very low. The war which followed the *Befreiungskrieg* [War of Liberation] especially deeply impressed the public mind, and regarding that as a sort of chastisement and reproof, they were brought to contemplate Christianity in another light. The origin of the Bible Society at Elberfeld co-operated powerfully. This place, from the time of the Reformation, has contributed in an extraordinary degree to the maintenance of Scriptural religion. The Royal Family, in this respect, have very considerable merit—the sentiments both of the King and Queen decidedly favourable to the supernaturalist side of the question (Anecdote of Sack,§ who offended the Queen by naturalistic *examina* and was so mean as to apologise, and express his willingness to alter his creed)—and lastly, the efforts of some distinguished men in their works, and the circumstance that an unusual number of young men had come forward, impressed with pious principles, and who had exerted themselves with zeal and fidelity in the ministry. For the true way to operate on the whole and to advance it is for each individual in his own circle 'to do what his hand findeth to do.'

Knew Chalmers by name, but so little of his writings, as to

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* St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, of which Dr. David Dickson was minister from 1803 to 1842.

† *The State of the Protestant Religion in Germany.* Cambridge, 1825. The German translation had just appeared at the Leipzig spring fair.

‡ See *Life of Pusey*, I., 149 ff.

§ Dr. Fairbairn suggests that this is the famous court preacher, F. S. G. Sack, who died 1817, not his son, Prof. K. H. Sack, who was then still more a Professor than preacher, nor his father, A. F. W. Sack, the court preacher to Frederick the Great.

ask if he were evangelical. Likewise knew M'Crie's *Knox* and Alison's *Sermons*—little of Christianity. These points were touched, not merely in the house, but continued during a walk in a public garden in the neighbourhood, where we were joined by two young Swiss. Seemed rather strange to hear myself introduced as '*Herr Prediger Aitken aus Edinburg.*' The two brethren had lived some time studying in Berlin: they were both from Zürich. They seemed more *fromme Seelen als geistreiche Köpfe* [pious souls than brilliant intellects]. On the whole, sometimes a little mawkishness in our talk. Spoke of the examination of children and preparation for Confirmation—points which in Germany constitute a great and important part of pastoral duty. By many this superintendence is conducted in a very effective manner. A complete system of Theology is taught, historical, doctrinal and moral. The Old and New Testament gone through, with a general survey of the history of the Church; and by means of *Sprüche*, or texts collated and explained, the doctrinal points taught after a Socratic manner. This is continued, not for a few days or weeks, but, in some instances, for months and years. When the course is once finished generally, it is resumed, always extending the range of objects comprised. This is a labour to which all devote themselves, and it was in this way that I found even the profound and philosophic Schleiermacher engaged, when I called on him. Strauss expressed the idea that such a course might be begun, and the *Sprüche*, or texts, committed to memory even when the children could not understand them. The understanding will come in time, and, on the other hand, by delaying till a ripe period, there is a great risk that the matter may be put off altogether. We understand few things when we begin them—τύπτω committed to memory by rote before its signification of any consequence. . . .

Wednesday 19. At 7 A.M. heard Prof. Marheineke in the Dreifaltigkeitskirche, this being a *Buss- und Bettag* [day of penitence and prayer, 'Fast-day']. The sermon was plain and very evangelical. On conversion—spoke of three degrees of it: (1), Conviction and confession of sin; (2), Sorrow on account of it; and (3), Belief of forgiveness through the Saviour. Afterwards the Sacrament of the Supper administered. Communicants approach the altar standing in the passage thereto. An address is then delivered of what their sentiments ought to be; and on being asked if such be theirs, they answer together '*Ja.*' They then kneel where they stand and confess their sins: when rising, the clergyman, by virtue of his office,

declares to them remission of their sins. They pass by him (first the male part of the congregation), and in groups of three or four receive into their mouths from the hand of the clergyman the bread; so with the cup. Almost the whole present communicated, and the church was rather full for the morning service. The form observed in Communion in this church was according to the new royal liturgy.* Several congregations still resist it.

Heard Dr. Ehrenberg † in the Dom at 9—a hale, stout person. Subject—Be ye reconciled to God. Except for the perfect orthodoxy of the sentiments, the sermon not particularly remarkable. Part of the royal family were present, and it is seldom, I believe, that royal personages elsewhere hear such sound Scriptural truths.

At 11 in the same place, heard Neander again. Was struck with the resemblance of his voice in beginning to speak with Gordon's.‡ Preached on the perverted direction of our wishes and endeavours as turned away from heaven and God. In both sermons I have heard from this divine, although the train of feeling and thought was strictly evangelical, in neither was there much doctrinal matter. The peculiar truths of Christianity were alluded to or implied, but not made the subject of separate or exclusive instruction. In both sermons a tendency to dwell on the ways and doings of human life, its cares and changeableness, its passions and pursuits. This was done with much ease and elegance of language and fineness of feeling: at the same time more remarkable for the qualities of the heart than the head. The church was full.

The weather, though cold, was clear and sunny, so that a number of pedestrians were pacing along under the Linden. The arrival of the Duke of Wellington and the paying of visits to him caused also no little stir among the fashionables. Saw the Crown Prince drive up to the Hôtel de Rome, where W. lodged, in a Russian *Droschke*. . . Had a visit to-day from Prof.

* The liturgy was introduced in 1822, by Frederick William III., and was intended to symbolize and give effect to the Union of the Lutheran and Reformed (Calvinist) Churches, which had been attempted in 1817, in many parts of Germany, especially in Prussia. But this liturgy hindered, rather than helped, the Union.

† F. E. Ehrenberg, born at Elberfeld in 1776, settled in Berlin from 1807, was the author of several religious works.

‡ This, I suppose, is Dr. Robert Gordon, minister of the 'New North' Church, Edinburgh, from 1825 to 1830, and of the High Church from 1830 till the Disruption of 1843.

Marheineke, who gave me a list of books. In the evening went to the Opera to hear Haydn's 'Seasons.' . . Had the pleasure of hearing the celebrated Hummel—a stout, not young man: plays with inimitable sweetness, and, to my liking, far superior to Moscheles. . . .

Thursday, 20. Visited Gernberg—is preparing a *Bericht* on the theological state and sects of Scotland.* . . .

Afternoon, visited Neander and walked with him, his sister, and a Dr. ——hold † from Stuttgart, to the Thiergarten. Sister speaks English. Spoke with Neander of Rose's book, which he knew by the translation—said it was *ein seichtes Buch* [a shallow book]; the person must be *ein hölzerner Mann* [a wooden man]. Said an error of head might be none of heart,‡ that it was possible that one might entertain erroneous notions of religion without ceasing to be a Christian. So it was at the time of Arius. At present engaged in a history of the Church, of which he had published the first part of the first volume, and which he meant to continue without attempting any other work. Lectures on Dogmatik, Church history, and Exegesis. Only short holiday at Easter and 4 weeks in Autumn. Said it were desirable to have more time for private study. Knew Henderson.§

Friday, 21. Meant to hear Schleiermacher lecture, but found unfortunately that he was sick. Visited Marheineke, Lachmann, and Waagen. [After visiting picture galleries with Waagen—]. Dined together. Anecdote of Strauss and Von Raumer of Tieck's pietistical novel. S. a man divided against himself, holds by the Pietists, a party of whom at Court—notions prevalent among the officers—at the same time seems himself to feel the extreme to which such things have been pushed. Marheineke, little for himself, thrown into the arms of Hegel. Hegel a man of great original genius, but not able to express himself well. Writes and lectures in abrupt sentences. Von Raumer early employed by the State, gave up good hopes (from Hardenberg) from love to science.

* Gernberg, pastor at Seeback and Struvensee in the Mark Brandenburg, author of a work on the Church of Scotland, *Die Schottische Nationalkirche nach ihrer gegenwärt. innern u. aüsseren Verfassung*, pub. 1828.

† First part of the name illegible.

‡ Cf. his favourite saying, '*Pectus facit theologum.*'

§ Dr. Fairbairn suggests that this is Ebenezer Henderson, the Icelandic mission[illegible], author of works on *The Minor Prophets*, on *Inspiration*, etc. (see *D[illegible] Nat. Biog.*)

Won this by an early work on *Staatsverwaltung*.* Schleiermacher very musical—gives sometimes music-opera of Gluck in his own house. Society of Charlottenburg, where sometimes lively, witty, sometimes not. Fame grounded before he came here.† Professors in general so employed that they have done little afterwards. 1,600 students in Berlin.

Passed the evening by ‡ Gernberg, a Prussian officer and Swiss preacher present—talked of Scotland and of the attack made by a Scotch troop of infantry, at Waterloo, on a regiment of horse.§

Saturday 22. Visited Schleiermacher, found him disengaged —lively and friendly—fine-featured face—*de republica* ||—in his younger days had principally studied classical learning, and, as in Scotland, had confined himself to a general knowledge of Christian truth, but since he had became professor had made it his chief study. Had still many literary undertakings in view, and death would probably overtake him, before he had accomplished them. Was of opinion that Rose's book, for an Episcopalian, was *gründlich* [thorough], and in every respect creditable¶ —met Rose, but Rose did not visit him. Schleiermacher of opinion that no important change had since occurred; but only a temporary and fluctuating one, as sometimes one party and sometimes the other came more into view. Talked of theological faculty, and professorial duties in Scotland and Germany. Though sickly and one who had suffered much pain in his day, he had but on one occasion been confined to bed. There is, he said, a health of the will as well as of the body. Said that he must see to get some release; had a strong desire to visit England. Lectures in summer from 6 to 9.

Visited Waagen, got a letter to Schelling** and hints for my journey. Revisited Hegel, talked of English politics and newspapers, of which Hegel was a constant reader. . . .

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* Probably refers to his work on *The British System of Taxation* (1810).

† Schleiermacher went to Berlin in 1819.

‡ *I.e.*, *bei*, *chez*.

§ Does this refer to the 42nd at Quatre Bras?

|| This probably means that Schleiermacher was at work on his translation of Plato's *Republic*, which was not published till 1828.

¶ Pusey, writing to J. H. Newman, in January, 1827, says: 'I have heard only one voice in favour of Mr. Rose's book (Schleiermacher's).' Liddon's *Life of Pusey*, I., p. 150.

** I have found no record of any visit to Schelling, who at this time was lecturing at Erlangen. He became professor at Munich, when the University there was founded in 1827.

[Halle.] Monday 24th. After breakfast visited Wegscheider, introducing myself as a stranger. Was politely received. Wegscheider has a high and intellectual forehead, with an expression of countenance not remarkably open. Complexion brownish, rather low in stature. Said I would not have found the situation of the German Church so heretical as had been alleged, and that I must have found a *Mysticismus* unusually prevalent. Spoke of Rose's book as unjust in this respect and partial: and yet there were theologians in Germany of the same opinion. Shewed me the last edition of his *Institutiones*, at the close of which he shewed me the text which expressed his creed (love one another).* Recommend[ed] *Die Aufstellungen der neueren Gottesgelehrten in der Christlichen Glaubenslehre von* 1760 *bis* 1805 (Leipzig), although a somewhat superficial book, written by Fuhrmann † in Westphalia, and at the same time as containing the opinions of the Rationalizing party. Röhr's *Kritische Predigerbibliothek*, a periodical work, 7 volumes. ‡ Invited me to his summer house out of town, if I meant to stay longer in Halle. Knew Stewart's ‖ writings.

Visited Tholuck, ¶ a young man about twenty-six to appearance, agreeable exterior, though with a singular twisting of face and rubbing of knee. Got a letter from him to Niemeyer. ** The Kanzler was engaged in the morning, but I had the pleasure of finding him at three. A stout, genteel-looking man. Of opinion that in these times a want of Christian love and excessive acting upon the principle that whosoever is not with us is against us. Received from him, as *Andenken* [keepsake], a pam-

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* The *Preface* to the 5th edition of Wegscheider's *Institutiones Theologiae Christianae Dogmaticae*, dated 'Halæ d. xvi. Martii a. 1826,' closes with this quotation from John xiii. 35 ; *ἐν τούτῳ γνώσονται πάντες, ὅτι ἐμοὶ μαθηταί ἐστε, ἐὰν ἀγάπην ἔχητε ἐν ἀλλήλοις.*

† W. D. Fuhrmann (1764-1838) is mentioned in Winer's *Handbuch der theologischen Literatur*, as the author of several works ; but the title of none of them corresponds to that here given.

‡ J. F. Röhr's *Letters on Rationalism* were published in 1813 ; the *Kritische Predigerbibliothek*, continuing earlier periodicals of a similar kind, was published from 1820-1848.

‖ Dugald Stewart, I suppose.

¶ Tholuck had just been made Professor at Halle. Cf. Liddon *Life of Pusey*, I., p. 87.

** A. H. Niemeyer became 'Kanzler' (Chancellor) and *Rector perpetuus* of the University of Halle in 1808. He died in 1828.

phlet which he had published in defence of the scientific pursuit of theology * . . .

In the evening visited Tholuck, where I met Russel and Guericke † another *attaché* of the University. Spent somewhat such an evening as with Gernberg. Limited impressions, and accidentals for essentials. Talked of the propriety of deciding positively of the religious character of another. Distinction between supernaturalists and true Christians. In Germany, an idea not unprevalent, that the Old Testament is not inspired—the Book of Daniel attacked with much force by Gesenius,‡ so that T. himself confessed that he was unable to decide on the matter.

. . .

[Leipzig.] Wednesday 25th. Called on Prof. Lindner, § and delivered Neander's introduction. Professor squat and paunchy. Talked of Rose's book, which he blamed in the *Auffassung* [*Scotice*, uptake]. Tittmann ‖ threatens a potent review. An old Literarius Berg translated the discourses.¶ . . . Lindner considered theology as overstudied in Germany, and that it was better to give the outline in lectures and leave the student to fill it up by his own reading and study.

Thursday 27th. . . . Expected to have met Tittmann at Lindner's, but was disappointed. . . . In the garden of Lindner, after the battle of Leipzig, employed in carrying off and burying the bodies for several days. English wished to bombard the town with rockets—prevented by Emperor Alexander. Battle all round the town, hottest to the east of it. Lindner hid in cellar.

Found countenances handsomer and shapes better than in Berlin. The dialect difficult to my ear. Saw Tauchnitz. . . .

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* Niemeyer published in 1825 a *Vertheidigung d. wissensch. Lehrmethode d. Theol. auf deutsch. Univers. geg. harte Anklagen und scheinbare Einwürfe* (Winer *Handbuch d. theol. Lit.*)

† H. E. F. Guericke, b. 1803, d. 1878, was a student at Halle from 1820 to 1823, became a licenciate in theology there in 1825, and Prof. (extraord.) of Theology in 1829.

‡ Prof. of Theology at Halle since 1810—the well-known Hebrew scholar.

§ F. W. Lindner, b. 1779, d. 1864, became Prof. of Catechetics and Pædogogic at Leipzig in 1825.

‖ J. A. H. Tittmann, 1773-1831. Prof. of Theology at Leipzig since 1805.

¶ Rose, following the *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, ascribes the translation, published anonymously, to 'Herr Prediger Rosenmüller.'

[Dresden] Saturday 29th [April]. Visited Tieck—with a mild, delicately expressioned countenance, but of diminutive stature, and decrepit by rheumatism. Visited him in his study. Russel's book unfair *—unworthy of an Englishman to enter into all the little absurdities of the German students. Knew Coleridge intimately, and highly impressed with a sense of his genius. In Germany, a prejudice against Coleridge founded on imperfect notions picked up by travellers in England in conversation, or derived from the popular reviews. Washington Irving visited Tieck, fell into a discussion about Scott's treatment of supernatural personages, where Tieck maintained in opposition to Irving that herein Scott was defective. But Irving probably was unable to follow Tieck, not understanding the language sufficiently. Lady Macbeth a weak character, unable for what she had undertaken, contrasted with Margaret of Anjou. Liked Kean *mässig* [moderately], and the concluding scenes of Kemble's Coriolanus, best pleased with Kemble's Cardinal Wolsey.† Prejudices of a political nature in England against Elizabeth's reign. English character then different and the language much superior. Uncommonly versed in old English literature, talked with Douce,‡ and found him not so profound. Not certain whether Shakespeare might not have travelled, was not so illiterate as has been represented. Knew French, Italian,§ which was then at court what the French has since been, and probably was able to read the easiest Latin classics, such as Ovid. Of opinion that Schiller's *Robbers*, both in language, poetry and character, though somewhat *riesenartig* [gigantesque], one of the best of Schiller's plays. F. Schlegel lost himself in his religious feelings and had withdrawn from his studies and the pursuit of the arts. *Tristan* one of the best Old German poems. Sterne overpraised, now underrated in England; in some things superior to Jean Paul. A good and critical edition of Fletcher much wanted, to ascertain

* The book referred to is, I suppose, *A Tour in Germany and some of the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire in the years 1820, 1821, 1822*, by John Russell, Esq. In 2 vols. (2nd Edit. Edin.: Constable, 1825.) Chapter III., on the German Universities, gives an account, unsympathetic certainly, of German student life. In Vol. I., p. 220, there is a quaint account of Müllner, 'the great living dramatist of Germany.' The 'Russel' [*sic*] met at Halle is, I suppose, the same person.

† Tieck visited London in 1817.

‡ Douce's *Illustrations to Shakespeare* were published in 1807.

§ Not the pronunciation, certainly—witness 'Stepháno' in *Merchant of Venice*, Act V., corrected in *Tempest*.

the date of his writings and how much is to be ascribed to Beaumont. Watson, a young traveller, much liked. Article in a London [periodical], containing a critique on Tieck and translation of a *Mährchen*, able—wished to know the author.* Müllner, author of *Schuld*, not highly ranked. Plan of Müller's history of Schweitz † defective in parts, far too minute—individual treated with no proportion to the whole. Raumer's history of the three last centuries half finished.

Walked in the *grossem* ‡ *Garten*—in the style of an English park. Some fine trees, but all far back owing to the backwardness of the Spring. The cowslips and the birch leaves only seasonable sights. Towards the farther end of the garden a distant view of the basaltic caps so famed in geological controversy. In the evening drunk tea with Tieck *en famille*—his wife quiet, with the remains of beauty—the younger daughter tall, blonde, handsomish, and accounted a talent—has translated Shakespeare's Sonnets.§ A quiet and peaceful domestic circle; the ladies knitting or sewing, and taking occasionally part in the conversation. Spent the evening agreeably, though the conversation did not flow, and the subject too often changed to permit of much interest. Though T. ready and affable, yet does not enter into a subject with enthusiasm. Invited to return when [not] engaged in the evening.

Sunday, 30. Storm and rain like a day in November. Heard Schmalz || preach a sermon of the same kind as the printed one. Spoke of the views which rulers entertained towards religion, as a bridle to govern, a prison to confine, a chain to fetter. That now, as in the first ages, tho' ministers aided the State, received no support or encouragement from it, so that its teachers were obliged to throw themselves on the

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* This cannot refer to Carlyle's translations. His *German Romance* appeared in 1827, and none of it seems to have been published previously.

† Johannes v. Müller's *Schweizergeschichte* was finished in 1805.

‡ *Grossem* has been written evidently through the influence of '*im grossen Garten*.'

§ August v. Schlegel published a translation of 17 of Shakespeare's plays (1797-1810). Tieck undertook to complete the translation, but the work was actually done, under his supervision, by his daughter Dorothea and Count Baudissin.

|| M. F. Schmalz, b. 1785, became in 1819 pastor of the Neustadt, Dresden : attracted attention by his polemic against Catholicism in sermons, published in 1825 and 1826 (*Deutsche Biographie*).

confidence of their hearers. Schmalz, a dark countenance, black singularly combed hair, with good voice, and manner alternating between the formal and familiar. The service here nearly as in Hamburg, with silent prayer—very long and tedious service.

Afterwards went to the Catholic Church, the Frauenkirche*—modern Greek. In the sermon remarked at least one good idea, viz., that men then only could hope assistance from God when they were found zealously doing that which was in their power. The music at Mass is praised, but I did not find it equal to that at Antwerp. The congregation mostly of the very lowest class of the community. Saw the King present, an old and formal looking person. The weather being stormy, remained the rest of the idea [*sic*] in the Hotel reading Neander's *Church History*.

May 1st. . . Visited Deacon Leonhardi†—a little commonplace, powdered hair, black knee-breeches, and stockings with silver buckles. Of opinion that Rose had truly described the condition of the German Church in general, though he might have erred in individual things. That Neander's opinion to be ascribed to his own amiable character, the society in which he lived, and the theological condition of Berlin. L. wished Bishops—therein agreed with Rose—signed symbolic books. . . .

[Vienna] Sunday 21st [May]. . . . In the evening visited Schlegel,‡ found his lady, a niece of Schlegel's, and a young *Geistlicher* [clergyman] together. After an hour Schlegel came with a Herr Buchholz. Talked of an essay of his brother's § on proper names. The Greeks noble origin. The Romans from vegetables—Cicero, Fabius, Lentulus. So also the French. The Germans from trades or places—Schleiermacher, Buchholz, etc. Of the German language that words of classical origin almost entirely excluded from poetry, admitted where universally acknowledged in prose. The Dutch the only people who have translated

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* This must surely be an error. The Frauenkirche is Protestant, and in Russell's *Tour* (1820-22) it is distinguished from the Catholic Hofkirche.

† In Winer's *Handbuch der theol. Lit.*, Gf. W. Leonhardi is mentioned as the translator of a book of Thomas Erskine's—*Bemerkungen über die Gründe d. Wahrheit d. geoffenb. Religion aus dem engl.* Leipz., 1825. I do not know whether this is the person here mentioned.

‡ Friedrich Schlegel. He died not long after this, in January, 1829.

§ August Wilhelm von Schlegel, Professor of Literature at Bonn. I have failed to find this essay among A. v. Schlegel's Works, or any reference to it.

the whole—spelling according to the etymology, not the pronunciation. Schlegel and Maccabeus the same signification.* Händel, Hanly—hen.† Goethe, from an Italian family, Guido, settled in Frankfort, which, corrupted, gave the name of Goethe. Heard from Buchholz that Schlegel has been studying Egyptian hieroglyphics. Schlegel considered the English translation of his work good, wishes to know the author, and to send him a copy of his book.‡ His niece, an artist, going to Rome. Appearance—grey hair, old roundish face, depending head, keen eye, and broad over the eyes. . . .

Thursday, 25. To-day being *Frohnleichnam*,§ a great holiday, there was a splendid procession to the Stephanskirche. Saw the whole pass first in the streets. The usual banners, crosses, symbols, etc., wreathed with flowers. The orphans, boys and girls, forming a part—several of the religious orders in their monastic garbs, the military, the nobility, and part of the Royal family joining. The soldiers who guarded wore a handful of leaves on their caps. Afterwards saw the ceremony in the church and heard the music. After dinner visited the booths and show shops in the Prater; a vast concourse of persons; carrousel and see-saw the favourite amusement. All persons fond of diversions and in quest of them, yet did not find their liveliness in enjoying them so very remarkable. No place for similar entertainments equally well situated—rival bands of musicians blowing and jingling to drown each other and attract customers. Towards 6 the fashionable drive again crowded with carriages, the promenades with pedestrians. The horse-chesnuts in their fullest luxuriance of blossom and verdure. Drunk tea with Schlegel, who had a number of his friends with him. Talked of the depressed state of the drama, and that nothing but horrors, etc., could gain popularity. Kotzebue translated and acted in

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* Schlegel = *Schlägel*, from *schlagen*, = 'hammer.'

† This is what seems to be written. Query, *Hähnli* (South-German) = *Hähnlein*, 'cockerel?' Heintze (*Die deutschen Familiennamen*) derives Händel from *Hand;* Pott derives it either from *Hans* or from *Hahn*.

‡ *Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern*, translated from the German, was published by Blackwood in Edinburgh in 1818. This appears to be the only work of *Friedrich* Schlegel's which had been translated into English before 1826. In the translation of it, published in Bohn's Series (1859), this earlier translation, or rather 'free abridgement,' is ascribed to 'the late Mr. Lockhart.' John Gibson Lockhart died in 1854.

§ Corpus Christi.

Italian, which happens rarely, French, Spanish, English, nay, even in Arcadia, and at Irkutzk—a man of many talents. Preferred Müllner to Grillparzer. Tieck's *Genoveva* his greatest work, and what established his reputation. In Vienna MSS. of Charles V., many written in his own hand, several confidential letters to his sister, state papers, and other documents of great interest; from the perusal of which a greater impression of the abilities and foresight of the Emperor produced than is generally entertained. Written mostly in the French of that period, some in Spanish, more in Latin, and a few German. S. had consulted these MSS., which are now properly arranged, and gave the result in his lectures on modern history. After knowing them, Robertson's history seems like a romance. And yet R. might have availed himself of them, as they were at that time in Brussels. Speaking of historians, commended Weltman's (?)* *History of the Crusades*; had read the first vol. of Raumer, but did not admire him—want of '*Festigkeit*,' [firmness], '*zu wankelnd*,' [too wavering]. Saw a niece of S., a young *Künstlerin*, [artiste], who had been in London and had met Russel in Dresden. Thought him too *anmassend*, [assuming]. Schlegel had also seen Lingard's *History of England*,† and entertained a favourable idea of it; in opposition, but not unfairly polemical—also liked the style. . . .

Monday, 29th. Weather sultry and thundering. Visited Schlegel to take farewell—in distress from the death of his sister. French *Geistlicher*, the second ecclesiastic I had met—read few of Scott's Romances—made like gun manufactory—one the lock, one the barrel, another the stock. Sismondi, originally called Simon: gave me a letter to this *savant très célèbre*.‡ Saw Madame Pichler,§ the female Walter Scott, as she was styled to me, of Germany—a round, stout lady with consequential air, sporting little bits of sentiment. Talked with raptures of the idea that a suicide was one who dreaded a few years and had no fear of eternity. . . .

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* The ? is in the MS. Fr. Wilken *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* is probably the book referred to. It appeared in 7 vols. at Leipzig, 1807-1832.

† Lingard's *History* began to appear in 1819, but was not completed till 1830.

‡ As these words are given in French, the foregoing remarks are probably those of the French priest.

§ Karoline Pichler, 1769-1843. Her collected works are in 60 volumes.

[München] 28th June. After dining with Porth [?] in our hotel, evening went to Cornelius.* The festival of his baptismal eve, the holiday observed by Catholics in lieu of the birthday. A pretty large and very interesting party. Began by the party greeting him on his return from work—his children performing a little music—his wife [bringing him ?] presents—the procession of the students with torches and military band—of the former upwards of 200; the latter played some of Weber's music (the artist so lately dead)† the *Gebet* [prayer] overture to the *Freischütz*, part of *Preciosa*, etc. A deputation came upstairs and presented the well-wishes of the whole. After a *Lebewohl* [farewell] and three hearty cheers, returned with music playing. Evening calm, warm and beautiful. Went to supper, where I had the honour of a place on Cornelius's right hand. Talked of Sir W. Scott, whose novels he knew and admired—gave his health—deems him capable of having written works for immortality—praised Wilkie—[praised] *Nibelungenlied* in language and conception. Saw title-page of C.'s composition for this old heroic poem. Padre Abraham's *Nüsse*.‡ Spoke in favour of verbal puns. *Ve-nus* a *Weh-nuss*. Goethe's *Iphigeneia* and *Tasso* finished works. *Wilhelm Meister* not finished. Goethe's idea to introduce the leading classes of character in his age.

ART. VI.—ARGYLLSHIRE.

THE great and deeply interesting county of Argyll, situated in the south-west of Scotland, has not only remarkable natural features, but possesses a history of unique and striking character. Its varied and strange configuration, its rock-bound shores, pierced in all directions with inlets and arms of the sea, make it a work of some difficulty to correctly estimate its area. Then a great part of the county con-

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* Cornelius, the painter, had come to Munich in 1825. Can Porth be the portrait-painter, 1796-1882? But he is spoken of as in Italy between 1825 and 1828 (*Deutsche Biographie*).

† Weber had died in London during the night of June 4-5.

‡ Probably refers to Abraham a Sancta Clara, (his real name was Ulrich Megerle), who was a humourist of the pulpit (1644-1709). *Nüsse*, = 'nuts,' and so 'riddles, etc.'—'chestnuts,' the modern reader may add.

sists of the noble islands which guard its coast, with their sheer precipitous sides frowning over the dark waters at their base, and the lofty mountains, whose splintered peaks are descried afar off by the storm-tossed mariner as his bark nears the wished for haven of shelter. According to Playfair its area is about 2,400 square miles, while Dr. Smith estimates its extreme length, from Loch Eil to the Mull of Kintyre at 115 miles, and its breadth from the Point of Ardnamurchan to the source of the Urchay, at Urchay, at 68 miles; its superficial area being placed at 2,735 miles, exclusive of the islands. Sir John Sinclair estimates the area of the mainland of Argyllshire at 2,260 square miles, and that of the islands at 929 square miles, while Dr. Smith estimates the latter at 1,063 square miles.

Dalriada, the ancient kingdom which plays so conspicuous a part in the early history of Scotland, from about 503 till 843, comprised nearly the whole existing limits of Argyllshire. The Linnhe Loch was its northern boundary, while Morven, to the north, and Mull were possessed by the Picts. But the old limits of the ancient province of Argyll extended as far as Rosshire, though from Tighernac, and other early writers, it would appear that Lorn was a distinct territory from Argyllshire. The old *Description of Scotland* speaks of the 'mountains which divide Scotland from Argyle,' and gives a somewhat confused account of its inhabitants. The Scots, as is well known, came from the North of Ireland, and are first met with in history in the fourth century A.D. The circumstance which enabled them to effect a settlement in Britain cannot now be ascertained; but an epoch in history was created when they succeeded in vanquishing their opponents, the Southern Picts. From this period their progress was marked, though they had to contend against the savage forces of the northern mountaineers, as well as against the steady inroads of the Norwegian pirates.

This beautiful and ruggedly grand county presents a large surface to the ravages of the terrible storms of winds and waves which prevail in this part of the kingdom. Exposed to the tremendous rollers of the Atlantic waves which dash themselves against its sides, or gurgle amidst the innumerable

lonely rocks and islets along the sand-girt shore, there is something awe inspiring to the traveller as he wanders along this solitary region. Mingled with the great precipitous cliffs of granite and limestone, which are encountered on all sides, are to be found sweet and lovely bits of scenery, all the more welcome after so much desolation and gloom; exquisitely clear bays of pellucid water lave the brilliantly tinted pebbles, which are everywhere scattered by the ceaseless action of the waves; a green carpet of mossy turf constantly clothes the sides of glens which seam the sides of both the isles and the mainland, and many a modest wildflower scents the gale in haunts far removed from the ken of man; while the white surges of the ocean foam and dash around each jutting promontory of rock, which perchance forms a natural breakwater for some quiet harbour that, on an emergency, gives some shelter from the wintry storm, or in which, at other times, when all nature is hushed in repose, the gently heaving ocean, shimmering with its delicate opalescent tints, and unruffled by the breeze, lightly ripples over the shingly strand.

The county may roughly be divided into six great districts: 1. Mull, with its group of islands, and a portion of the mainland north of the Linnhe Loch. 2. Lorn, and some smaller islands. 3. Inveraray, or Argyll proper. 4. The mainland of Cowal. 5. Kintyre and islets adjacent with Knapdale. 6. Islay and Jura, and a small portion of Knapdale.

Mull is a magnificent island, and one of the finest day's sail along the whole west coast of Scotland is enjoyed by the tourist starting by steamer from Oban in the early morning of a summer day. The island in itself can scarcely be said to present very much of what is striking and picturesque in Scottish scenery, but it has a history, and innumerable local traditions of surpassing interest. Dr. Johnson, in his celebrated journey to the Western Isles, though greatly interested in this island, somewhat curtly disposes of its general appearance as follows:—'It is not broken by waters, nor shot into promontories, but is a solid and compact mass, of breadth nearly equal to its length.' It has a noble range of mountains, the loftiest exceeding 3,000 feet, and here and there, amidst the abounding

expanse of barren moorland, there are sequestered spots of much beauty. Much of the seaboard of Mull consists of steep grassy slopes rising up from the shell-strewn beach, until they join the trap terraces and basalt rocks of the upper ridges. Here and there along the shore noble headlands of precipitous rocks seem to bar any further progress, but after rounding them new prospects open up of verdant steeps and wave-worn cliffs. Some of the remarkable caves which occur in the rocky coast of the Western Highlands are to be seen in Mull; long dark gloomy caverns, the haunt of the rock-pigeon, the sea-mew and the cormorant. There are various singular ranges of basaltic rocks and promontories, some of them with a mantling cover of ivy, interspersed at intervals with oak or ash coppices, while an occasional mass of basalt which has been denuded of soil or verdure presents all the appearance of a ruined castle. Conspicuous amid their fine surroundings are the Castle of Aros dominating the dark waters of the Sound of Mull, the grim looking fortalice of Duart Castle facing the Linnhe Loch, and the Castle of Moy, near the modern mansion on Loch Buy. Several fresh water lochs are met with in different parts of the island, gleaming bright amidst the swelling expanse of heath-clad muirlands, or reflecting in their purple depths the beetling precipice on which the eagle's eyrie is sometimes found. Formerly great masses of wood gave additional beauty to the island, and clothed its barren sides, but they have nearly disappeared, although in recent years flourishing plantations of various sorts of firs have again begun to clothe the landscape.

Almost within hail of Mull there rests in the bosom of the restless deep that 'star of the western sea,' the far famed island of Iona. Around its heath clad heights and white pebbly strand there gathers a wondrous charm. Legends, sacred and secular, fable, fancy, art and song, all combine to weave an impalpable wreath with which to deck this island of the western seas. The burial place of a long line of Kings whose dust was brought here to repose after the fevered storms of their troubled lives, Iona attracts, by the subdued beauty of its lonely bays and lichen covered rocks, even apart from its

memories of saintly heroes, thousands of visitors annually from all parts of Christendom.

> 'Isle of Columba's cell,
> When Christian piety's soul-cheering spark
> (Kindled from Heaven between the light and dark
> Of time) shone like the morning star.'

The visit of Dr. Johnson and Boswell to this 'illustrious island,' as is well known, gave rise to the famous apostrophe to the emotions aroused by such classic scenes which prompted the doctor's faithful worshipper to remark, that had their whole tour produced but this sublime passage, it would not have been made in vain. The grassy mounds scented with heath and wild thyme, the strangely shaped rocks sparkling with quartz and crystal, the exquisitely clear water from the far off western main filling the quiet bays, the varied colouring of sparry cave and rocky terrace, the white sand powdering the reaches of springy turf, the lonely graves of chieftains and saints, the hoary ruins of monastery and cell, and the flashing chameleon tints of the sky at the close of the long summer day, all combine to render memorable a visit to the ancient Isle of Columba.

Yet a little northward over the heaving wave and you gain the basaltic rock of Staffa, where again Nature has placed one of those strange scenes of weird grandeur which call forth the poet's, the painter's, and the musician's art. Fingal's, or the Great Cave, what pen can adequately tell of its solemn power, its soul-stirring surroundings and associations,—the brush of the painter and the lyre of the musician seem baffled in certain phases of its aspect! At early dawn of day, or when the first rays of the sun slant into the abyss resonant with the ocean's hoarse murmurs, or when at the close of eve the solemn shadows and vapour wreaths gather around the clustered pillars whose sculptured capitals were wrought by an Almighty hand, the mind is profoundly impressed with this unequalled picture.

The district of Lorn comprises some of the finest scenery in Argyllshire, and has been the theatre of many stirring actions in our national history. Round this district centred the prin-

cipal events in the annals of Dalriada, and its name is supposed to be derived from Labhrin, or Loan, one of the sons of Erc, who, in 503, left the Irish kingdom of Dalriada and founded the Scottish monarchy. Many ruined castles and traditions of fortifications are met with in this region—indeed one rocky eminence in the parish of Ardchattan is claimed to be the site of the Selma of Ossian, and here a fortress was erected by King Fergus the First. Beregonium, the supposed site of the capital of Dalriada, is placed by some writers at this spot, although this is of doubtful authenticity. The shores of the Linnhe Loch, and the coast districts of this part of Lorn, are amongst the best cultivated in the county, and many fine trees, and plantations of firs and other wood, give a clothed appearance to the undulating lands. Ardchattan is one of the grandest and wildest of the parishes in this part of Argyllshire; within its limits are some great Highland estates, Lochnell, Barcaldine, Inverawe and others, though here as too often has happened with other ancient Scottish properties, the old lords of the soil have been forced to part with their ancestral domains. Excellent arable soil is found here, light and dry, and the appearance of the landscape at harvest time is proof that for oats, barley, potatoes, and similar crops, it could not readily be surpassed. Many noble mountains rise around the traveller as he surveys the scenery near Loch Etive, especially the two magnificent heights of Buachail Etive, the 'keepers of Etive,' forming a grand background in the vicinity of that Loch. The fine old ruined building of Ardchattan Priory, of the Benedictine order of monks, attracts many visitors, its venerable walls harmonizing well with the surrounding scenery. Whether King Robert the Bruce lived here for a time, and held a Parliament after his disastrous defeat at the battle of Methven, is matter of considerable doubt.

Glencoe is the scene of all others in this district which impresses the traveller by the savage grandeur of its desolate valley. Its immense precipices and weather-beaten crags, the haunt of the eagle, which may be seen wheeling far above the misty vapour wreaths that hang over this dark glen, have

echoed to the death cry of those who perished in the awful massacre. Its rugged cliffs and precipitous braes once sheltered a peaceful settlement of hardy denizens of the soil, who lived in patriarchal simplicity under the eye of their beloved chief. The memories of that fearful winter night when old and young were alike given to the sword, long haunted even the callous minds of the murderers, and have invested the narrow glen with weird and undying romance. Nature here exhibits one of her sternest and most savage aspects, and yet, when seen under the full blaze of a summer sun, with all around hushed in idyllic repose, the gentle ripple of the glancing stream scarce heard amid the whisper of the thyme-scented breeze,—the traveller seems imbued with a sense of peace.

There are many ivy-clad castles and fragments of ancient buildings in this part of Argyllshire, but the most interesting of them is the historic Castle of Dunstaffnage, standing on an almost insulated promontory washed by the waters of Loch Etive. About the oldest stronghold in the country, many stirring traditions cluster round this venerable keep, whose mouldering walls have given shelter to various warriors and monarchs. Of square formation, with massive walls sixty-six feet in height, and having a sea front, to which entrance used to be gained by a staircase and drawbridge, the grey ruins have a majestic appearance. The hoarse murmur of the crested waves which scatter their briny foam over the moss-clad walls, forms an appropriate dirge recalling to the visitor the soul-stirring associations connected with this historic pile. A little distance off are the ruins of a small chapel, where once the fierce owners of the castle worshipped, and where, for a time, some of the old regalia of Scotland were said to have been concealed. In the time of Robert the Bruce it was possessed by Alexander of Argyll, who adhered to the party of John Baliol, and to this stronghold fled James, last Earl of Douglas, after his defeat in Annandale, and prevailed on the keeper of Dunstaffnage to take arms against King James II. of Scotland. In the castle was long kept the celebrated 'Lia Fail,' or sacred stone, literally, hoary stone,

said to have been brought from Palestine, and reckoned the palladium of the ancient Scottish monarchy. It formed the coronation chair of Kenneth II., and was removed by that monarch to the old palace of Scone, from whence it was taken by Edward I. to Westminster Abbey, where it now rests in the Coronation Chair. Dunstaffnage is believed to be the original of Ardenvohr in the *Legend of Montrose*, from the coincidence of the curious hillock close by, which is especially referred to in the remonstrance of Dalgetty 'touching the round monticle of Drumsnab.'

Turning his steps to the south, the traveller, in the course of a day's journey, finds himself wandering through scenery of stern aspect, and rich in historic associations, until he rests midway down the shores of the glorious Loch Awe, in the most interesting part of the mainland of Argyll. He has crossed the fine arm of the sea called Loch Etive, and seen towering above him the noble form of the chief mountain of Argyllshire, Ben Cruachan, with its vast slopes of bracken and heather, and its glistening granite precipices, from whose crests the streamlets fall in spray clouds to the green sward below. As he journeys through the Pass of Brander, he gazes upon the gloomy defile, hemmed in by smooth walls of rock rising abruptly from the dark and foaming river of Awe, which ever rushes in continual descent to Loch Etive, through the rugged cliffs called the Rocks of Brander. Here is pointed out the large stone in the centre of the foaming torrent, on which a noted chieftain, Macfadyen by name, who had been defeated by Wallace, stood and pulled off his armour, and throwing it into the stream, plunged in and gained the opposite bank amidst a shower of arrows from his pursuing enemies. Loch Awe now spreads out before his gaze in its sinuous length of over twenty-four miles, and its upper shores overshadowed by the lofty Ben Cruachan, with some beautiful islands, such as Inchonnain, Inishail, and others, while the eye wanders away into the misty recesses of Glenurchay and Glenstrae. Another islet, a mere rock, further to the south, is that of Fraocheilein, or 'heather island,' on which is the fine ruin of an old castle, built

by a Macnaughtan in the time of Alexander III., and now tenanted by water birds and sea fowl. Curiously enough this sequestered island was chosen as the scene of the fabled garden of the Hesperides, which classic legend found its way into the lay of Ossian. Here perished the chivalrous and youthful Traoch, after mortally wounding the terrible dragon which guarded the forbidden fruit from any daring intruder. It would appear from the poem that the lovely young damsel Mego longed for the delicious fruit, and her lover, as in duty bound, went to gather it, and their memory is now enshrined in the ancient Gaelic ballads.

Pennant, in his Tour in Scotland in the year 1769, takes especial note of the fertile territory bordering upon Loch Etive and Loch Awe. He notices in traversing through Glenurchay that the road is very fine, that cattle abound and pick up their food from the grass which grows plentifully among the heather. The glen, he says, was pleasing in appearance, well cultivated, fertile in corn, and even at times its sides were adorned with numbers of pretty groves; and he commends the well-chosen site of church and manse, the grounds decorated with seats of turf, 'indicating the content and satisfaction of the possessor in the lot Providence has given him.' The ancient churchyard was famed for some fine old gravestones, which may be seen at the present day in good preservation, decorated with figures of warriors, knights in armour, spears and two handed swords, in addition to elaborate fret work. Pennant also records that on an eminence in the valley there dwelt a smith by name of M'Nabb, whose family had lived there and followed their useful craft since the year 1440,—the first of the line having been employed by the Lady of Sir Colin Campbell, the ancestor of the Breadalbane family, who built the famous Castle of Kilchurn on Loch Awe. In Pennant's day it was in ruins, although it had been repaired by its possessor and garrisoned by the King's troops in 1745. Since then the progress of decay has unhappily gone on with rapid strides. Pennant passes on to Inveraray, and is very severe upon the 'wretched hovels,' as he terms them, of which the old town was composed. He de-

scribes the Duke's Castle as quadrangular in shape, with a round tower at each corner, and having in the centre a lofty square keep with windows on all sides to give light to staircase and galleries. The building was of coarse bluish-grey chloride slate, brought from the opposite side of Loch Fyne, of the same kind as that found in Norway, of which the King of Denmark's palace at Copenhagen was built. The castle, which was demolished to make way for the existing building, was, as may be seen from the illustration given of it in Skene's etchings of celebrated scenes, an imposing and picturesque structure, and is alluded to in the *Legend of Montrose* as 'the noble old Gothic castle, with its varied outline, embattled walls, towers, and outer and inner courts.' Pennant seems to have been at Inveraray at the height of the herring fishing, and describes the hundreds of fishing boats covering the surface of the Loch, and tells how during the day the cheering strains of the bagpipes proceeded from the boats, while the men worked throughout the night at the fishing, and how on the Sabbath day each boat drew near the land for devotion, psalm singing, and worship,—the whole being a scene of decorous edification.

Another traveller, of a different turn of mind from Pennant, was the late Lord Cockburn, who passed through the same scenes fifty years ago, and described them in his journals. He was impressed by the lonely, grey, sterile and sublime character of the country from Loch Etive to Inveraray, passing by Loch Awe. Some of the scenes reminded him of David Roberts' (the artist) pictures of the bare rocky country near Petra, in Arabia. He regretted the destruction of the timber which was used to supply the furnaces of the iron works near Bunawe, and noticed that in some of the ravines heather and grass seemed scanty. But he was especially indignant at the neglected condition of Kilchurn Castle, the inside of which was almost inaccessible, owing to the heaps of ruins which encumbered the interior courts, and the masses of crumbling walls in all directions. Since 1693, when a date intimates that repairs had been carried on, nothing had been done, and some important portions of the castle were giving ominous symptoms of

decay. Lord Cockburn was very severe upon the noble Marquis of that period, who could entertain the Queen, exhaust the powers of art and fancy in decorating Taymouth, spend £5,000 upon a Gothic marble dairy, and yet refuse to expend a shilling upon the work of arresting the decay of this great historic relic.

Certainly it is strange how little regard the old possessors of these venerable structures seem to have had for what the proprietors of the present day, as a rule, take pains to preserve. The old Castle of Inveraray, which was blown up with gunpowder in 1745, was a building with many stirring associations clustering round its moss-grown stones. It was visited by Mary Queen of Scots, who rode from Dunoon to see her half-sister, the Countess of Argyll, one of the terrified spectators in the Queen's closet at Holyrood, when the hapless Rizzio was murdered. Within the old castle also constantly resided the famous Marquis of Argyll, whence his correspondence was sent to all parts of Europe; and here too lived his son, who met with the same patriot's death on the scaffold. During the time that the Argyll estates were under attainder, the castle was the head-quarters of the Earl of Athole, who drew the rents of the estates, quartered his men upon the poor tenants, and thieved and harried the whole district.

Inveraray has never attained to any size; the founder of the Castle intended to have built a new town on the west side of the bay, but beyond a few houses, the old customhouse, and the hotel, his plan was never carried out. In the principal street is seen the fine old cross, brought from Iona, which served for many years as the Town Cross. And on the grassy plot a little way off is the curious old cannon taken from the wreck of the *Florida*, one of the Spanish Armada, which sank in Tobermory Bay. The gun, which is of French make, is decorated with the *fleur de lis* and emblem of Francis I., and is of the old kind called 'glede gun' by the natives, the falconet being a term used in describing old ordnance of the period. Eighty years ago the pillory was placed in front of the old jail, near the cross, a

square wooden cage with a door, in which the unfortunates were incarcerated. An obelisk of granite standing on the point of land near the bay, was erected to the memory of some young gentlemen of good families who were executed by the Earl of Athole, in virtue of the powers which were given to him of 'fire and sword' against all and sundry who took part against the Stewart government. All the country around Inveraray abounds, of course, in Gaelic names and traditions. Of the clans who dwelt in the territory of Argyll proper, the principal were the M'Naughtans, Monroes, Macintyres, Mackellars, Macvicars, Clarks and Fishers. At one time also the M'Ivors owned land at Inveraray, and there is a large stone resembling some of the relics of Druidical times, standing in the lawn near the Castle which was supposed to mark the boundary between the lands of the M'Ivors and Macvicars. The Macnaughtans were the most powerful of the clans who held the lands, and there are traces of their stronghold on a triangle of land close to the bridge over the Aray. That striking ruin situated on the shores of Loch Fyne known as Dunderawe Castle, was at one time a strong fortress of the Macnaughtans. Here John Campbell of Mamore, who became Duke of Argyll, resided, having come into possession of the Castle through the forfeiture of a bond of Macnaughtan. The following inscription is seen in Roman letters over the door of the Castle :—

I MAN BEHALD THE END BE NOCHT VYSER,
NOR THE HIESTEST,
I HOP IN GOD.

Inveraray has a variable climate, and in winter heavy rains, hail, frost and snow, alternate with warm sunshine on the same day. Snow does not remain on the low grounds above a few days as a rule, and melts off the mountains without doing much damage to the stock. There are some large woods around Inveraray and in the Loch Fyne district generally. The earliest planting of wood, to any extent, was by the Marquis of Argyll and his unfortunate son the Earl, in whose time most of the high grounds, the picturesque hill known as Duniquoich,

the lawn near the Castle, the fine beech avenue near the entrance, and other plantations, were all laid out. The trees were mostly oaks, Scotch firs, ashes, beeches, planes and elms. In 1771 a great addition to the existing plantations took place, the young trees being cut down at the rate of 3500 to the acre, or about 4 feet apart, and after 9 years they got their first thinning. Throughout the parish, and in the county, there were no turnpike roads, even down to the year 1843. The highways were the original military roads, and these were maintained and improved partly at the public expense and partly at the expense of the county; the Duke of Argyll himself making and maintaining many miles of road in all parts of the parish. The Duke was a great improver in agricultural matters, and, in 1790, there might have been seen, in the Home Farm offices, barns with a curious device for drying the sheaves of corn, several tiers of cross beams being extended from wall to wall, from each of which descended long poles or spars of wood, with pegs on all sides about a foot in length. When the corn was cut, without leaving it to dry in the variable weather, it was carried into the barns and stuck sheaf by sheaf on the pegs, when, by the free circulation of air it was made ready for thrashing.

Near to Inveraray is the fine glen of Glenshira, which once gave shelter to a considerable population when the Macnaughtans inhabited the district. In 1715 no less than 80 of the Campbells turned out under John Roy Campbell, the second Duke, who fought at Sheriffmuir, and many Campbells and Macnaughtans left the glen to fight at Inverlochy. There were often disturbances in the glen, in the early days of the Reformation, between the Protestants and Catholics, who would meet as they went to church on different sides of the stream, and discharge their arrows at one another, a curious preliminary to the services of the sanctuary. At the upper end of the glen is a beautiful green knoll called Ben-an-tean, the 'Fairy mountain,' which was supposed to be a favourite haunt of the sprites. The property of Boshang, or 'crooked bay,' was given over to the Marchioness of Argyll by its last owner of the name of

Sinclair, who had no heir, and on this estate the Earl of Ilay, who first introduced the system of confining the red deer within fences, had a herd within a large enclosure. The experiment did not turn out very satisfactory, as the animals seemed to pine away, but Duke John of Argyll succeeded better with the herd of fallow deer which he brought from the Lowlands.

Throughout many parts of the districts of Argyll which have been named, red deer are met with, and are carefully preserved by their owners. Deer stalking is a species of sport possible only to those who have very ample means, and its votaries are always enthusiastic over its excitement and charms. The stag is a noble animal, with his spreading antlers, his red hide, smooth and glistening as it catches the early morning sun rays lighting up the crest of some lofty peak in the recesses of the Black Mount or Glencoe. He is seen at his best as he stands in striking profile against the blue sky, and every few minutes moving down the hill-side with deliberate pace, as if reconnoitring for unseen enemies. Usually, unless the deer are massed in a herd, he is accompanied by one or two hinds, but some stags are lonely and unsocial, preferring to wander over their bracken-clad pastures alone. Curiously enough the deer sometimes, though as a rule difficult to approach, and shunning the vicinity of man, seem to recognise the shepherds away in their secluded glens, and appear, by some instinct, to know that they have nothing to fear from them. There are some red deer which dwell mostly in the extensive fir plantations of the county. They are often large and heavy, but the head and horns are not so finely developed as in those which frequent the free mountain side.

Roe deer abound in every district of Argyllshire where plantations and moors intervene; graceful creatures, with slim legs and small head, they enliven the forest glades with their gambols. Their colour changes from May to October, the skin and hair being a red brown; their winter coat is of a fine dark mouse colour, very long and close. They destroy the young shoots of deciduous trees, such as the oak and

beech, and strip the fresh tender bark of the larch, completely peeling the stem. Rose bushes, young ivy leaves, and corn fields suffer also from them. They delight in solitude, preferring the recesses of the wood, and in the hot summer days they frequent the marshes in order to avoid the torment of the flies. In early summer they sometimes go great distances to feed in clover fields, when the young plants are springing up, but nothing delights them so much as the fields of ripening corn. It is often very difficult to get a shot at them in the woods, for they keep very close under cover, avoiding the open, and when chased by dogs they will elude them with long graceful bounds, though, if driven into open ground, they soon become exhausted by the superior staying power of the dogs.

Of the larger birds of prey there are many specimens found in the county, the great inaccessible cliffs on the higher mountains, and the stupendous precipices of Mull, Eigg, and other of the islands, affording shelter for their eyries. Both the golden eagle and the sea eagle are found, though in decreasing numbers, and they may be seen circling far overhead amid the wilds of Glencoe and the Blackmount, or skimming along the crests of the beetling crags of Mull and Islay. The eyrie of the golden eagle is almost always in a precipice difficult of access without a rope, while the nest is generally sheltered by an overhanging ledge of rock. It is composed of a vast mass of sticks, heather, ferns, and grass, and there are generally two eggs. They are believed to be rather an advantage than otherwise in a deer forest, for if the eagles carry off an occasional weakly red-deer calf, they destroy the blue hares in numbers, thus benefitting the deer. No doubt on a sheep farm this fine bird does much harm at the lambing season, but if the eggs are taken, as the eagle rarely lays a second time when its nest has been robbed, it is relieved from the necessity of providing food for its clamorous young. That grand column or promontory, the Scaur of Eigg, has long afforded an eyrie for the sea eagle, which generally selects some inaccessible platform, or rough crevice in the rock, where the nest is placed, consisting of a bundle of sticks, branches of

heather, and pieces of turf, with a little wool by way of lining. On rare occasions the sea eagle has made its nest on a secluded islet in some unfrequented loch, selecting, as it did some years ago, a rowan tree on an island in Loch-na-Ban in the north-west of Argyllshire; the nest, an enormous structure, presenting an extraordinary appearance. The osprey, that splendid bird, used regularly to build on the ruined tower of Kilchurn Castle, and could be seen in its circling flight, poised over the dark surface of the loch, but it is now only a very rare visitant, and does not breed in the locality. Sea birds in great variety are found frequenting the innumerable lochs and sounds of the seaboard of Argyllshire, from the great solan goose, which may be seen in long strings of a dozen and more winging their way round Ardnamurchan point of an evening, probably to their favourite haunt of St. Kilda, to the little restless sandpiper skimming the surface of the sea, or standing on an isolated stone, on the verge of the shore, with its body vibrating as it querulously salutes the intruder.

Of game-birds, as may be supposed, there is a great variety in the county. Few of the largest of the species, the capercaillie, are to be met with, though of late they have begun to appear in the Appin district. This fine game-bird was one of the delicacies of the royal table in the time of James the Sixth, as appears from certain instructions given to the purveyors to have birds forwarded to meet the King at Durham. The capercaillie seems to have disappeared about the year 1758 from Scotland, until it was re-introduced in the present century by the Marquis of Breadalbane and Sir James Colquhoun. The black grouse, the red grouse, and the ptarmigan are too abundant to require much notice, and the moors all over the county afford splendid sport to annually increasing numbers of visitors. The food of the grouse consists of young heather shoots, and the tops of various Alpine plants, though it is very fond of picking any farm produce, especially oats, which may chance to be planted on the reclaimed patches of moorlands. Black grouse are not so common as the red grouse. Their food is much the same, though the blackcock in winter will feed upon the foliage of

the common polypody fern. Curiously enough, too, this species cannot be naturalised in Ireland, though repeated attempts have been made to introduce it.

In Argyllshire will be found most of the birds indigenous to the country, as well as the numerous summer migrants which annually visit our shores. A great variety of sea-birds is found in the Appin district, and in the creeks off the Linnhe Loch there will often be encountered the scaup ducks, guillemots, razor-bills, cormorants, goosanders, black-backed gulls, whimbrels, terns, sheldrakes, and oyster-catchers,—the latter being seen in numbers flitting about the sea-beach, skilfully overturning the limpets and scooping out the fish. The sheldrakes are plentiful also on all the islands off the coast, a handsome and showily-plumed bird, haunting the wet sands and searching for its food, chiefly the minute bivalves found in the muddy estuaries of streams. Its nest is frequently found in rocky holes, or excavations scooped in the sand. The eggs are large and of beautiful colour, and the little downy brood dive and double under water, when disturbed, with surprising agility. That tiny little songster, the gold-crested wren, is common, and the brilliantly plumed kingfisher has of recent years been frequenting the Appin district, and startling the pedestrian by some lone stream with its shifting hues of bright emerald and scarlet. Strange to say, the starling, so common a visitant over Scotland, only appeared in the Benderloch district, near Lochnell House, in 1863, from whence it made its way across to Barcaldine Castle. In almost every burn is seen flitting from stone to stone, uttering his sweet trilling note, the beautiful form of the water-ouzel, or dipper, always keeping quite close to the wanderer whose steps are directed near his haunts. This familiar bird delights in deep linns and brawling rapids, and builds its nest, with its four lovely, pure white eggs, embedded in soft moss, generally in some little suspected spot, often under a ledge of earth thickly bedewed with the constant spray of a waterfall.

The condition of agriculture throughout the county has wonderfully improved of recent years, and the tenant farmers, as a rule, are a fine set of industrious, intelligent men. Up to

the date of the abolition of the feudal system in 1745, and on to 1820, a bad state of affairs prevailed, but matters have greatly advanced since then, and there are some large farms with all the latest improvements in steading and implements. In 1891 not above 128,000 acres of land were under cultivation; the stock of cattle throughout the county being 60,000, and about a million of sheep. The abolition of the feudal system, the conversion of corn rents, or those of service and kind into money, the construction of the Caledonian and Crinan Canals, the suppression of smuggling, improvements in roads, spread of education, the introduction of farming suitable to soil and climate, diffusion of information as to agriculture in general, and steam navigation, have all contributed to a better state of matters, though more in the direction of improving stock than husbandry. Much of the earlier improvements effected in agriculture, in this as in other counties, was no doubt due to the monks, who paid great attention to the cultivation of the soil. Even as far back as the 13th century, agricultural carriages of various descriptions were used, not only for harvest purposes and for transport of peats from the moors, but for carrying the wool of the monastery to the nearest sea-port, and bringing in exchange salt, coals, fish, and sea-borne commodities. On the estates of the monasteries, water-mills and wind-mills were used for grinding corn previously to the 13th century, and in Argyllshire the rude process of the hand-mill kept its ground down to quite a recent period. Everywhere strict rules were made for the protection of growing corn and hay meadows; even wheat was cultivated, and wheaten bread used on holidays. The high value set upon pasturage, whether for sheep or cattle, was shown by its frequent clashing with the rights of game found in the forest, and by the strict prohibitions against tillage within the bounds of forests and pasture ranges. This arose, however, chiefly from a wish to preserve the solitude and quiet necessary for encouraging the red deer. The general introduction of sheep-farming into the Highlands, which has so often been blamed for causing a great deterioration in the condition of the natives

largely affected the county of Argyll; but from a variety of causes it is much less remunerative now than formerly.

The soil of the greater portion of Argyll is light; there is not much strong clay land, which needs extensive pulverisation. Great tracts of waste lands exist in the county capable of cultivation. Much of the moorland, in part covered with heather and in part with peat grass, might be reclaimed, and the peat earth might be ploughed, covered with lime, harrowed and manured, so as to yield a good return. The soft boggy land is more difficult to improve, but pays better in the long run, as it is chiefly composed of rich mud and sediment washed down from the higher grounds, and, when properly drained, makes the finest of soil. Moss lands are more difficult and costly to reclaim, as the moss being often from 2 to 8 feet in depth, needs very deep drains. By the end of 1795 agricultural affairs had certainly considerably improved, and the Duke of Argyll had introduced various measures which benefitted those who cultivated his extensive estates. From the elaborate report published for the Board of Agriculture by the Rev. Dr. Smith, of Campbeltown, we learn a great deal as to the condition of agriculture throughout the county generally, which may profitably be studied by those who know its present position. Farms were of large size, a good many of them being possessed by tenants in *runrig;* the author of the report observes that, as far back as the days of Pliny, it was found that large farms were ruining Italy, and so they will every country, by discouraging population, and destroying the independence of the natives by putting too much land in the hands of few cultivators. The Duke's estate in Kintyre then yielded about £7,000 of rental, he was a generous landlord who encouraged the rural population and preferred farms of moderate size, so giving employment to many hands. Not much land was let by the acre, the soil being of such diverse quality. Its value ranged from two to fifteen shillings per acre for arable ground, although in the neighbourhood of Campbeltown choice land let for £3 per acre. On the larger estates the rents were generally paid in money, but on smaller holdings they were often

paid in produce, and there was usually some special burden in the shape of servitude for the maintenance of roads. Leases were generally for 19 years, but often there were none, and there were not many covenants in the lease, though the Duke usually enjoined upon his tenants to drain and enclose their holdings to a certain extent. Many of the proprietors brought ploughmen from the Lowland country, and the Duke even induced some farmers from England to settle on his estate in Kintyre.

Cultivation was carried on in a primitive fashion; often there were four horses yoked to the plough abreast, and the driver walked before them backwards, while sometimes, when there were two horses, no driver was required. Oats was the crop commonly cultivated, and potatoes were generally grown, being about the only green crop, although turnips are well adapted to the soil and country. Polish oats were much used, and red (Peebles) oats found general favour, but all kinds of seed needed to be often changed. Beans were not much cultivated, pease were little grown, and wheat was coming more into demand in the deep loam lands near Campbeltown. Flax also was coming into use, but its culture was not well understood, though it proved a very profitable crop. Black cattle were the great article of export, constituting as they did the chief part of the live stock in the southern parts of the county, and were of a small hardy breed. A good many dairy farms existed, especially in the Kintyre district, and the produce found ready market. The feeding of cows upon pasture lands was profitable, though there was considerable difference in various localities, some of the farmers growing kail and clover in their gardens to feed their cows when housed. Sheep were only then coming into general request, and the Duke did much to encourage the breed of black-faced animals, though Cheviots were on the increase. Smaller farmers were also having the advantage of improving their tillage so as to combine farming and stock rearing. On one large estate the experiment was tried of letting to about twenty-five of the former tenants one extensive farm,—the rent being proportionately advanced. All the arable

land, and as much more as was capable of cultivation, was divided into as many shares as there were families settled on each lot. The farm was wrought with plough, spade and mattock, these methods being often combined to ensure greater efficiency and economy. At the same time the tenants made common stock and sent their animals to the mountain grazing, employing one shepherd to take charge of them all. Everything went on well, flocks were increasing, the fields yielded excellent crops, private land was profitably added to the holdings, and enough and to spare was raised for the families on the farm, while the women spun the wool and sold the yarn. The experiment was fairly and successfully tried, and from a hundred to a hundred and fifty souls paid their rent and gained their support from one farm. Unfortunately it was believed that they could dispense with the mountain close by on which the sheep were pastured, and very soon a complete change came about; profits fell off and the whole enterprise failed, showing how essential an element was the valuable hill pasture. Argyllshire abounds with good pasture lands, and the young shoots of the heather, the year after it has been burnt, afford suitable food for sheep.

Great part of the ground was once covered with wood, and every moss and moor shows remains of the ancient forest, through which the bear and the wolf roamed and found their prey in deep glade and grassy hollow. Even at so recent a period as the commencement of this century, the woods in the county were held of such little account, especially in the inland districts, that a large fir plantation in Glenurchay was sold to a company of Irish adventurers for little more than a third of a penny for each tree. But when the iron furnaces were started near Inveraray and Bonawe a change took place, and large quantities of fine woods were sold at enhanced prices. The oak and other deciduous trees were commonly cut every twenty years, except such a number of large trees as might be agreed on. So much of the timber was sold, the rest was made into charcoal and the oak bark was sent to the tanner. Proprietors were fond of encouraging the growth of oaks by cutting away any other trees which interfered with

them. The soil of the country was most favourable for planting and raising timber, much of it being dry, and the climate warm and humid. Even on exposed situations such as a farm of Rosshill in Kintyre, standing on an elevated promontory facing the broad waters of the Atlantic, between Islay and the north of Ireland, there was at one time a complete covering of ancient forest. Some of these great trunks of oak and fir trees have been dug up in mosses, at an elevation of over 1000 feet above the sea level, and such will be found to be the case all over the coast.

Looking to the present state of agriculture and sheep farming in the country, it must be admitted that a wonderful improvement has taken place in every parish. In many parts the landlords have, for years, drawn little revenue from the land, it being mostly spent upon improvements of various descriptions. Of recent years much has been heard of the grievances under which the crofters, who are found in numbers throughout the county, have been suffering, and it is right that their condition should, if possible, be improved. The introduction of the extensive sheep-farming system, so general over the Highlands, had naturally the effect of reducing the population. The natives were never wealthy,—inhabitants of wild, mountainous districts do not grow rich,—but many of the crofters and small farmers possessed their six or eight head of cattle, and their small flock of sheep, and when the corn crop turned out a failure, the sale of a few cattle or sheep more than served to pay their rent, and enabled them to purchase sufficient meal and corn in the Lowlands for the winter's supply. In this way they were better off than the labourers and mechanics of the Lowlands, who in bad years had to depend on corn almost exclusively, and owing to a rise in provisions might be in considerable straits. When the sheep farm and clearance system began, numbers of the natives betook themselves to the coast and began an amphibious life as crofters and fishermen, often located on moss covered and ungenial soil, amid depressing surroundings. In Glenurchay, for instance, there used to be, close to the clachan of Dalmally, about fifteen small crofters on a plot of ground where now

there is not one. Near Kilchurn there are at present some crofts, favourable specimens of their kind, consisting of thirteen or fourteen acres, each supporting a horse and two or three cows, with a hill in common for pasture, and the occupants are all well to do and contented. An English gentleman who, some years ago, rented the shootings in Glenurchay, made a small deer forest near the Blackmount. He had two farms, with sheep on them most of the year. When he came to shoot he removed the sheep to another farm, at some distance, so that the deer were not disturbed by the sheep. In spite of much misrepresentation, it has been distinctly ascertained that the supply of mutton and wool has, in no appreciable degree, been lessened by all the deer forests which have been made throughout the Highlands.

The geological features of the county are marked. The mainland consists of various primary strata covered by newer formations. Granite composes the great mountain masses in the north-east part of the county, but mica slate predominates in the formation of the mainland and islands. Limestone abounds everywhere, and forms the whole rock in the large and fertile island of Lismore. In Argyllshire we have abundant evidence of the great upheaval from the sea, which covered all Scotland, of the schist, gneiss, and quartz rocks of the Highlands. At first the surface may have risen in great broad ridges, and throughout ages, as the vast rain torrents fell, they cut for themselves ways to the sea, the drainage would collect in streams and the action of springs and frost would cleave deep chasms, and valleys would gradually be formed. Were it possible to take a bird's eye glance over the entire surface of Scotland, after it was freed from the first great ice shroud of the glacial period, it would be seen that the land had its marked contour of rounded and smooth hills, with valleys between.

Many of the glens opening from the estuary of the Clyde, and cutting deep into Argyllshire, show the rocks on their sides regularly striated. No doubt local glaciers at one time filled all these valleys with their vast masses of glittering blue ice. The striations on the rocks seem to be parallel with the axis of the

valleys, in some of which may be seen accumulations of gravel and clay like elongated embankments run across the valleys, while others are parallel, like the lateral and terminal moraines of Switzerland. The smoothing process to which the land was subjected in that remote period, may be seen in Loch Ridden, and in Glendaruel, opening from the head of that arm of the sea. The islets on the Loch shew on their rocky surface freshly smoothed and striated markings, and on examining the faces of the crags in the valley, similar scratchings prove how the whole mass of ice which filled the glen produced the striations so distinctly visible. Evidently it was the same resistless agent which caused this effect, and the long parallel marks on the rocks can be followed as they slant over the west side of the glen, and pass across the Cowal mountains to Loch Fyne. The Duke of Argyll, in the course of his scientific explorations, found many striated markings on the hill tops above Loch Fyne, as far up as 1800 feet above the Loch, all of them running parallel with the valley, like those seen at a lower level.

Similar processes affecting the contour and appearance of the land, can be observed in the more northern part of the county, about Loch Leven and the Linnhe Loch. It is evident that all along the coast, here and elsewhere, the ancient sea margins were at a considerable height above the present ones. At Ballachulish the Loch is contracted to about 150 yards in width, the terraces upheaved being of flat surface resting on rock. They are of uniform height, their gravelly surface being shaped by the same agent, one very distinct terrace existing, about 65 feet above the Loch, in the grounds of Ballachulish house. At Connel Ferry, at the entrance of Loch Etive, as you walk up from the gravel promontory at Ardgour, two similar terraces may be seen at the height of 43 and 64 feet above the water. Near the Black Mount there is a lovely sheet of water, Loch Tulla, and on the rugged hill side above the lake there is distinct evidence, from the gravel terrace marks, that a large body of water once existed far above the present level. It is difficult to ascertain what kept the water in its place, unless the masses of detritus found plentifully in many of the valleys

constituted a sort of dam. The revelations of geology would seem to go far to prove that, at a remote period, the whole of Scotland was submerged to the height of nearly 2000 feet, and this is ascertained by the finding of quantities of soft detrital masses, mixed with marine shells, whose superficial formations bear marks of former levels of sea, at intervals, up to at least 1200 feet. Nowhere is this remarkable natural feature more distinctly brought out, than in the well known instance of the parallel roads of Glenroy in Inverness-shire. These terraces are of varying breadth, in some places projecting only a few feet from the hill side, in others broadening out into noble pathways 18 or 20 yards wide. The lowest terrace is 972 feet above the sea level, the second 1184 feet, and the highest 1266 feet.

Loch Awe affords a good example of how changes have been brought about through the agency of vast ice streams slowly moving down from the mountains on their way to the sea. The present outflow of the Loch, through the Pass of Brander, is comparatively recent, and has been cleft in the lofty ridge of mountains extending from Ben Cruachan away to the Sound of Jura. A more recent period must be given to the excavation of the valley into a long lake basin, and the cutting of a passage through the Pass of Brander, which may be assigned to the glacial epoch, while the origin of the main valley of Loch Awe takes us back to a remote past. While the mass of water was dammed back by hard rock, the smoothed and polished surface of the barrier, and the striations parallel with the length of the valley, show that the great mass of ice which once filled up the present basin of the lake must have passed down the continuation of the valley towards Kilmartin. In Loch Fyne the changes in the adjoining land, and in the rocks recovering from effects of glaciation, and returning to their former condition, may be distinctly seen. Opposite Tarbert the rocks are of hard quartz, finely ice worn and smoothed, with numerous striated marks in their lower parts, protected from decay, owing partly to their recent upheaval, and partly from being coated with boulder clay. Above the high water mark the rocks have begun to shiver and split up.

In the Sunart and Morven districts gneiss is the prevailing rock, with granite interspersed near Strontian, and trap rock near Ardnamurchan. East of the Linnhe Loch the lower rocks are chiefly mica slate and clay slate, a continuation of the strata forming the great range of the South Grampians. Mica slate, the oldest of these formations, is the main component of the noble and wild mountain peaks near Loch Fyne and Loch Long. In the Appin district the quartz rock prevails, and its surface crops up in many places where the landscape is bare and sterile. In Iona again we have the Laurentian gneiss, which indeed forms the whole mass of the outer Hebrides, and is the basis of nearly all the mountain ranges in the north-west of Scotland. In Iona this rock formation consists of a great series of strata, slate, quartz, marble with serpentine, and a mixture of felspar, quartz and hornblende passing into a composition nearly resembling granite. Opposite are the great mountains of Mull, composed almost entirely of volcanic rocks. Some of the trap mountains of Mull rest on beds of old red sandstone; a few are piled on strata of oolite and lias; others cover the *debris* of chalk, and belong to a more recent period than the middle Tertiaries. The Duke of Argyll, in his work on Iona, points out the remarkable fact that, 'in a line between Iona and the headland of Bourg there is a low basaltic promontory called Ardtun, which has revealed to us the fact that once there existed on this area some great country covered with the magnificent vegetation of the warmer climates of the Miocene age."

From Loch Fyne the chlorite slate runs away into Knapdale in Kintyre. Clay slate is less common on the mainland, but occurs at Ballachulish, where it has long been quarried, as also at Oban and the adjacent islands, and at Dunoon and Toward in the Cowal district. It is often a dark coloured rock, crystals and iron pyrites being found in what is the lowest Silurian formation. To the same may be assigned the quartz rocks of Appin and the lower end of Glencoe, and of Islay and Jura. The island of Lismore, in the Linnhe Loch, known in the Gaelic by its more poetic name, Lios more, the 'great garden,' is an instance of pure limestone formation, a narrow ridge of land 8 miles long, uneven in places, but mostly green, fertile, and well watered. The island used

to be the seat of a bishop, who was styled indifferently bishop of Argyll or of Lismore, but there is no trace either of a cathedral or of the bishop's residence. There are slight remains of several old castles along the shores, and one remarkable round fort, with a gallery within the wall like the Pictish towers. In the low flat island of Tiree marble is found, often with imbedded crystals. Green hornblende occurs in beds of gneiss in that island, and it is famous for the vein of peculiar flesh coloured marble, which used to be more in favour than now for ornamental purposes. Many remains of watch towers and forts, within view of one another, encircle the coast of Tiree, and it has 9 or 10 curious standing stones. This island is absolutely destitute of wood, with the exception of a small species of willow, but it is rich in beautiful pasture of the finest quality. In Mull, Morven, and Ardnamurchan, are found beds of stone belonging to lias, oolite and even cretaceous formation, underlying the trap rocks. Leaf beds, with remains of Miocene plants, have been discovered in the trap tufa of Mull by the Duke of Argyll, and here and there throughout the county may be observed the old red sandstone.

Argyllshire is not rich in minerals, but true coal has been wrought at Campbeltown, no doubt a continuation of the Ayrshire beds. In 1872 the lead mines of Strontian, in Sunart, yielded 12 tons of lead ore. In 1849 the Duke of Argyll discovered a vein of arsenical nickel near Inveraray. Fine specimens of cross stones have been discovered in Strontian, also blood stones in Rum, and nutrolite and other zeolites in the trap rocks of Mull, Morven and Lorn. Felspar and porphyries in many varieties are found in Glencoe, and in the mountains near Loch Fyne. In the island of Rum are met with pale onyx agates, fine heliotropes, and two beautiful sorts of pitchstone, one black, the other olive green.

One feature in the geology of the county remains to be noticed, viz., the remarkable boulders which exist in a good many districts. These strange stones are sometimes found in clusters thick together or standing alone, poised on the edge of a rock, where they attract the attention of the least observant of the natives. On examination they appear to be markedly different in their composition and character from the surrounding rocks, and many an ancient

legend and fairy tale has originated from the grey boulder resting on some lonely moor. Crusted with lichens or mosses, and with tufts of heather or hare bell all around the cracks and fissures which sometimes seam their sides, these curiously shaped blocks stand as the mute witnesses of some wondrous phenomenon of nature. It is not likely that they can have been transported by rivers, they cannot have been upheaved in some tremendous flood or devastation of water. Huge boulders, shown by their composition to be of northern rocks, are found clustered frequently on the mountain peaks at an elevation of 1500 or 2000 feet above the present sea level. One remarkable boulder is on the hill above Carrick Castle on Loch Goil, locally known as the 'stone nicely balanced,' at the height of 1526 feet above the sea. It is of gneiss, and rests on rocks of clay slate of enormous size, and lies within a few yards of a precipitous rocky cliff nearly 600 feet high. It could by no possibility have fallen there from any hill. Another, 450 feet above the sea, is near the junction of Loch Goil and Loch Long, an immense mass of stone lying on a small platform of rock. It is locally known as the 'Giant's Putting Stone,' as it was believed that in olden times giants lived on both sides of Loch Long, and were in the habit of amusing themselves by throwing these boulders across the loch. Pulag boulder, a large block of gneiss about 7 feet high, lies about 824 feet above the loch, near Glenfinnart, and is almost on the edge of a precipice which goes down at least 200 feet. It could not have been rolled or pushed to its present position. As there is no rock of a similar character within 80 or 100 miles, it follows that the only agency which could have transplanted these great blocks was that of ice. Their arrival in the positions they now occupy must be assigned to a remote glacial period, when part of the country was under the sea, and snow fields and glaciers filled the valleys. Immense bergs and ice rafts drifted over the surface of the sea, carrying boulders to and fro, and occasionally dropped them over the submerged land.

Argyllshire is especially rich in archæological remains, which are scattered over both mainland and islands, and afford endless material for speculation and study. Of ancient ecclesiastical structures the most interesting are to be found in Iona, 'once the

luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion.' St. Oran's Chapel is the oldest building on the island, and in all probability it marks the site of the still humbler church of wood and wattles in which Columba worshipped. The building, which is roofless, though the walls are still intact, was erected by the good Queen Margaret, the consort of Malcolm Canmore, to the memory of Columba, about the year 1070. No feature of the ruin is more striking than the beautiful Norman arched doorway, with three rows of beak head ornaments, somewhat similar to the doorway in Queen Margaret's Chapel in Edinburgh Castle, erected about the same time. Inside is the tomb of St. Oran, with a triple arch canopy over it, in the early Gothic style probably of the 13th century. A little way off is the Reilig Odhrain, the ancient burying place of Iona, to which spot for more than a thousand years were carried kings and chiefs, even from the far distant shores of Norway, that their bodies might mingle with the dust of the holy isle. The cathedral is the principal ruin on the island, and is of two distinct periods of architecture, the latest being the 14th century. Its chief feature is the tower, which stands on four cylindrical pillars of Norman design, and is about 70 feet high, divided into three stories. Perhaps the most interesting remains upon the island are the curious and beautiful tombstones and crosses which lie in the Reilig Odhrain, although they are removed by hundreds of years from the time of Columba. Some of them with Runic sculptures, may be as old as the 9th century, the date of the commencement of the Danish invasion.

It is in the southern part of the county, and more particularly in Kintyre and Knapdale, that the most remarkable antiquities are to be found. All along that rugged coast there are to be seen ruined castles, which were once strongholds of the old chieftains who owned the soil. At one time Tarbert Castle, the most important position on the Argyllshire coast, was bestowed by King Robert the Bruce on the son of Walter, the High Steward. When the Lords of the Isles ruled in all their pride of royal state, Kintyre was reckoned part of their dominions. On many points along the coast are found the remains of Danish forts, the

most considerable of them being the Castle of Aird at Carradale. On the promontory of Skipness are the ruins of Skipness Castle, of great antiquity, supposed to have been built by the Danes. One of the most interesting parishes in Kintyre is Kilcolmkill, in South Knapdale, with its ancient church, dedicated to the memory of Columba, finely situated in a retired spot, and having a grand sea view over to the Irish coast. The enclosed burying-ground beside the church is full of mouldering tombs, of a date not earlier than the 13th century, and there are caves in the adjacent precipices which are supposed to have afforded shelter to Columba, while he sojourned here during his missionary wanderings. It is believed that the saint often touched at this spot, when on his various journeys between Scotland and Ireland. The well in a rock close by is called the Priest's, or Holy-well. From the green knoll near the church, with the pedestal of an ancient cross still embedded in the turf on its summit, Columba was in the habit of addressing the crowds who flocked to hear him preach the Gospel.

Argyllshire has had a very disturbed ecclesiastical history. Towards the close of the 8th century, strange ships began to appear on the northern seas, with prows moulded like eagle beaks, and sterns tapering like a dragon's tail, impelled by rowers of savage look. From Norway and Denmark they came like a terrible tempest, expending their wrath and fury upon the wretched inhabitants, slaughtering and spoiling, and leaving the coasts a scene of desolation. Even the sanctuary of Iona had no exemption from the ruthless marauders, and neither its hallowed fane, nor the simple lives of the inhabitants, could procure it reverence in the eyes of these barbarians. In the Annals of Ulster, A.D. 802, it is recorded that Icolmkill was burned by these sea robbers, and four years afterwards its destruction was completed by the slaughter of the whole community of sixty-eight souls. Gradually, as the light of Christianity began to spread in these regions, and a more settled state of affairs prevailed under the early kings of Scotland, the monastic and religious structures arose, endowed by the piety of monarchs and nobles, whose ruins have become such picturesque landmarks. The ancient religious

edifices, throughout Argyllshire generally, were long in proportion to their breadth, and the windows were usually small, of lancet type, and the eastern gable unornamented with the fine windows of the cathedral pattern. But the monks knew well how to choose favourable sites for their abodes, frequently selecting islands where they would be less liable to intrusion. Thus we find they selected Iona, Tiree, Mull, Oronsay, famous in Culdee history, even going as far away as St. Kilda, where, on the west side of the little village, is the ruin of a small church, twenty-four feet long and fourteen broad. In South Knapdale there used to be seven ancient chapels, but the remains of only three can now be traced—one of them, Cove Chapel, on a beautiful situation near the sea, has its west gable nearly entire. It was dedicated to the memory of St. Columba, and many traditions of the saint linger about the place, but it has been greatly injured of recent years by workmen wantonly pulling down the stones for building purposes.

In the parish of Saddell, on the east of Kintyre, are situated in a sequestered grove, the interesting remains of an ancient abbey. Though not of great extent, they include some walls, arches, doorways, and a few very old monuments and crosses, chiefly of the Macdonalds. Both Somerlid and Rognvald, two great ancestors of the Lords of the Isles, have the credit of founding the Abbey, which, after having been richly endowed, was, with all its possessions, annexed by James IV. to the bishopric of Argyll. It is believed that part of the present mansion of Saddell was constructed of stones removed from the venerable abbey, and a gravestone has actually been inserted in the walls of the house. The stables bear unmistakeable evidence of being built from the ruins. In the Church of Saddell there used to be a curious custom of exposing prominently before the congregation a human skull, so that they should be reminded of the inevitable approach of death. In the island of Gigha there is the ruin of an old chapel, in which is the burial place of the Macneills, who long possessed the island, and from the notices of Pennant, Martin, and Sinclair, who all visited Gigha, it must have contained numerous stone crosses and memorial stones, not now to be seen.

Throughout the county there are many secluded spots where crosses of very antique type are still standing, as also in some of the islands off its rugged coast. Usually the cross consists of a long tapering pillar of stone, with two flat faces and flat edges, and from 12 to 14 feet in height. Both faces and sides are decorated with curved patterns, cut deep and bold, to enhance the richness of the effect. The crosses on the mainland present the same features as those of the islands, of Iona especially. The patterns are divided into panels on the faces, each panel having a separate tableau, as hunting scenes, dogs pursuing deer, warriors, and ladies, archers, galleys, griffins, various birds, beasts, leaf foliage, plait work and intricate designs of great beauty. M'Millan's Cross at Kilmory is one of the finest in the whole of the West Highlands. It stands about 9 feet above the pedestal, but bears no evidence as to its date or history. It must, however, have been erected to the memory of some distinguished chief of the clan. On one side is the figure of our Saviour on the Cross, and two attendant figures adorned with the nimbus. The figure of our Lord, though rude, has a certain telling expression and power, as will be found in similar examples of Celtic carving. On the reverse side is more of scroll and plait work, a stag hunt, in which the animals are drawn with spirit, a warrior brandishing a battle-axe, and an inscription. In North Knapdale there is much to interest, not only in its archæological associations, but also in its scenery which is varied and beautiful. On the road sides, as you walk along, you see in their season the hawthorn in blossom, with honeysuckle twining round its stem, myriads of primroses and blue bells amid the scattered copses of pale green birch, oak, hazel and ash. Of flowers there is a rich choice, white and red roses, sweet scented briers, purple foxgloves, great tall golden iris, ragged robin, forget-me-nots, white and mauve orchises, and many other flowerets of exquisite hues. And everywhere along the coast are the lichen-clad grey crags and solitary boulders, with the restless gleaming ocean laving the strand, and the blue misty ranges of Jura in the distance. Then of bird life there is an infinite variety—wild ducks, teal, widgeons, mergansers, black and white oyster catchers, sandpipers, dottrel, sea swallows, curlews, cormorants, gulls, kittiwakes, herons with their harsh

unmusical scream, and the brilliant tinted sheldrake, as large as a goose, splendidly plumed, with scarlet bill, and orange, black, and white feathers.

W. C. MAUGHAN.

ART. VII.—A JOURNALIST IN LITERATURE.

1. *Criticisms on Contemporary Thought and Thinkers.* Selected from the *Spectator.* By RICHARD HOLT HUTTON, M.A. (London). Macmillan & Co. 1894.
2. *Literary Essays.* By the same. Third Edition. 1888.
3. *Theological Essays.* By the same. Third Edition. 1888.
4. *Essays on some of the Modern Guides of English Thought in Matters of Faith.* By the same. 1888.

WITH the exception of a volume on Sir Walter Scott contributed to the *English Men of Letters* series, a study of Cardinal Newman contributed to the *English Leaders of Religion* series, and various articles in magazines which have not been collected and republished, these five volumes represent the literary output of a writer who has been a power in British thought and criticism for at least two generations. It is evident from the dedication of the two most recently published of these volumes that Mr. Hutton has elected to be regarded as a journalist in literature rather than as a man of letters in journalism. He alludes almost with a sigh to 'the temporary form for which alone they were intended.' I imagine too, that they are but little altered from this 'temporary form.' The 'I' of the personal critic has taken the place of the 'we' of anonymity—*voilà tout.* The fact, however, that these volumes are entirely composed of (originally) anonymous contributions to journalism, does not take from their charm, but positively adds to their value. They give in spirit—I do not now speak of opinions or even of style—the high water mark of self-respecting journalism. Mr. Leslie Stephen, in one of those essays of his which are the embodiments of level-

headedness, and are written in a style that may be described as Johnsonese up to date, discourses thus admirably on journalism.

'When my young friends consult me as to the conditions of successful journalism, my first bit of advice comes to this: know something really; at any rate try to know something; be the slave of some genuine idea, or you will be the slave of a newspaper—a bit of mechanism instead of a man. You can carry on the business with self-respect—whatever your success—if it is also something more than a business; if, for example, you can honestly feel that you are helping on the propaganda of sound principle, denouncing real grievances, and speaking from genuine belief. . . . Every man ought to believe that truth is attainable, and endeavour with all his power to attain it. He should study the great problems of the day historically; for he must know how they have arisen; what previous attempts have been made to solve them; how far reeent suggestions are mere reproductions of exploded fallacies; and so qualify himself to see things in their true relations as facts in a great process of evolution. He should endeavour to be philosophical, in spirit, so far at least as to seek to base his opinions upon general principle, and to look at the events of the day from a higher point of view than personal or party expediency.'

There could scarcely be formed a better working creed for journalism—or rather for that department of journalism which concerns itself not with simply recording the facts of contemporary history, but with pronouncing an opinion as to their tendency or their inwardness. Nor would Mr. Hutton, I should say, greatly object to endorse it in essentials at all events as his own, although he and Mr. Stephen look at most things, especially Theology and Ethics, from very different standpoints. By example rather than by precept, he has fought against the tendency of journalism to become what Mr. Morley has styled an engine for keeping discussion on a low level. It is impossible to conceive him becoming the slave of any newspaper—even of his own. It is impossible to imagine him spinning sentences against time much less in disobedience to conscience. It is quite possible to conceive of his sinking his personality, but it is quite impossible to conceive of his sinking true dignity of character, in anonymity. Above all things, Mr. Hutton has always had what Mr. Stephen terms a 'philosophy' to guide him. He expresses opinions upon most things on earth, and not a few things in heaven as well, as becomes an

open-eyed and open-eared journalist. But that opinion is never a mere aimless intellectual excursion. It is an act of political, philosophical, or religious faith. These two volumes do not, indeed, gives us an adequate representation of all Mr. Hutton's professional work. They represent—if one may adopt and adapt the title of a popular book by a popular essayist of a very different sort—the Graver Thoughts of a Working Journalist. But one cannot picture their author thinking or writing on a low intellectual or moral plane. In this respect Mr. Hutton is to the journalism of the last twenty-five years what Mr. Gladstone—the Mr. Gladstone whom he has loved and lost—has been to the politics of the same period.

In range, no less than in spirit, these volumes represent what is best in the journalism of to-day and of yesterday. The first contains thirty-nine papers. These deal with such different men as Thomas Carlyle and Edgar Allan Poe, Emerson and Dickens, Amiel and John Stuart Mill, and treat of such widely different subjects as 'The Genius of Dickens' and 'The Metaphysics of Conversion,' 'The Future of English Humour' and 'The Magnanimity of Unbelief.' The second volume, which consists of thirty-eight papers, is equally varied, treating of Martineau and Lord Houghton, Maurice and Bagehot, Stanley and Darwin, 'Sir Walter Scott in Adversity,' 'The Theology of "Robert Elsmere,"' 'Poetry and Pessimism,' 'Insect Conservatism,' and 'The Conscience of Animals.' They are examples of the 'study' thoughts with which Mr. Hutton relieves, sustains and enriches what must of necessity be a busy 'office' life. Mr. Hutton keeps his secret to himself, as every wise man does, but in a remarkable paper entitled 'Recluses and the World,' which ought to be read by the many (the too many) who worship what they style 'man-of-the-worldliness,' and mistake the vinous chatter of the dinner table for the spirit of the age, he gives us the Hamletic brooding of his soul. 'Isolate some men with their thoughts,' he says, 'and their thoughts simply dry up altogether. Isolate others with their thoughts, and the thoughts take living forms with which their whole being gradually becomes identified. This is only another way of saying that solitude tends in every

considerable thinker to turn the life of thought into the life of real action; to him thoughts become action, and therefore also passion, for effective action breeds passion quite as truly as passion breeds action; indeed no passions are higher than those which spring out of a man's knowledge that his thoughts are giving him a new hold over the life within and outside him, and are substituting for a dim and hesitating tradition, the talisman of a new vision, the spell of a new clue to the ways either of nature or of man.' This is the way in which a man who is above all things spiritually minded naturally expresses his belief that in these days of democracy, cosmopolitanism and social evolution, it is through patient reading and silent reflection that a genuine knowledge of 'the world' is obtained. The Able Editor of fifty years ago was a man who by dining out acquired that knowledge of the world which gave impersonal weight to his personal judgments. Such a course was wise enough. In London, at all events, and so long as the country was in reality, though not in name, an aristocratic oligarchy, the dinner-giving class governed the Empire. Fifty years hence, when probably democracy has come to its own, and has, above all things, learned to know its own political supremacy, the Able Editor will regard dining out as the least of his business; he may even leave it judiciously if not severely alone, as calculated to make him mistake the cackle of his bourg, or the prejudiced whisper of a vested interest for the murmur of the world. The power of the press in the future—if, that is to say, it continues to be anonymous—will be the power of the pure reason, or at all events as close an approximation to it as human infirmity will allow. And apart altogether from the intrinsic value of his literary, religious and ethical pronouncements, these two volumes of essays are of interest, as examples less of the journalism of the present than of the journalism of the future. Mr. Hutton is in spite—or is it in virtue?—of his power as a journalist, one of the preachers of and to the age. But no preacher ever depended less on pose, gesticulation, or pulpit-thumping.

Mr. Hutton's systematic and almost austere elimination of the elements of egotism from his writings, constitutes however,

their weakness as well as their strength. There is an objective as well as subjective side to journalism. The public demands to know how a man looks as well as what he says, and (presumably) thinks, and is perhaps too inclined to be perfectly satisfied when this demand has been supplied. Hence it is that the interviewer, the pictorial artist, and the 'descriptive' author bulk as largely in present day journalism as the article-writer and the reporter. This public desire for the 'graphic,' which dates from the literary dictatorship of Macaulay, Mr. Hutton is unable—or which comes to the same thing, is altogether unwilling—to gratify. It is evident from his volumes that among the British thinkers of the past two generations, the late Mr. Maurice and Cardinal Newman, and the happily still living Dr. Martineau, have influenced him most, and have won his affection, even if they have not absolutely dominated his reason. Yet even Mr. Watts's portrait of Dr. Martineau, which was exhibited in the Academy some years ago, and which Mr. Hutton says is 'in some respects a caricature,' does not tempt him to give a pen-and-ink sketch of his own. All that he says is that it 'does not give any adequate impression of Dr. Martineau's keen and penetrating vision, which almost suggests the glance of a commander in the field, and which perfectly expresses the well-marked definiteness of his aims—and it does not even suggest the lucidity of his method and that capacity for a firm engineering of the possibilities of life by which he has been distinguished.' Of all Mr. Hutton's biographical studies that of Mr. Walter Bagehot is perhaps written with the closest personal knowledge. And yet we get nothing more by way of portrait than such sentences as 'It was the life, humour, and animation looking out of the glance of these large and brilliant black eyes, and often presenting a curious contrast with the supposed dryness of the subjects with which Mr. Bagehot so frequently dealt that made him what he was to his friends,' and 'He was a dashing rider, and a fresh wind was felt blowing through his earlier literary efforts, as though he had been thinking in the saddle—an effect wanting in his later essays, where you see chiefly the calm analysis of a lucid observer.' This is interesting and in its way even suggestive.

But it is not graphic. Compare it with a passage taken almost at random from Mr. Stevenson.—Mr. Stevenson, whose art is essentially objective, not subjective, who concerns himself with the movement and not at all with the spirituality of life, who above all things abhors journalism and its 'cheap finish.' Compare, let me say, Mr. Hutton's vague impression of Bagehot with Mr. Stevenson's portrait of Pepys:—

> 'Here we have a mouth pouting, moist with desires; eyes greedy, protuberant, and apt for weeping too; a nose, great alike in character and dimensions; and altogether a most fleshy melting countenance. The face is attractive by its promise of reciprocity. I have used the word *greedy* but the reader must not suppose that he can change it for that closely kindred one of *hungry*, for there is here no aspiration, no waiting for better things, but an animal joy in all that comes. It could never be the face of an artist; it is the face of a *viveur*—kindly, pleased and pleasing, protected from excess and upheld in contentment by the shifting versatility of his desires. For a single desire is more rightly to be called a lust; but there is health in a variety, where one may balance and control another.'

Nor can Mr. Hutton be conceived hitting off the popular (and inaccurate) view of John Knox as does Mr. Stevenson in this sentence:—

> 'He remains for posterity in certain traditional phrases brow-beating Queen Mary, or breaking beautiful carved work in abbeys and cathedrals, that had long smoked themselves out and were no more than sorry ruins, while he was still quietly teaching children in a country gentleman's family.'

Mr. Hutton does not even command the drily graphic style which constitutes one of the fascinations of Mr. Leslie Stephen's delightful volumes of common-sense judgments, *Hours in a Library*. In all his papers, for example, there is nothing comparable to this reproduction of the different portraits of the author of *Clarissa*:—

> 'Richardson looks like a plump white mouse in a wig, at once vivacious and timid. We see him in one picture, toddling along the Pantiles at Tunbridge-Wells, in the neighbourhood of the great Mr. Pitt and Speaker Onslow, and the bigamous Duchess of Kingston and Colley Cibber and the cracked and shrivelled up Whiston and a (perhaps not the famous) Mr. Johnson in company with a bishop. In the other, he is sitting in his parlour with its stiff old-fashioned furniture, and a glimpse into the gar-

den, reading *Sir Charles Grandison* to the admirable Miss Mulso, afterwards Mrs. Chapone, and a small party, inclusive of the artist, Miss Highmore, to whom we owe sincere gratitude for this peep into the past. Richardson sits in his "usual morning-dress," a kind of brown dressing-gown with a skull-cap on his head, filling the chair with his plump little body, and raising one foot to point his moral with an emphatic stamp.'

Yet the very fact that the objective does not count for much with Mr. Hutton in making his estimates of events, men, and books, and that he resolutely disregards it, adds to his subjective strength. He cares only for the heart of a matter and goes as straight to it as he can. And I doubt whether any public writer of the present generation or of its predecessor —Mr. Hutton recalls Mr. William Rathbone Greg and Mr. Walter Bagehot and Mr. John Morley rather than the hierophants of the New Journalism—has on the spur of the moment said so many true and sagacious things with so much point. This is all the more notable that he certainly does not strain after literary effect in any of its modern forms. He never struggles to be epigrammatic. He is no devotee of the modern cult of the snippet; on the contrary his sentences—here again he resembles Mr. Gladstone—are often long and involved. But his resolute and transparent modesty, and his obvious aversion to the character of *poseur*, lend emphasis to that beauty of sanity which is the outstanding feature of his judgments. Take this characterisation of Emerson as being more of an oracle than of a poet or a philosopher.

'He rose too much on tiptoe for the poet; and was too broken in his insight for a philosopher's steady continuity of thought.'

Take again his comparison between Carlyle's poetry and Emerson's.

'Carlyle's verse is like the heavy rumble of a van without springs; Emerson's which now and then reaches something of the sweetness of poetry, much more often reminds one of the attempts of a seeress to induce in herself the ecstacy which will not spontaneously visit her.'

The difference between Mr. Hutton's method and the ordinary epigrammatist's is admirably illustrated by these characterisations, and especially by the second. The critic whose ideal is what is telling not what is true, would almost

certainly have been carried away by the comparison of Carlyle's verse to the rumble of a van; he would have searched the whole earth for another vehicle by which he could adequately represent Emerson's poetry. But Mr. Hutton resorts to no such devices which are the mainstay of the fashionable drawing-room drama of Mr. Oscar Wilde, and of the fashionable *fin de siècle* fiction of 'John Oliver Hobbes.' He simply seeks for the comparisons which are most fitted to express his sentiments, and uses them. But although Mr. Hutton has republished none of his writings belonging to what in Longfellow's case he terms 'the first period of *ad captandum* writing which almost every young man of talent passes through,' he has all that 'aliveness' to salient points, and that passion for giving such 'aliveness' genuine literary expression, which are much more truly three-fourths of journalism than conduct even in the Arnoldian sense is three-fourths of life. It would be difficult too, to say whether Mr. Hutton is the happier in his critical limitations, or in his critical appreciations. How true, for instance, is this of Dickens,—

'Directly he tries to create anything in which his swift decisive knowledge of detail does not help him, anything in which a general knowledge of the passions and heart and intellect of man is more needed than a special knowledge of the dialects of a profession or the habits of a class, he too often loses all his certainty of touch, and becomes a painful mannerist.'

Not less true—though in a different sense, is this summary of the career of Maurice.

'His life was a sort of chaunt, rich, deep, awe-struck, passionately humble from beginning to end.'

This, however, must be taken with its author's own modification.

'When, however, you catch that he feels—as all the deeper religious natures have always felt—a sort of self-reproachful complicity in every sinful tendency of his age, you feel that the litany in which he expresses his shame though most genuine, even most piercing in its genuineness, is not so much morbid self-depreciation as a deep sense of the cruel burden of social infirmity and social sin, which he laid down, on behalf of all men, in whose infirmities and sins he could perceive echoes of his own, at the feet of his Saviour.'

Take again this judgment—at once a limitation and a an appreciation—of Dean Stanley:—

'Seldom has such a gallant knight-errant in ecclesiastical matters been so utterly without a dogmatic inspiration as Dean Stanley. There have been hundreds who, like Archdeacon Denison, would fight to the death for a dogma to one who, like the late Dean of Westminster, would fight to the death in order to relax in all directions the binding force of dogmatic decisions. In truth, he discerned clearly enough how often dogmatic belief chokes religious life; but he was nearly incapable of understanding the equally important truth how often dogmatic belief strengthens and ennobles the life which is honestly lived by its guidance.'

Mr. Hutton's estimates of great movements or new forces in the spiritual world are quite as full of seriousness as are his estimates of men. Take his characterisation of Comtism:—

'The aspiration of Positivism is an aspiration to combine all sorts of moral contradictions; to get the masses of the people to obey an intellectual oligarchy, without attributing to that oligarchy any qualities which the masses of the people can readily revere, to get them to love what is unreal more fervently than they love those whom they come across in the ordinary paths of life; to regard with awe sacraments in which nothing is even supposed to pass, except an electric spark of feeling between human beings; to worship a Providence whose decrees are half of them mistakes and the other half mere conclusions of commonsense; and to dwell in imagination on a future life in which nothing will live that has any but an historical relation to the nature which anticipates it.'

Mr. Hutton's view of Positivism may be sound or unsound; that question is outside the limits of such a paper as this. There can, however, be but opinion as to the force and felicity, unmingled with violence or literary trickiness, with which Mr. Hutton has put the view that Comtism is an attempt to reconcile utterly opposite and mutually inconsistent habits of mind. Again, take this passage from the paper styled 'Mr. Ruskin on Nature and Miracle.'

'What Mr. Ruskin freely calls the highest and rarest moments in the individual human soul, are not half so wide a subject of study as the whole system of monotonous habit and character on which they shed so much light. The reason they do shed so much light upon it is just the contrary—that these moments puncture, as it were, the systematised unconscious life of man at individual points, and there show the light of the spirit pouring through as at a minute pin-hole; and the very sharp definition and limitation of the beam of light gives us a thousand times as much insight

into the spiritual world behind, as if you had had a great network of crossing rays entering in confused pencils from a hundred points at once.'

Apart from its value as an example of Mr. Hutton's mode of thinking, this passage is notable as giving in a nutshell the Odyssey of that mystical Wordsworthianism which is of the essence of his complex creed.

But Mr. Hutton, although above all things a journalist, is a thinker endowed with a thoroughly original and almost too subtle mind. Great as is the value of the papers in these two last volumes regarded as examples of the very best kind of journalism, their intrinsic value is greater still. If the reader follows up his perusal of them—as he ought if he wishes to understand Mr. Hutton's standpoint and his range of reading—by mastering the two earlier volumes of *Literary and Theological Essays* he will find that they reflect the graver thoughts and the weightier criticism of our time better than any other collection of the kind that can be mentioned. They have not, it is true, the special and purely literary delicacy which distinguishes Mr. Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, and which mark out their author as the British Erasmus. They do not present that combination of man-of-the-worldliness and culture which make Mr. Leslie Stephen's *Hours in a Library* a veritable arm-chair delight. They have none of that delicious pensiveness—the pensiveness of the traveller through life who nevertheless can take his ease and his flask of wine in his inn, and admire a golden sunset from his bedroom window, although he knows that the end of his pilgrimage is dusty death—in which Mr. Stevenson's art is seen at its best. Even when he is most touched with religious emotion, Mr. Hutton never rises into that mournful eloquence which fills, as with the swell of an organ, the pages of Mr. Rathbone Greg's *Enigmas of Life.* Yet with all their limitations—perhaps on account of them—Mr. Hutton's papers represent at its richest the serious thought of the serious, yet cultured, Englishman (I say Englishman advisedly) who likes to keep abreast of the times, but is incapable of breaking abruptly or irreverently with the past. They represent the cream of the best English Sunday afternoon talk; and, like

such talk, it is occupied to a not inconsiderable extent with matters of religion. Mr. Hutton has here been described as a journalist in literature, but not a few readers of his papers will be tempted to say rather that he is a preacher in journalism. It is in such papers as 'The Approach of Dogmatic Atheism,' 'M. Renan,' 'John Stuart Mill's Religion,' 'Ardent Agnosticism,' and 'Mr. Leslie Stephen and the Scepticism of Believers,' that such will certainly say the true Mr. Hutton is to be seen. Among disputants on theology he holds a quite unique place. He does not formulate his creed; he is much more bent upon attacking the positions of others than upon defining his own. It is indeed much easier to indicate his likes and dislikes than to formulate his platform. Cardinal Newman, Dr. Martineau, and Mr. F. D. Maurice he admires greatly, and in about equal measure. But he is not a Roman Catholic; he is not a Unitarian; and he would probably object to being classified as a Broad Churchman. Enlightened and catholic Evangelicalism is perhaps better entitled to claim him as an adherent than any other creed of the country, and yet 'The Hard Church' in his *Theological Essays* is perhaps the heaviest blow ever struck at that Evangelicalism of which the late Henry Rogers was, although too much of a pamphleteer, the cleverest exponent. Yet I doubt if in the religious literature that is written by laymen, at all events, there could be found a better arsenal of arguments against Atheism, Agnosticism, Positivism, and 'Scepticism' of every variety, than in Mr. Hutton's volumes. While amenity is the note of all his purely controversial work, he is absolutely fearless alike in indicating the 'dangers' to be apprehended from the modern forms of 'infidelity,' and in stating the actual demands made by that 'infidelity' upon the human reason. Thus in his essay on 'The Approach of Dogmatic Atheism,' which was provoked by a lecture of the late Professor Clifford, he says,—

'In him scientific thought in relation to religion and morality appears to be undergoing a transformation from its chrysalis condition of Agnosticism, on which it fed so heartily and throve so fast on the vague hopes it killed, and to be taking to itself ephemeral wings with which it proposes to soar high above the humility of its previous condition, and, indeed, to flutter up into those empty spaces from which science, we are now told, has all

but succeeded in expelling the empty dreams of a presiding mind in the universe, and of a life after death. Automatism, which was a wild hypothesis yesterday, and is still so difficult to state without self-contradiction, that Professor Clifford's own language is constantly at cross-purposes with his theory, is to become the creed of all reasonable men to-morrow; the faith in Providence is soon to be regarded as "immoral," and we are to expect before long evidence that "no intelligence or volition has been concerned in events happening within the range of the solar system, except that of animals living on the planet"—nay, evidence "of the same kind and the same cogency" as that which forbids us to assume the existence between the Earth and Venus of a planet as large as either of them.'

Mr. Hutton, after dealing in detail with the arguments advanced in support of the automatic theory, assumes it to have been adopted by the Scotch. He compliments them as—

'A people far more really competent to master and apply abstract ideas than the Germans.'

And he thus concludes—

'I venture to affirm that the automato-atheistic theory once earnestly adopted by a nation of graphic and logical mind, like the Scotch, would make such a hell upon earth, such a world of languors where languors were not agreeable, and of vehement and lawless moral pressures, where the application of such pressures was most in keeping with the temperament of the individual, as civilised men would never have seen before. The happy device of combining atheism with a distinct and vivid confidence in the absolutely mechanical character of man's bodily life, may be consistent, in a few isolated instances, as doubtless it is in Professor Clifford's case with a lofty mind, a strenuous character and a firm will, but in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it would lead to the natural or artificial selection and elaboration of those wheels in the corporeal machine which would produce the kind of motion their owners found most pleasurable;—and then the crash and battle of the various revolving cogs of self-interest would be such as even savage life could not rival.'

This paper is not concerned, as I have said, with the soundness or the unsoundness of Mr. Hutton's views upon religious questions. That is no reason, however, why the literary art with which he has expressed these views should not be adequately emphasized.

Mr. Hutton's papers on questions of religion and theology—he himself discriminates between the two though he does not draw a formal line of demarcation—proceed, as they should, from the sanctum of his nature. As such they may in virtue

of the spirit in which they are written, not of the opinions which they more or less clearly express, be recommended to all who are surfeited with the 'smart' religious writing of to-day. They will, at the very least, compare favourably with such a work as Mr. Richard le Gallienne's *Religion of a Literary Man*, in which one of the leading controversies of the time is disposed of in a paragraph :—

'It is no longer necessary for us to dispute painfully concerning documents. All such matters the German commentators and M. Renan have already settled for us, and faith has really nothing either to hope or to fear from the discovery of any number of Gospels. In short, we have accomplished the inestimable separation of theology and religion. Our religion no longer stands or falls by the Hebrew Bible.'

Yet it is in his literary judgments that Mr. Hutton is seen if not quite at his best certainly at his freest. In them he has no hesitation in indicating, or even in formulating his convictions. He 'lets himself go' as, when sinking the journalist in the man, he says of Samuel Johnson :—

'A day in which men are almost ashamed to be odd, and quite ashamed to be inconsistent, in which a simple life, even if the result of intelligent and intelligible purpose, is almost regarded as a sign of insanity, and in which society imposes its conventional assumptions and insincerities on almost every one of us, is certainly a day when it will do more than usual good to revive the memory of that dangerous and yet tender literary bear who stood out amongst the men even of his day as one who, whatever else he was, was always true to himself, and that too almost at the most trying time of all, even when he had not been faithful to himself—a man who was more afraid of his conscience than of all the world's opinion—and who towers above our own generation just because he had the courage to be what so few of us are, proudly independent of the opinion in the midst of which he lived.'

But it must be said that Mr. Hutton, with his own very pronounced ethico-religious bias, could not help being prejudiced in favour of Johnson, as being above all things a man of character rather than of genius. But he has no such 'bias' in the case of Dickens, whose character on the contrary, as revealed in Mr. Forster's biography, he estimates by no means favourably, and for whose occasionally boisterous Cockney vulgarity he could have nothing but antipathy. But he frankly acknowledges that Dickens's humour was more

characterized by genius—that indefinite something which, like Burns's conversation, carries one off his feet—than that of any of his contemporaries or successors.

'The wealth and subtlety of his contrasts, the fine aim of his exaggerations, the presence of mind (which is the soul of wit) displayed in his satire, the exquisitely professional character of the sentiments and metaphors which fall from his characters, the combined audacity and microscopic delicacy of his shading in caricature, the quaint flights of his fancy in illustrating a monstrous absurdity, the suddenness of his strokes at one moment, the cumulative perseverance of his touches at another, make him such a humourist as many centuries are not likely to produce.'

The volumes which illustrate the quality of Mr. Hutton's contributions to the *Spectator* are full of estimates as carefully balanced as these. But whoever desires thoroughly to understand Mr. Hutton's standpoint as a critic ought to supplement the reading of these volumes with the study, as I have said, of their author's *Literary Essays.* This volume consists of only nine papers, but these include studies of Goethe, Wordsworth, Shelley, Browning, Clough, Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, and Nathaniel Hawthorne, and I should place it unhesitatingly on the same shelf as Arnold's *Essays on Criticism*, Mr. Leslie Stephen's *Hours in a Library*, and Mr. Stevenson's *Men and Books.* That shelf is not an imposing one, but it contains the most solid and important criticism that British literature can show for a generation. Mr. Hutton has many more points of dissimilarity than of similarity with his brother critics; in particular he never divorces—he is probably incapable of divorcing—art in literature from morality and religion. But he is more painstaking than any of them: his chief anxiety, as I have already said, is not to produce epigrams, but to make exhaustive studies. And in three cases he has attained almost complete success. His essays on Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, and Hawthorne are admirable, but his papers on Goethe, Wordsworth, and Shelley, are probably the best and certainly the most searching that have appeared.

No critic has been more successful in pointing out that central weakness of Goethe's character—his incapacity for genuine self-sacrifice—which in spite of his marvellous insight, in spite of his scarcely less marvellous generosity,

prevents him from being a second Shakespeare, and makes him only the literary Napoleon of the nineteenth century. Many who do not look at the final questions of religion and ethics from Mr. Hutton's standpoint, will agree with him when he says of Goethe—

'I grant that he was the wisest man of modern days who ever lacked the wisdom of a child; the deepest who never knew what it was to kneel in the dust with bowed head and broken heart. And he was a demigod, if a demi-god be a being at once more and less than ordinary men, having a power which few attain, and owing it in part to a deficiency in qualities in which few are so deficient; a being who puts forth a stronger fascination over the earth because expending none of his strength in yearnings towards heaven. In this sense Goethe was a demi-god:—

> "He took the suffering human race;
> He read each wound, each weakness clear;
> He struck his finger on the place,
> And said 'Thou ailest here, and here.'"

He knew all symptoms of disease, a few alleviations, no remedies. The earth was eloquent to him, but the skies were silent. Next to Luther he was the greatest of the Germans; next—but what a gulf between! "Adequate to himself" was written on that broad calm forehead, and therefore men thronged eagerly about him to learn the incommunicable secret. It was not told, and will not be told. For man it is a weary way to God, but a wearier far to any demi-god.'

Mr. Hutton's essay on Shelley is quite as exhaustive as his essay on Goethe, and a good deal more sympathetic. He is more comprehensively critical than Hazlitt although he has not Hazlitt's cruelly observant eyes. The last word has not been said on Shelley, but up to the present time his idealism has not been better characterised than in this passage:—

'Into one side of human perfection he had a far higher insight than most men of his day—the passive nobility of beautiful instinct and endurance. But the very idealising tendency which repelled him from human politics, repelled him also from all human creeds, and the very first objection he took to them was to their demand of deference for a spiritual king. From all arbitrary authority he recoiled, and never apparently conceived the possibility of authority properly so called, and yet not arbitrary. Hence, to save his faith in human nature, he was almost compelled to seat a shadow on the throne of the universe. The only marvel is that his imagination still kept a throne of the universe at all, even for a shadow. His ideal world was one "where music and moonlight, and feeling, are one," and in such a world apparently no throne or sceptre would be needed.'

It is unnecessary to say that Mr. Hutton's essay on Wordsworth is full of enthusiasm as well as of insight. He is a Wordsworthian with limitations, as he is a Martineauist, a Maurician, a Newmanite—in each case also with limitations. I quote therefore what Mr. Hutton says of those limitations as an example of his happiest manner:—

'Wordsworth seems to kindle his own poetic flame, like a blind man kindling his own fire; and often as it were, he goes through the process of lighting it without observing that the fuel is damp and has not caught the spark; and thus, though he has left us many a beacon of pure and everlasting glory flaming from the hills, he has left us many a monument or pile of fuel from which the poetic fire has early died away.'

Mr. Hutton's essays belong to that class of literature that can only be judged by ample quotation, and that suggests the almost abandoned family practice of reading aloud. Whether such writing will be appreciated in the future remains to be seen. Literature is already in the clutch of journalism, and ere long will be in its possession body and soul. The time is probably not very far distant when the morning—or is it to be the evening?—newspaper will provide us with our fiction, our criticism, nay, our art, as well as with our news and our opinion. Perhaps there will be no poet's corner in the newspaper of the twentieth century—no arm-chair for quiet and prolonged reflection. If the present adoration of the snippet continues, the long essay will certainly go the way of all other fashions in literature. In that case Mr. Hutton may prove to be the last of the essayists, who have delighted and stimulated two generations. Yet, when a final judgment comes to be pronounced upon him it will be said that if he was the last of such essayists, he was not the least, nay, that in many respects he was the most typical, in virtue of his capacity for reflecting the higher moods of that cultured but above every thing, spiritually minded class which plays a more important part in the government of the country than it generally gets credit for.

WILLIAM WALLACE.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (April, May, June).—A simple, but excellently written story, 'Ein ganzes Leben,' opens the first of these three numbers, in which lighter literature is further represented by 'Die Geschichte einer Amme.' It is by Carlotta Leffler, Duchess of Cajanello, the well-known Swedish writer, who found in Italy a home and a grave. The touching narrative, apart from its excellence as a work of fiction, gives a very interesting sketch of popular life and manners in Italy.—The extracts from the diary of Giuseppe Acerbi, make up an interesting and valuable contribution to the history of German literature. They record interviews and conversations with Klopstock, whose acquaintance the young Italian made when the poet was long past his three score years and ten, and they throw considerable light on the position which he took up with regard to contemporary literature.—Herr P. D. Fischer concludes the reminiscences of his travels through Germany. This closing instalment is chiefly noticeable for the optimistic view which it takes of the present situation of Germany.—The impressions of another traveller, a foreign one, however, and no less a personage than the Shah of Persia, are communicated by Herr Vambéry, in a summary of the account given by his Highness himself of his visit to Germany.—In the May number, the first place is occupied by Herr Paul Heyse, who brings the first instalment of a charming novelette—Melusine.—Three well-known writers—Hermann Grimm, Erich Schmidt, and Eduard Hanslick respectively contribute three most readable articles. The first of them has for its subject the correspondence between Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, and constitutes an interesting chapter of literary history. The second is a critical review of the works of Rudolf Linda, whilst the third continues the reminiscences entitled 'Aus meinem Leben,' and brings them down to the seventies.—An article which is sure to be read with special interest, even though it may not carry absolute conviction with it, is Herr W. Preyer's exposition of the principles of graphology—the name given to the science which has for its object the reading of character from handwriting.—Finally, Major Otto Wachs, in a somewhat technical paper, considers the future of the West Indies and the Nicaragua Canal.—The June part is largely made up of continuations. Paul Heyse's

'Melusine' is brought to a close; Herr Hanslick's 'Aus meinem Leben' is advanced a stage further; and another instalment is added to 'Ein Staatsman der alten Schule.'—'Debit and Credit in Nature,' contributed by Herr Reinke is a paper in which an abundance of most interesting information is given in popular form, and in which the great law of Production and Consumption, of income and expenditure in the economy of the universe is admirably set forth and illustrated.—In 'Heinrich Heine in Paris,' Jules Legras communicates a number of letters and other writings of the German poets which he has succeeded in unearthing, and which supply important additional material for biographical purposes.

WESTERMANNS MONATS-HEFTE (April, May, June).—In the April number, a rather romantic, but exceedingly well written story by Ilse Frapan—'Weisse Flamme'—is followed by an article devoted to Frau Eleonora Duse, the well-known German actress, whose portrait is given as a frontispiece.—'Am Fusse des Gaurisankar,' by Herr Otto Ehlers, takes the reader to Nepaul, of which both pen and pencil give a most interesting sketch.—In a rather discursive paper, which he entitles, 'Natur und Technik,' Herr Geitel shows how the principles of engineering and construction find their analogy in the human frame.—One of the longest as well as most interesting articles in the May part is devoted to a description of Hamburg. Apart from the text no less than twenty-seven excellent illustrations bring before the reader a vivid picture of the commercial capital of the German empire.—A writer who only signs his initial, 'E,' has found a subject for an article in a pilgrimage to 'Three English Graves,' of which by the way, two are Scotch—Carlyle's and Hume's. The third is that of Bacon.—Max von Pettenkoser, one of the greatest authorities on the science of hygiene and sanitation is introduced to the reader by Herr Hans Buchner, who gives an interesting and appreciative sketch of his life and work.—A portrait of Charlotte von Stein, whose name is so closely connected with that of Goethe, has supplied Herr Schwarz with material for a short paper of no very great interest.—In a paper which he entitles 'Cyprus, the Bible and Homer,' Herr Ohnefalsch-Richter gives an illustrated account of the excavation carried on by him in the island, and of the results as bearing both on the Bible and on Homer.—'Darwinismus und Hygiene,' by Herr Hans Buchner, considers the question raised by Herbert Spencer, whether the care now given to hygiene and sanitation may not prove disadvantageous to the development of the human race by protecting weaker individuals who, in the earlier stages of

civilisation, would inevitably have fallen as victims in the struggle for existence, but may now be able to live and to propagate a weaker race. The writer does not entertain any doubts on the subject, but is convinced that, on the whole, the result must be to raise the whole race and lead to its fuller development.—The name of Fredrich Spielhagen is sufficient guarantee for the excellence of the sketch headed 'Glances at the modern German drama.' The dramatists 'glanced at' are Ernst von Wildenbruch, Ludwig Fulda, Hermann Sudermann, Otto Erich Hartleben, and Gerhart Hauptmann.—A descriptive sketch of Goslar remains to be mentioned. As usual the illustrations are plentiful and good.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 4, 1894).—Dr. Johannes Bachmann, of Berlin, contributes a very scholarly exegetical study on the 'Prophecy of Zephaniah.' This book is confessedly a work that has suffered considerably from the hands of copyists, or redactors, and possibly from both. Its text is frequently so perplexing, owing to grammatical errors and gaps, that we can only account for its present state by supposing numerous blunders on the part of those who have transcribed it or edited it from time to time. Dr. Bachmann, assuming this, suggests several emendations in the text, which at least have the effect of rendering it coherent and intelligible, and which may certainly be commended to the careful consideration of Hebrew scholars.—The second article has now a somewhat mournful interest. Its author, Herr Pfarrer Otto Schmoller, had completed it and forwarded it to the redactors of this magazine, but died before it was printed. It is prefaced by a very kindly note laudatory of the writer, and descriptive of his career and work. The article is entitled 'Die geschichtliche Person Jesu nach den Paulinischen Schriften.' It deals with the theme so much engaging attention at present —the historical Christ or the Jesus of fact and of history, as opposed to the Christ of Christian creeds or of Christian dogmatics. He admits in his article that the Gospels, being of later production than the life lived, may express the results of after reflect.on on the Christ, and not be altogether the biographical record of the life itself. But he thinks we have sources extant to which we can appeal to enable us to verify the evangelic records, or so to illuminate them that in the light they furnish we can see the Christ as He was, and know Him and believe in Him, and find salvation in our faith and loyalty to Him. These sources are to be found in the other New Testament Scriptures, especially the Pauline Epistles. His subject is admirably wrought out, and the article is evi-

dently the result of patient study and the expression of earnest conviction.—Dr. Paul Ziegert, of Breslau, follows with an interesting paper, 'Uber die Ansätze zu einer Mysterienlehre aufgebaut auf den antiken Mysterien bei Philo Judaeus.' Philo frequently, in his writings, addresses himself to the *mustai*, the initiated, as likely to understand him better than the multitude. Had he in view those who were members of the Greek secret societies? or was he merely enriching his vocabulary by borrowing a term from theirs?—Herr Paul Gloatz, of Dabrun, writes in reference to the late Parliament of Religions at Chicago, on 'Die Heranziehung der Religionsgeschichte zur systematischen Theologie.'—Dr. Clemen, of Halle, contributes a short paper under the title of 'Notiz über ein neugefundenes Fragment einer bisher unbekannten Pilatuslegende;' Dr. Buchwald on 'Ein noch ungedruckter Brief Luthers an König Christian III., von Dänemark;' Dr. Burkhardt, of Weimar, on 'Die älteste Kirchen-und-Schulvisitation im östlichen Thüringen' (1527); Herr F. Sander, of Breslau, on 'Friedrich Lücke und F. C. Baur.' The book reviews includes Dr. Paul Feine's 'Der Jakobusbrief nach Lehranschauungen und Entstehungsverhältnissen;' and Dr. E. Nestle's 'Marginalien und Materialien.'

RUSSIA.

VOPROSI PHILOSOPHII I PSYCHOLOGII, No. 21, (Questions Philosophical and Psychological) begins with an article by Count Leo Tolstoi, on the question of 'The Freedom of the Will,' being a fragment from an unpublished MS. If it be enquired why a man acts in a particular manner and not otherwise, the answer is that he acts so because he admits the truth either from present or past enquiry as to what was his duty, and accordingly he acts in the way that he does, either from past conviction or custom. It will be found that a person feels himself free or not free, accordingly as he admits or does not admit the *truth.* If he act contrary to that which he believes to be the truth, then he may either believe that his action is right, or recognising the truth, counts it to be evil, or perverse. Thus a man escaping out of a burning house without striving to extinguish the fire or to save his comrade, remains free to admit the truth as to this, that a man ought at the risk of his life to save the life of another, or not admitting this truth, counts his own conduct a natural necessity, and justifies himself in it. From these opposite actings into which men may be drawn as they are swayed by interest, prejudice, etc., our author comes to the discussion of what really constitutes freedom, or as it is sometimes called, Liberty of the Will. A man is undoubtedly

free if he only admits that the life of man or of humanity is a constant movement from darkness to light, from lower degrees of truth to higher—from truth more mixed with error to truth more free from error! A man would be unfree if he knew nothing of truth, and certainly, he would not be free if he had no conception of freedom. Thus the author shows that a man's relation to freedom depends upon his relation to, and his more or less perfect appropriation of the truth. After these various statements, that each man is free only in so far as he appropriates and walks in harmony with the truth, we have the following illustrations of the same principle. A horse harnessed in a waggon together with others, is free only to go in one direction, that in which he goes in common with his fellow-animals in the waggon. He is not free to go in advance, and if he holds back, the fore parts of the waggon will strike his heels, and he is practically compelled to go in the same direction as the waggon is moving. Limited as he is, he has the freedom to go in the same direction as the waggon. So is it also to some extent with man. The freedom which he really enjoys may seem to be little in comparison with that fantastical freedom to which he would like to attain—nevertheless, the freedom which is open to him is the true freedom, leading towards the true life. The true life, according to the doctrine of Christ, has really and morally only one path free, that which leads man into the region where he is really free! *i.e.*, the region of knowledge and revealed truth—confessing it and unfailingly following it as the horse in the cart, whithersoever it leads him. It is the path of Duty, the way of Truth! The kingdom of God strives with all its power to draw men into the way of truth, and this truth lies not in the observance of external ceremonies, but only in the recognition and confession of the truth on the part of each individual man.—The second article is a continuation of Professor Kozloff's articles, formerly summarised, on French Positivism. Here he takes up Fouillée, Guyau and Tarde. The present article is devoted to Fouillée. Professor Kozloff begins by saying that he takes the liberty to begin his brief characteristics of Fouillée, after the manner of Voltaire, by saying that if in the present time there were no such philosopher as Fouillée, it would be necessary to invent him, in order that a person loving philosophy and interested in its farther development should be made fully to understand that on the ground on which it moved in its development in the 18th and 19th centuries, future successes were no longer possible for it. Contemporary Philosophy was compelled to take up its abode upon new territory and

follow a new path, in its most important and essential relations. The author rates M. Fouillée as deserving by no means a low place among the contemporary thinkers of France. On the contrary, he regards him as occupying a place, which if not higher, is certainly not lower than Taine. In general erudition in the study of philosophy, as well as in special philosophical learning, he occupies a very high place, and may be said to surpass his contemporaries and countrymen in his equipment for the work of the philosopher. He surpasses them too in the energy with which he began and worked out his philosophical mission. But notwithstanding his talent, erudition and careful preparation for the work, and his energy in its execution, the undertaking of Fouillé cannot be counted wholly successful, mainly because he did not separate himself from the old foundations, and was more or less identified with the preceding schools. Prof. Kozloff wishes, however, to take note of the new phases of M. Fouillée's philosophy, first by a reference to his most important works, which he desires to place as landmarks in the development of his philosophical system, and secondly, by a brief analysis of the fundamental conceptions of that system. In keeping with this we have notices of Fouillée's works on the philosophy of Plato and Socrates, so remarkable for their erudition and able exposition. A second stage is marked by the author's work on the philosophy of Kant, 'La Liberté et le Determinisme,' a work which has run into a second edition. A third landmark is his work on 'L'idée moderne du droit en Allemagne en Angleterre et en France,' in which he finds that the Germans have substituted for legal right the idea of power, the English the idea of profit or utility, while the French alone retain the true idea of *legal right*, because in their history it has been the basis or idea of independence and freedom! A specially important signpost in Fouillée's literary history is his work on 'Critique des systemes de morale contemporains,' issued in 1883, which is marked above all by its wealth of knowledge, its acuteness and dialectical power. In this, while largely rejecting contemporary systems, he lays the foundation of his own in the metaphysical theory of *idea-power!* But while rejecting these systems as unsatisfactory, he finds the issue in the combination that in substance the *idea* of self-renunciation lies at the root of all moral systems or unselfishness, or in the loftier form the idea of righteousness or compassion, which are nothing else than the negative and positive forms of *self-renunciation*. These ideas naturally postulate universal happiness! The last word of Fouillée is his conception of the *Idea-power*, or power which

he sought to develop in the *Revue Philosophique* in three successive articles in which he establishes polemically his own views as against Bain, Spencer, Maudsley, Huxley and others; most of all, however, he attacks Spencer, whom he accuses of dualism more especially in his theory of the unknown or unknowable. The article concludes with a critical view of M. Fouillée's philosophy, which does not appear to us to be too favourable. He holds that with all M. Fouillée's pretences to enter upon a new philosophical territory, he nevertheless in point of fact occupies the old ground. He is held not to distinguish between consciousness and knowledge. He shows other inaccuracies, as by a lack of determination between the concepts *matter* and *motion*, etc.—The article which succeeds is by the editor, on the 'Significance of the Idea of Parallelism in Psychology.'—On this follows a continuation of the lengthened discussion begun in the last number of the *Voprosi* on 'Views of Faith in its relation to Knowledge,' by M. Alexander Voedenskie. In opening this second article he begins by restating his different views of Faith, as either of a simple or naive character, or what he calls blind, or of a third character which he regards as the most legitimate. This may be termed a reasoning faith which discriminates and permits the exercise of a critical judgment. —The next article is the fifth, on the 'Signification of Love,' by Wladimir Solovieff, the Russian thinker. Here in a somewhat mystical vein he discourses about the disappointments and illusions of earthly love, and then goes on to show that true love must be a union not of bodies but of spirits, and points moreover to faith, devotion, and the other heavenly elements which may enter into the earthly relation of two human beings, and make it so purified, sanctified and glorified, that the life of love between two on earth may become the beginning of a far wider, loftier and abiding love in the heavenly world.—There aro a number of interesting papers in the special part of the journal, *e.g.*, a paper on the problems of the 'History of Philosophy;' the conclusion of a paper begun in a former number on 'Human Speech;' a third on 'Philosophical Principles in Contemporary Physiology;' a fourth on the 'Psychology of the Abnormally Small Headed;' a fifth on the famous Kazan Mathematician Sobatcheffsky's idea of Space. The usual reviews and bibliography follow.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL—*Russian Opinion*—(March, April, and May).—'The Island of Saghalien,' a written Itinerary, by A. P. Tchaikoff, first bursts upon our sight, and continues its lengthy

view through the March and May numbers.—'A Literator,' a tale by the artist V. V. Vereshchaghin, is brought to a close in the March number.—'Poetry' is represented by D. S. Merezhkofski (3 pieces), L. M. Medveydeff, V. Lebedeff, and K. D. Balmont.—'Death of a Dignitary,' is an outline of the close of the career of an anonymous hero, by R. I. Sementkofski.—'Ancient Traditions in the Government of Olonetz,' is a lecture read at the meeting of the Ethnographical Society on January 1st, 1894, by V. F. Miller.—'Peasant Economy and Emigration,' by K. Kotchoorofski, and 'Dependence on Sentiment for the Progress of Society,' a review of M. Tarde's 'La logique sociale des sentiments,' by L. E. Obolenski, are each complete.—'Result of Peasant Reforms in the Kingdom of Poland' is an unfinished paper commenced in February, by A. A. Korniloff.—'Communal Landholding in Switzerland,' a paper by I. L., and 'Posthumous Works of Taine,' (Les Origines de la France contemporaine. Le Régime moderne. Tome II.) are both completed in the March number.—'Home Review' gives, as usual, a lengthy list of contemporary Russian matters.—Three further instalments of I. I. Ivanyoukoff's 'Outlines of Provincial Life,' add to the interest as well as extent of the series.—'Foreign Review' takes note of Mr. Gladstone's retirement from and Lord Rosebery's accession to, the Premiership; of the Russo-Germanic treaty of commerce; of the Austrian troubles in Bohemia; of Italian and French questions; of the life and death of Kossuth; of Japanese progress; of the semi-revolutionary condition of Serbia; and of the attempt on the life of Signor Crispi.—'Scientific Notes' consists of two papers on 'Organic Life,' by P. P. Kashchenko, and on 'Meteorology,' by A. V. Klossofski.—'Contemporary Art' takes note, as usual, of Moscow theatrical doings.—The 'Bibliographic Division' contains notices of 142 works, a volume in itself, of 166 closely printed pages.—A further instalment of the correspondence between 'Alexander Ivanovich Hertzen and Natalie Alexandrovna Zakharin' is given.—'Refutation of Mr. Tchaikoff's Article' in the December number of last year, which article has been objected to by residents in the island of Saghalien. The head of the typographical department of the Censorship has required the present editor to publish the terms of the complaint and its rectification, which latter includes the agreement entered into by employers with their employees, Asiatic and other.—'Artisan-Education,' which we dignify by the title, Technical Education, is a timely paper by V. O. Iordan.—'Romances and Tales of Eliza Ozheshkoff,' is an appreciative summary by M. K. Tsebrikoff.—'Observations on Literature,' are notices of criticisms on contemporary writers.—'Labour in Manufactories

and Professions' (or Trades), an essay by K. I. Toomskoi, and one by I. I. Inanoff, entitled 'Reform of the Social Relation by the French Drama of the Eighteenth Century,' are both given complete.—'Agriculture by the Civilized Classes' is a social study by A. A. Isahyeff.—'Morals of Different Nations,' by I. N. K., is a question which occupies many minds at the present moment.—'Legislative Regulations on the position of workers in gold professions,' (or trades), by V. I. Somefski, and an essay on the literary characteristics of A. P. Tchaikoff, The Refuted, by V. A. Goltseff, are very interesting reading.—'Antoine Laurent Lavoisier,' by I. A. Kablookoff, is a slight record of the life and labours of that great reformer of chemical nomenclature.—Another chapter is furnished of P. N. Milyoukoff's treatise, entitled 'Chief Current of Russian Historical Thought in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.'—The numbers are as usual well supplied with fiction, original and translated.

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (April 15th).—L. Chiala contributes a paper on Kossuth and Cavour in 1860-61, in order to complete, according to a wish expressed by Kossuth himself, the narration commenced in Chiala's 'Letters of Camillo Cavour.'—A. Romanelli writes on the 'Public Debt and the Taxes.'—A. Medin collects all notices of the fall and death of Napoleon I. in contemporary poetry.—(May 15th—C. Cantu publishes and annotates some letters by the poet Grossi.—V. endeavours to throw light on the confused political question of the Italian possessions in Africa; he advocates an unarmed colonization of Europeans on a large scale, and closes his paper in the subsequent number.—D. Guoli relates the story of Saturno Gerone, a Spaniard from Barcelona, who went to Rome during the pontificate of Sixtus IV., in 1473, became a Roman citizen and obtained the office of apostolic writer, leaving at his death all his fortune to the Hospital of the Saviour in the Lateran.—Neera commences in this number and ends in the next a tale called 'The Solitary Soul,' which is curiously dedicated to 'Sir Lawrence Dudley, Marquess of Middleforth, wherever he may be.' The authoress tells how, when her drama 'The Abbess of Monreal' suffered a fiasco, she received a letter signed the Marquess of Middleforth, and guessed that it must have been written by a person whom she had met in Villa Borghese, Rome. She describes the change caused in her mind by this meeting.—The close of the paper on 'Napoleon I. in contemporaneous poetry,' and an article on the national debt close the number.—(June 1st.)—P. Lioy

writes a pleasant article on the open country, describing animals, birds and vegetation.—P. Bertolini contributes a lengthy political article on Agrarian reform.—Neera sends a tale on monastic life.—G. Tesorone describes the antiquated town of Gubbio, and the Doria Pamphyle palace, in their beauty and decay, against which he remonstrates.—O. Marucchi gives a full account of the latest discoveries in the Roman catacombs.—G. A. Cesareo's chapters on the origin of 'Pasquin' are brought to a close.—(June 15th.)—T. Casini writes on the Jacobin principles of the poet Monti, which have not been noticed by his biographers.—G. Boglietti contributes a long article on 'The Anarchic Utopia,' pointing out the serious peril which its realization would entail on society.—Jessie White Mario begins a paper on the agricultural products of Sicily.—F. Porena writes an interesting account of the geographical expeditions of the ancient Romans, his facts being derived from Latin and German works.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (May 1st).—P. E. Castagnoli ends his paper on 'Modern Roman Poetry' by asking what effect the Roman school will have on Italian literature, a question difficult to answer, for almost all the poets he speaks of are unknown or forgotten, and only Cossa has been remembered and appreciated. But the writer believes that after the close of the present period, these earlier poets will be remembered, and leave a trace of genius on the whole of Italian literature.—Follow some aphorisms by A. Rossi; a paper on agrarian affairs, the close of the story of 'Caterina Sporza,' and a lecture delivered by Professor Ricci on 'Heine's Domestic Life.' The number closes with an article by Signor Eufrasio on the Biblical question and the encyclical letter entitled 'Providentissimus Deus.'—E. Fani reviews E. Backhouse and Ch. Taylor's book on *The Witnesses to Christ*, calling it 'one of the books so often written in England in which prejudice takes the place of thoughtful criticism.' The critic points out several passages that need confirmation, and the general carelessness of the authors. 'A conscientious writer,' he says, 'who is sensible of the importance of his work, ought to reflect before offering opinions that can only raise doubts as to his competence in the field of his speculations.'—(May 16th).—G. Grabinski writes in praise of two books on Italy written by René Bazin, who, he says, shows a great affection for Italy, and, though he sometimes makes mistakes, is sincere in what he relates. The book on Sicily, 'Sicile,' he says, is a jewel, and intensely interesting just now. The other book, 'Les Italiens d'aujourdhin,' is very good in all that relates to North

Italy, void of the errors so common to French authors on Italy. In the part relating to South Italy, the author has very well understood the important question of the re-sanitation of Naples, and points out the mistakes made in the rush of speculation.—Follows a lecture delivered in Genoa by C. Pozzini on the national budget and national wealth.—We have the close of the paper on Heine, and of G. Santarelle's account of Chicago.—E. Rossi describes the interest taken by the English clergy in labour questions, referring specially to the Bishop of Manchester's lecture on the Living Wage. He praises the action of the English clergy, and regrets that their example is not imitated in Italy.—(June 1st).—After a paper by P. Manassei on 'Agrarian Credit,' and another on 'Alexander Battenberg,' we have here an article (delayed in its publication) by G. Hamilton Cavalette on Mr. Gladstone's late Ministry, pointing out its difficulties. Mr. Cavaletti speaks of Mr. Gladstone as the greatest man of his country; a profoundly religious man; a greater orator than writer; but condemns his policy.—A. de Pesaro writes on the Joan d'Arc festivals in France; G. Garofolini on administrative reform, and E. A. Toperti on the foreign policy of Italy.—(June 15th).—The chief papers in this number are a short story by F. Salvatori, entitled 'The Iconoclast,' 'Professor Charcot and his works' by Dr. Massalongo; a lecture on the name of 'Ciulo d'Alcanio,' by V. di Giovanni; a discussion about decentralization by R. Ricci; a full account of the bi-metallist congress in London, by A. Rossi; and some notes from a history of the Popes, by D. N. Guarini.

LA RASSEGNA (3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.)—'Financial Politics.'—'The Re-organization of Commercial Representation.'—'Agrarian Contracts.'—'Corn at Two Francs the Quintal.'—'Rural Building.'—'The Arctic Expedition.'—'The Parliamentary Syndicate.'—'Parliamentary Acts.'—'Statistics.'—'Reviews.'—'Financial Politics.'—'The roads in the province of Teramo.'—'Agrarian Syndicates.'—'The new Senators.'—'The exhibition of fruit and vegetables in England.'—'Electricity in mineral waters and its physical and therapeutical effects.'—'The tax on military exemptions.'—'Popular and Parliamentary initiatives in Switzerland.'—'Maritime Tariffs.'

IL GIORNALE STORICO DI LETTERATURA ITALIANO (No. 1 and 2, 1894) Contains 'Notes on the Life and Writings of Costanza Varano-Sforza (1426-1447),' by B. Feliciangeli; and 'Giambattista Andreina and the company of the Faithful,' by E. Bevilacqua.—The number ends with varieties and reviews.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO (No. 1, 1894).—N. Feste edits the four Greek letters written by Frederick II., explaining that the inexactitude of the text published by G. Wolff, Berlin, 1855, justifies his action.—A learned and interesting article is one by G. E. Saltini, on 'Celion Malaspini,' the last Italian novelist of the sixteenth century; to which are added many letters by that author.—In the portion of the review, called 'Archives and Libraries,' G. Sforza tells us about Enreco, Bishop of Luni, and the Pelavicino codex of the Sarzana archives; A. Genzzetti describes the Gheradi parchment deposited in the Florence archives.

LA NUOVA RASSEGNA (April 1st, 8th, 15th, and 22nd)—Contain 'The military crisis.'—'An erudite poet.'—'Economical pessimism.'—'The legend of Issa.'—'Romance of State: The City of the Sun.'—'Casanovian figures: The Strasburgess.'—'Prince Henry of Portugal and the Italian navigators in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.'—'Reviews.'—'The pain of death for Anarchists.'—'The dialogue between Camillo and Valerio attributed to Tasso.'—'Spedaheri and Mamiani.'—'Cecillia Metella.'—'The legislative function.'—'Our house.'—'The last romances of Edward Rod.'—'Streets, noises, and passengers of old Rome.'—'The English pre-Raffaelites.'—'Archæological walks.'—'Military polemics.'—'The school of character.'—'Reviews.'—'Anarchy.'—'Jacobin memories.'—'Labour organisation and the increase of wages.'—'Instruction and revolution.'—'Morphology and the Gulf of Naples.'—'The Word of a Profane.'—'A precursor of H. George.'—'Evangelium secundum Matthaeum.'—'The poet Eronda.'—(May 6th, 13th, 20th.)—'American Protectionism.'—'Iron-head.'—'Theocritic studies.'—'General Baillieucourt's reminiscences of Italy.'—'For a new translation of the Georgics.'—'History and Geography in schools.'—'The eight hours labour question.'—'The principle of authority in social questions.'—'The Society of Italian Studies in France.'—'Philosophy of machines.'—'Ugo Foscolo, a Positivist.'—'Will the future Pope be an Italian?'—'Medical and colonial geography.'—'Castel Sant' Angelo.'—'Under the earth.'—'Villa Medici.'—'Military polemics.'—'The school of character.'—'University Congresses.

REVIEW OF POPULAR ITALIAN TRADITIONS (April).—'The legend and fable of Cuneo.'—'The Madonna of Modena.'—'The Madonna of the Sweet Milk.'—'Legend of Terranova, Sicily.' 'The day of the *Merla*.'—'Novellettes.'—'Popular Songs.'—'Customs and funeral beliefs in Bologna.'—'Fire in the popular Calabrese belief.'—'Sardinian conjuring against conflagrations, headaches, and waterspouts.'—'Customs.'—'Cretinopoli.'—'Psychology of popular dialects.'—'Miscellanies.'

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE (No. 1, 1894).—With the exception of one article, the whole contents of this number are continuations of previous papers. The one exception is a description by B. Croce of the old Spanish romance entitled 'The Question of Love,' which gives an account of the manners and customs, the festivals, tournaments, and combats that took place in Naples in the time of the Spanish viceroys, in the years 1508-1512. In this romance figure all the nobility of the period, under feigned names, which, however, all begin with the initial letter of the real one. The romance might as well be entitled 'Love, Flirtation, and Arms,' and is of great interest to a student of Neapolitan history.

LA REFORMA SOCIALE (March, 1894; Nos. 1 and 2). Under this new name the former *Rassegna di Scienze Sociale e Politiche*, now appears. The numbers noted contain 'Social Science and Social Reform,' by Professor Loria.—'Agrarian Reform in Austria,' by Professor Schullern-Schallenhofer of Vienna.—'The Theory and Method of Political Economy,' by Professor Schmoller, of Berlin.—'The Wages of Sweat,' by Beatrice Potter (translated and published in Italian previous to its appearance in the magazine of the Fabian Society).—'Peasants and *gabelloth* in Sicily,' by G. Salvioli.—'The Teaching of Social and Political Science,' by R. Worms.—'Practical Assistance in Germany,' by C. de Queker of Brussels.—'The Rise in the Salt Tax,' by Professor Celli of Rome.—'The Case of Sicily,' by Dr. Colajanni, Sicilian Deputy.—'The Increase of the Corn Tax,' by Professor Bertolini of Bari.—'Postal Banks,' by the same.—'The Conversion of French Rents,' by F. Lanza.—April 10 and 25, and May 10 contain 'The Influence of Trade Unions in Social and Industrial Life in England,' by George Howell,—of which the editor says that it is a luminous proof of the theory that the modern operative movement must act not only on the phenomena of wealth, but also on the moral and political tendencies of society.—'The Spirit of Conquest and its Results,' by J. Novicow.—'Theory and Methods of Political Economy,' by Professor Schmoller.—'Military Expenditure and Disarmament,' by F. Lanza.—'The Agrarian Party and its Social Significance,' by Francis Netti.—'The Deduction of Taxes from Incomes,' by Dr. di Marzo.—'Christian Socialism and Co-operation in England,' by M. Kaufmann.—'The Organization of Hamburg,' by E. Lepetit.—'Agrarian Communism and the Tribes of the Caucasus,' by Professor Kovalevsky.—'Military Taxes,' by X.—'The First of May,' by F. Netti.—'Rents of Houses as an Index to Income,'

by Professor della Volta.—'The Custom-House Controversy,' by F. Lanza.—'Forrestal Reform in Italy,' by Max Wirth.—'Free Trade and Protection,' by A. Naquet.—'The Pretended Natural Rights of Man,' by D. S. Ritchie.—'The Origin of the Saint Simon Doctrine,' by Professor Weill. —'The Sulphur Industry in Sicily,' by Dr. Colajanni.—'The Association for Economical Freedom,' by F. Nitti.—'Eight Hours Work in Europe,' by Professor Salvioli.—'Intellectual Protectionism,' by F. Nitti.—'On the Payment of Salaries in Italy,' by Professor Graziani.—'The New Method of Insurance,' by F. Flora.—'Economy in the War Budgets,' by P. S. Casaretto.—Reviews and chronicles.—(May 25, June 10).—'The Politics of Labour,' by Sir C. W. Dilke.—'The Economical and Industrial Importance of Co-operation,' by Dr. Crüger.—'Labour Legislation in Spain,' by Professor Hartado.—'The Values of Monopoly,' by A. Graziani.—'The Last English Budget,' by Professor Bastable.—'Professions and Classes,' by C. F. Ferraris.—'Social Science in France,' by Professor Haurion.—'Sulphur Mines in Sicily,' by Dr. Colajanni.—'The Character of Modern Italians,' by Professor Bianchi.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 2, 1894).—A series of articles appeared in this *Revue* by M. L. Horst, extending from 1887 to last year, under the title, 'Etude sur le Deutéronome.' They were for the most part directed against the position taken up by the Graf-Wellhausen school of criticism as to the *Book of the Law* found by Hilkiah, the priest, in the Temple, being identical with Deuteronomy or the legal section thereof, Deut. xii.-xxvi. Their position as regards the substantial identity of Deuteronomy and Hilkiah's *Book of the Law*, may be said to be vital to their whole system. If it fails them, their whole edifice falls to pieces, and would require to be abandoned. It was only to be expected therefore that very soon after M. Horst's articles were concluded they would be critically examined in the pages of this same *Revue* by some competent representative of the school, whose central position had been assailed. M. C. Piepenbring here adventures this task. He subjects M. Horst's 'Etude' to a detailed and minute examination, and seeks to repel his attacks on their central position, and to show that it has not been shaken by them. M. Piepenbring admits that that position is vital to the whole system, which is confessedly built upon it. M. Horst endeavoured to show that much of what now forms the legal section of Deuteronomy was of later origin than the reign of Josiah—is

in fact of exilic date, and could not therefore have formed any part of the book that so alarmed and distressed the pious king. These parts are, of course, the parts selected for re-examination by M. Piepenbring, and he furnishes substantial reasons for still regarding them as of the date assigned them by his school, and as forming integral parts of the original *Book of the Law*. He examines in return M. Horst's theory of the origin and composition of Deuteronomy, and seeks to prove its inadequacy as a solvent of the historical and critical problems involved. In a final section he reviews M. Horst's treatment of the relations of Jeremiah to the Reform, and takes occasion at the same time to criticise and refute M. Renan's opinions on this point. The latter assigned a prominent *rôle* to that prophet in the measures taken by Josiah, nay, affirmed that *derrière tous les actes du roi, était Jérémie.* He found the explanation of the fact that Jeremiah's name never once occurs in connection with the narrative of the discovery of the book, or the measures that followed it, in the assumption that Jeremiah was the author of the code, or most of it. M. Horst, on the other hand, sees in the fact of that silence, and still more in the fact that nowhere does Jeremiah himself take any direct notice in his prophecies of the discovery of the book, or of the measures said to have been taken by Josiah after it, a proof, if not of the unhistorical character of the narrative in 2 Kings, xxii., then of its exaggeration of the extent and success of the reform. M. Piepenbring regards the solution of the first of these difficulties to lie in this, that Jeremiah had been too short a time engaged in the prophetic office to have made his mark, so to speak, when Josiah began his reformatory measures, and was therefore not consulted by the king, and had no hand in the carrying out of the measures adopted. The second point is explained in this way. The chief function of the prophetic office then was to denounce idolatry and the religious syncretism that had hitherto prevailed. Jeremiah's silence is explicable on the supposition that Josiah's reform had been so successful that the evils which roused the prophet's ire and inspired his denunciations, had come to an end, and there was therefore no occasion now for the latter.—M. G. Raynaud, in a short paper on the three principal deities of Mexico, Quetzalcohuatl, Tezcatlipoca, and Huitzilopochtli, favours the opinion that they were originally the supreme deities of three different tribes or races, and that the differences between them are reflections of the temperaments and characteristics of the races respectively. The first of them were immigrants from the south, who were conquered afterwards by a race from the

north, and that again by another tribe, ruder and crueller still. Quetzalcohuatl was the deity of the first arrivals, the Toltecs; then came the Chichimecs with their god Tezcatlipoca, and finally the Aztecs with their god Huitzilopochtli. The representations of each of these deities are then described, and the import of each sought to be defined.—Under the title, 'Contes bouddhiques,' MM. G. de Blonay and L. de la Vallée Poussin give a translation of the 'Legend of Vidudabha,' from the *Dhammapada*. Among the books reviewed we notice Mr. C. G. Montefiore's Hibbert Lectures on 'The Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews.' M. Piepenbring, the reviewer, speaks of the work in the terms of warmest praise.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 2, 1894.)—M. le Comte de Charencey commences in this number an interesting article on 'Les déformations crâniennes'—the full title of the article is 'Les déformations crâniennes et le Concile de Lima,' but le Concile de Lima receives very scanty notice. The notice is confined to the quotation of a brief canon of the Council in question on the subject of artificially manipulated skulls. The burden of the article is an account of the custom as it was in existence among the tribes practising it in the New World. M. de Charencey describes several of the forms affected by the different tribes or races, and the means used to give the head of the child the peculiar shape which was in favour with them. He discusses also the moot questions as to why these peculiar shapes had become the favourite shapes with this or that tribe, and what were the effects of these cranial malformations on the intellectual and moral qualities of those subjected to these artificially produced forms.—M. l'Abbè de Moor contributes a paper on 'La pseudo-critique biblique moderne.' He endeavours to show how baseless and unscientific the methods of the so-called Historical School of Biblical Criticism are, and so to protect those of the Catholic Faith especially from being seduced by the writings of that school from their orthodox beliefs. The learned Abbé seems to distrust the methods of the Historical School of Criticism, and speaks in the strongest terms against the adherents of it. Their endeavour to solve the problems which their study of the Biblical books suggest to them are, in the eyes of this writer, *véni-meuses attaques contre de fondement même du Christianisme*, and the best he has to say of them is that they are *frauduleuses manœuvres*. Dr. Bernhard Stade (who by the way is described as the late or deceased Dr. Bernhard Stade, a curious slip), is selected by M. de Moor as an exemplar of the school in ques-

tion, and his standpoint and aim in his History of Israel are set forth and then passed under review, a specimen or two of his positions being specially criticised.—The 'Chronique' here, as always, is extremely comprehensive and valuable. In it the recent 'Parliament of Religions' at Chicago receives considerable attention, as illustrating the influence and growing importance of the Science of Religions in the civilised world. M. Bonet Maury's report of the proceedings of the 'Parliament' is largely quoted from, and the writer's acquaintance with the proceedings is evidently dependent on that report. It appeared in the *Journal des Débats* and in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.* But the Chronique keeps the readers of the *Revue en rapport* with religious movements and literature in both the Old World and in the New, and if most space is given to Catholic movements and literature, as is natural in a Catholic periodical, yet the field surveyed is a wide one, and the notices both of events and books are extremely helpful to all interested in the religious history of the past and the present.—(No. 3, 1894.)—M. le Comte de Charencey continues his paper on 'Les déformations crâniennes,' and here selects instances of the same practice in the Old World as he had described as having been found among the aboriginal tribes in the New. Most of the instances described here are those of the northern and eastern provinces of Asia, but the most interesting part of M. de Charencey's paper (for the facts are familiar enough to most readers) is that devoted to showing racial connection, through migration, of the eastern Asiatic races with those found by the discoverers of America peopling the western shores of that Continent and extending down to Mexico and Peru.—M. l'Abbé Peisson, the editor of the *Revue,* under the title 'La Science des Religions,' discusses the question, How is Religion to be accounted for? He shows, in the first place, that it is a factor in the life of every normally constituted human being, and is not only the most universal but the most tenacious factor in it. Nowhere yet has man been able to shake himself free from its spell or its control. Denied in this form it reappears in him in some other. Whence then has it entered into the constitution of man? Has it come from without, or has it been evolved from within by man's own unaided intellectual powers? M. Peisson examines the answers given by some of the more authoritative representatives of the so-called Historical School, and endeavours to show how insufficient these answers are. He regards the Biblical solution as the only one that satisfies all the facts of experience. Religion as an inner factor and as an external institution is directly

from God, and originated in a primitive revelation. The various forms it has assumed since, other than the Jewish and the Catholic Christian, are to be regarded as so many degenerations of the primitive faith and cult. The article is not finished in this number.—M. l'Abbé Dr. Bourdais gives a short article on 'La Banqueroute du Concordisme.' It is a criticism of a paper which appeared in the *Revue Biblique* on the 'Cosmogenie Mosaic,' or rather of a section of it, which deals with the efforts so frequently made to prove Genesis in harmony with Science.

REVUE CELTIQUE (April, 1894.)—The first place is given to an article by M Ernault, in which he discusses the significance of a Breton phrase occurring in an interesting narrative of a journey made into Lower Brittany in 1543 by Ambroise Paré.—After this comes a Confession of Sins attributed to St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, found in the MS. Angers 14, of about the ninth or tenth century, in which it is followed by a another written by Alcuin for Charlemagne. The MS. contains a Psalter and invocations of the Saints Boniface, Columban and Gall, as well as of those of the middle and north of France. Apparently it was written at Tours. The contribution is by M. S. Berger.—The editor has apparently concluded his article on the Celts in Spain, for in this number we have as the next piece three indices to them; the two first being of the names of ancient and modern places, and the third giving the personal names occurring in the articles, and explained.—In 'Nennius Retractatus' M. Duchesne gives the text of the Historia of Nennius from the Chartres MS. and examines it with special reference to Zimmer's *Nennius Vindicatus.*—An interesting article follows, in which M. Reinach shows that Spain and its silver mines were known to the Greeks in the time of Homer, and to Homer himself.—We have the usual 'Melanges,' 'Bibliographie,' and 'Chronique,' which, as usual, is full of information, as is also the 'Periodiques.'

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (May, June).—The first of these numbers opens with an extract from the History of the Princes of the House of Condé, at which the Duc d'Aumale has long been working, and of which, indeed, several volumes have already been given to the public. The present instalment is devoted to a very interesting account of the battle of Seneff, which was fought in August, 1674, and resulted in a signal victory for Condé.—In a very solid and very instructive scientific paper, M. P. Duhem discusses the various theories of light which have been put forward from the time of Descartes to the present day.—In a very brilliant literary article, M. Emile Faguet treats of Alexandrianism,

and shows that its characteristics are not exclusively those of the period and the country which the term naturally recalls, but are to be found in all literatures, whenever a special study of old models exercise its influence. This leading idea is admirably and suggestively worked out in a study to which the writer's admirable style imparts an additional charm.—'Le mouvement économique' marks a new departure. It inaugurates a series of articles which it is intended to publish quarterly, and in which the special economical questions and problems of the day are to be considered.—M. Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé's 'Catherine Sforza' is only a review, but it is the review of a work which for various reasons—its size amongst others—is not likely to fall into the hands of many readers outside Italy—Count Pasolini's biography of Caterina Sforza. In comparatively few pages, the reviewer succeeds in giving not only an excellent summary of the three bulky volumes, but also an admirable sketch of the state of Italy during the last quarter of the fifteenth century.—In the mid-monthly number, the Duc d'Aumale again appears, bringing, this time, an account of Condé's last campaign, in 1675.—The various political questions connected with equatorial Africa are discussed with remarkable calmness and fairness by M. Henri Dehérain. The tone of his article may be gathered from his concluding words: 'Let us set aside these rivalries. Whoever they may be, the Europeans who will occupy the equatorial province will bring back civilisation to it. The work of Baker, of Gordon, and of Emin, will only have been interrupted. They will not have worked and suffered in vain; their efforts for the abolition of the slave trade will not have been fruitless. Whatever flag may wave over Wadelay, the long caravan of wretched beings marching slowly towards the coast, and strewing the path with corpses, will be no more than a memory.'—In a very remarkable and intensely interesting article, the writer who signs 'Arvède Barine,' gives a sketch of Sophie Kovalevsky, and shows how very little, in her case, the total emancipation dreamt of by some women conduced to happiness.—In the first of the two June numbers, M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu continues his deeply-thought and eloquently written article 'Le règne de l'Argent.'—It is followed by a paper in which M. Charles Benoist examines, not in a very friendly sense, the Italian view of the Triple Alliance set forth in a recent publication by Signor Luigi Chiala. —An account of the Chicago Exhibition, with special reference to American science, is contributed by M. Jules Violle; whilst M. George Lafenestre gives a first notice of this year's *salon*.—As a supplement to the articles on Cardinal Richelieu, which have appeared in former numbers, M. Hanotaux publishes in the number

for the 15th of June, a study of Marie de Médicis.—An article of considerable interest in view of the spread of Socialism is that which M. Emile Faguet devotes to Saint-Simon, who may be looked upon as its first modern apostle.—It may suffice to indicate by their titles, the remaining articles in this number. They are 'La Littérature Wagnerienne en Allemagne,' by M. Jean Thorel; 'Les Prix et le Loyer des Maisons en France,' by the Vicomte d'Avenel, and 'La France et l'Allemagne en Afrique,' by Dr. Rouire.

REVUE DES ETUDES JUIVES (No. 1, 1894.)—A third instalment of the late M. Loeb's masterly essay on the history and characteristics of the Jewish people occupies the first place in this number. It bears, it will be remembered, the somewhat comprehensive title 'Réflexions sur les Juifs.' This section treats first of the repute which the Jews have earned of being a race of born traders and bankers. Nothing, he proves, is further from the truth. The commercial spirit has been generated and fostered in them by the force of external circumstances. The genius of the Jewish race is agricultural, not commercial. Their ancestors and their typical leaders through all the period of their possession of Palestine were shepherds, and then husbandmen and artisans. The attempts made to establish commercial relations with foreign nations during the reigns of Solomon and one or two of the other kings proved altogether abortive. The great merchants were and continued to be the Phœnicians. It was only when the Jews lost their independence and were driven or forced into exile, where their favourite occupations were impossible, that they turned themselves to traffic and commerce, and began to exhibit skill as negotiators and merchants. In their colonies where agriculture was possible, as in Assyria and elsewhere, the Jews remained faithful to it, and all the Babylonian rabbis are known to have been either farmers or tradesmen. It was only in Alexandria that the Jews distinguished themselves as merchants. The colony in Rome also, but solely under the force of circumstances, devoted themselves to this mode of earning their means of living. Jews being resident in every country, they were able to carry on commercial transactions everywhere, and were the means of establishing international relations of all kinds. When the avenues of commerce were closed against them by the Christian powers, they were driven to banking and money lending. Here too they proved themselves the pioneers of civilization and the benefactors of mankind. M. Loeb not only regards the accusation of usury as a calumny when applied to the Jewish money lenders as a

whole, but shows that the accusation was and is, save in a few exceptional cases, altogether baseless. Where in the Middle Ages the rates of interest charged were high, it was caused almost without exception by the exceptional laws passed against the Jews, and the disabilities imposed upon them by Christian rulers for the purpose of augmenting their own revenues. The Jews in most instances were simply the tools of Christian need or avarice. But in banking, as in commerce, M. Loeb shows that the Jews have been everywhere the creators and teachers of those methods of international exchange that have done so much to knit the world in unity and ameliorate the social and individual hardships of human life. The evidence he produces in this section of his essay as to the love of Jews for agricultural pursuits and as to the numbers of them engaged in the various branches of industry is very striking and conclusive.—Dr. Julius Oppert furnishes a series of brief papers on what he styles 'Problèmes Bibliques.' They are dedicated to M. Joseph Derenbourg, as an offering of homage and respectful gratitude that ought by rights to have been presented to him by a grateful pupil on the occasion of the celebration of his eightieth birth-day festival. They are divided into two groups, The first group deals with problems suggested by the Books of Esther and Judith, and the second with the exact date of the destruction of the first Temple of Jerusalem. In the first group the identity of the Ahasuerus of Esther, Ezra, and Daniel, with the Xerxes of Greek history, the historical character of the Book of Esther and the unhistorical character of the Book of Judith, and the mixed character of the Book of Daniel are discussed; while in the second group we have a series of considerations and calculations presented to us, based on the data furnished by the cuneiform tablets recovered from the Assyrian ruins which give us the years, and sometimes even the very days on which events mentioned in the Bible occurred. Dr. Oppert shows how *inter alia* the date of the destruction of the first temple can thus be precisely determined, as also the date of that of Herod's Temple by Titus. The former he fixes as having taken place on August 27th, according to the Julian, August 21st, according to the Gregorian reckoning, of the year 587 B.C., and the latter as having occurred on August 5th, 70 A.D. —M. Adolphe Buchler gives a detailed account of the intrigues (and the motives that induced them) of Rabbi Nathan and Rabbi Meir against the Patriarch Simon ben Gamaliel, which will be chiefly interesting to non-Jewish readers as illustrations of the petty feelings that even in religious orders sometimes dictate and guide religious policy and action.—Dr. J. Goldziher

writes on 'Usages Juifs d'aprés la littérature religieuse des Musulmans,' showing how anxious the prophet and some of his followers have been, while profiting by and imitating the teaching and example of Jews as to religious dogma and religious rites, to modify them when adopted so as to distinguish Moslems from Jews. The other articles in this number are, 'Recherches sur le Sepher Yeçira,' by M. A. Epstein; 'Notes sur l'histoire des Juifs d'Espagne,' by M. Kayserling; and 'Documents inédits sur les Juifs de Montpellier au moyen âge,' by M. S. Kahn.—Under 'Acts et Conferences,' in addition to the President's address at the annual meeting of the *Société des Etudes Juives*, and M. Verne's critical summary of the publications of the *Société* during 1893, we have a lecture on Spinoza by M. René Worms, which was delivered before the *Société* on January 27th of this year.

REVUE SÉMITIQUE D'EPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE (No. 2, 1884.)—M. J. Halévy's series of 'Recherches Bibliques' is continued, and has, as usual, the first place here. We have first the concluding part of his critical study of Psalm vii. In this section he discusses the questions as to the date and authorship of the psalm. From the similarity it bears to the utterances, especially in the use of certain terms, of Jeremiah, and the similarity of sentiment to his with regard to those from whose oppression both the prophet and the psalmist suffer, M. Halévy regards the psalm as having been penned by some disciple and sympathetic friend of the suffering prophet during the siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, who here identified the sufferings of his master with those of the entire people. Next follows a short study of Psalm lxxiv., 5. This verse has perplexed interpreters sadly, and in its present state in the Massoretic text is devoid of any clear sense. M. H. proposes to substitute for the first word in the verse the 3rd pers. sing., mas. fut. *hiphel of ruah* = 'to make a loud noise,' and he translates it, 'Ils ont rugi comme (les bûcherons) qui soulèvent la hache contre un fourré d' arbres.' It may be mentioned, however, that in this reading M. H. has been anticipated by M. Ledrain, who translates the verse ('La Bible,' Tom. viii., p. p. 184) 'Ils font du bruit comme quand la hache frappe dans les arbres entrelacés.'—A third study is devoted to determining the nationality and home of the 'Javan' or 'Yawan' of the Bible. That Greeks are denoted by the term is admitted; but what Greeks and where resident? M. H. takes first, Ezekiel, xxvii., 19, and gives good reasons for regarding 'Vedun' as a mistake for 'Rodan'; and 'Rodan and Javan' as indicating the Greeks inhabiting the islands of Rhodes and Cyprus. As

to the other passages where Javan occurs, in Daniel it refers to the Macedonians, but in Joel and Zechariah the reference is subject of dispute. Both Stade and Wellhausen locate the 'Javan' of these writers in Northern Syria; but M. Halévy here defends the idea that both writers (M. H. regards Zechariah as an echo of Joel) have in view Greeks not resident in Syria, but at a considerable distance from Palestine—island Greeks such as at Cyprus or Rhodes.—M. Halévy continues here too his transcription and translation of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets—those here given, as those in the last number, being from the tablets in possession of the British Museum.—M. Clement Huart also continues his paper 'Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure.'—M. Alfred Boisser furnishes several cuneiform texts containing lists of medicinal plants.—M. S. Karppe gives a series of notes, under the title of 'Melanges de critique biblique et d'Assyriologie,' on some interesting problems in which Assyrian inscriptions throw considerable light on, or at least enable us to see more clearly than formerly, the result of Israel's contact with Babylonian and Assyrian religious views and customs in the years prior to and during the captivity.—M. Peruchon continues his 'Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie.—M. J. Halévy prints a paper which he communicated first to the *Société Asiatique* on Nov. 10th, on Hebrew epigraphy, also 'Notes Cappadociennes'; 'L'Inscription minéenne d' Egypte;' 'Notes Géographiques'; 'Balthasar et Darius le Mede,' and the 'Bibliographie.'

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (April, June). M. Numa Droz opens the quarter with an article, 'Les Patriotes Neufchâtelois en 1793,' in which he shows with what results the principles of the French Revolution spread through the little country of Neuchâtel, which in those days was under the suzerainty of Prussia, and how a small revolution was attempted for the purpose of establishing a purely democratic and independent government.—In 'l'Irrigation Ancienne dans l'Asie centrale,' M. Henri Moser shows how, many centuries ago, the western part of Asia was traversed in every direction by canals, serving chiefly for the transport of produce, and for the irrigation of the soil, and he urges the necessity of restoring the prosperity of former days by the extension and the improvement of the system of irrigation.—Helen Keller is again the subject of an article, which this time takes the shape of a translation of her autobiography.—The condition of Rippoldsau forty years ago may not be a matter of very general interest, but the article

which M. Frossard devotes to a description is very pleasant reading, and contains a great deal of quaint information concerning that special corner of the Black Forest.—The paper having for its title 'Températures d'autrefois,' is founded on the private diary of one Nicolas Bergier, who, amongst other items, entered with scrupulous care and accuracy the meteorological conditions of each year from 1712 to 1731. This supplies valuable material towards the solution of the question whether there really has been a material change in the temperature of the various seasons, as is sometimes asserted. So far as it goes, Bergier's testimony does not favour this view.—The first article in the June number discusses the present condition of Italy, and its causes. The deficit of some 177 millions in the budget is attributed to the excessive expense entailed by the army and navy, and also to the malversations of politicians and their friends. The article is, on the whole, of a distinctly pessimistic tone.—The three remaining contributions are distinctly interesting for English readers, including in the term all that read English, whether on this side of the Atlantic or the other. The first is a literary essay—not yet concluded, however—on Dante Gabriel Rossetti, of whose sonnets there are some excellent translations. The next is explained by its title, 'What I saw in the New World.' It has the merit, not only of being brightly and pleasantly written, but also of deviating from the beaten track of ordinary tourists. Finally, 'Catherine Booth,' is not only a biographical sketch, but also a historical account of the Salvation Army movement.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA—*Revista de España* (April, 1894.)—'The Secret of a Ministerial Council,' amongst 'Contemporary Annals,' gives an insight into the motives and conduct of Prim when the Duke of Genoa was called to the Spanish throne, on which he sat so uncomfortably and shortly.—Echegaray has a third and most informing article on 'Explosives,' to which he promises a continuation.—The occasion of the paper 'Juan del Encina, and the origin of the Spanish Theatre,' is the publication by the Royal Spanish Academy of a complete edition of the works of this famous dramatic poet of the fifteenth century. His influence, life, and works are considered in a well-informed paper by Emilia Cotarelo.—'The Social Question in Andalucia' seeks to examine and explain why in this magnificent province home has always been found for those evils that public law and morals, as well as individual security and interest, condemn.—Under 'Old Time Affairs' we find a sad account of Madrid finances in 1570, and an interesting list of

prices of current articles, most useful for comparison. Other curious local connections with Madrid are noted.—In his 'International Chronicle,' Castelar considers the retiral of Gladstone and the death of Kossuth as in the foremost place, seeing two such giant figures seldom occur. He pays an eloquent tribute to both as pioneers of liberty. He alludes to the curious marriage of Don Carlos and the Princess de Rohan as contrary to the traditions of his house, seeing it is not only an unequal marriage, but one with a Protestant family that did great injury to the Church, and in the person of the Cardinal de Rohan did equal injury to monarchy. He believes that the denunciation of the Pope by the French Government will not influence the mass of the people, who are good Catholics. He holds that the Russian Socialistic idea is an absurdity in Paris, 'the proud city that believes itself the national capital of modern civilisation.' The interesting suggestion is made that the children of the misery of 1870 are influencing thought, but 'France has no other possible rule but a liberal and conservative Republic, of slow progress, and under firm and concerted order?'—'A critical review of the life and works of Tirso de Molina,' who was the second, if not the first, of the Dramatic Authors of Spain, dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century, follows. He seems to have been a friar, and to be much more popular on the stage than Calderon.—One of the most novel works noted is entitled 'Studies of Contemporary Literary Pathology.'—A valuable 'Scientific Chronicle,' in which, among other matters, the money of the world is summed up novelly, leads to a life of 'Luis Vives,' a pioneer of education in Spain in the sixteenth century—especially of the humanities.—May commences with a valuable account of the Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities belonging to the Archduke Raniero, now thrown open to the public in Vienna. It promises to be a valuable mine of ancient and forgotten knowledge, as it continues up to Arabic times. Thus we learn from it that paper was brought to the West from China in the year 751 of the Christian era. A manufactory was started in Bagdad in 795. There is also 'printing' by the Arabs from the tenth century, evidently borrowed from China long before Gutenberg. It is quite a historical mine, and does much to prove the oft quoted saying, that there is nothing new under the sun, for besides a life much like our own, with houses bonded until at length obliged to be sold, we find that the Arab Khalifs of Egypt had a complete pigeon express throughout the country, with fine sheets of paper to send letters on by them! The collection is of vast extent.—'Juan del Encina' is continued with critical care.—'How the

Japanese have been civilised,' refers to the condition of that country when the Galleon 'San Felipe' landed for help in 1596, and describes how they were treated. A paper, '*Apropos* of the Case of Varela,' deals with the progress of law, in course of which the writer remarks that while all sciences have entered on the correct road of observation, law alone remains conventional, illusory and false.—'Adam and Eve' concludes its clever course, into which Emilia Pardo Bazan introduces many provincialisms and much smart dialogue.—'The influence of Spain on Italy' is of great historic interest and of novel treatment. In it the statements are examined, as to sixteenth century Italian being a product of Spanish culture, and that Spanish culture is a renewal of the School of Seneca and Lucan. The author refers to the literary Court of the Emperor Frederick II. in Sicily, a prelude to the Scientific Court of Alphonso the Wise. 'The Semitic-Spanish element had a great importance in that Sicilian Court.' Valuable notes on Physical Education in Spain; Anthropology in Spain, in preparation for an ethnographical map; and the decrease of population in France. Here again we have a note of the suggestion that the loss is owing to the lack of fecundity of those born in the calamitous years 1870-71.—(June.)—'El Hechicero,' a well told romance by J. Valera, commences this number. It is pleasant reading, with local colouring and national feeling. —'The Psychology of Youth' in the modern novel, is a clever bit of literary criticism which is especially fitted for the subtle Spanish mind.—'Villergas and his times' is another careful literary study of a Spanish author, by V. Barrantes.—Of very different type is the paper on 'Degeneration and the Process Willie,' the celebrated case of the Englishman at Barcelona, tried for murder, but escaping with manslaughter owing to his temporary insanity. The study is a careful one on the causes of such physical plus mental deterioration or lapse, and the writer adds that it 'would' be sad if the degeneration of those who punished were bound up with the degeneration of the delinquent!—The scientific *resumé* deals with how to measure intellectual work, and the Psychometrical laboratory. 'The country folks beg of the Emperor William like a father, and adore him like a god, as forcible, absolutist, military, and reactionary, because they believe him come to foment with his intolerance the historic religions, and protect with prohibitionism the rural interests,' says Castelar, but he has had the courage to make commercial treaties, and country feudalism has invoked for him all the furies of Avernus. Castelar suggests some occult reasons for Stambuloff's dethronement.—'The Life of Luis Vives' is continued.

HOLLAND.

De Gids.—The May number opens with a charming tropical sketch—the sickness, death and burial of a native sailor, very touchingly and pathetically told by A. W. Pulle.—The next article, by Professor Logeman, takes up the subject of 'Individualism in Language,' and is a protest against the academic tendency to arrest development in a living tongue, and at the same time a plea for greater scope and freedom in adding fresh words and phrases, though this latter must necessarily have its limit.—A lady, Geertruida Carelsen, contributes Hygienic notes. She is an advocate of Nature cures by cold water and sun baths, and so on, and contemplates a happy future, when influenza, bad colds, and physic, shall have ceased to be a perpetual subject of conversation.—A most able and interesting article, written as an introduction to Messrs. Looy and Gerling's new translation of Xenophon's 'Memorabilia,' is contributed by Ch. M. Van Deventer. He brings out especially the value of the work as a source of information about Xenophon himself, even more than about Socrates, and gives a high estimate of the great commander, not only as a man of action, but as an author.—Louis Couperus continues his journal of 'Italian Travel.'—A political article, 'After the Fight,' by Cort van den Linden, reviews the past of the Liberal party since 1891, and while deploring the disregard of truth in the formation of political parties, the want of publicity in dealing with public interests, and the want of cohesion in political life, he still thinks it possible that the different sections of the liberal party could be got to act unitedly.—June number begins with an appreciative notice of Robert Fruin, a former editor of the magazine, who, though still in full health and strength, is obliged this year by the inexorable Dutch law to resign his professorship at Leiden, having attained his seventieth year. He may be called the Father of Modern Dutch historiography, and the public is indebted to him for very many excellent studies in Dutch history, the minutest annals of which are familiar to him.—'The Chinese Stage,' by Henri Borel of Amoy, is a long and interesting study of Chinese plays and actors, the result evidently of close observation and study on the spot. —'Motives' is a series of slight but clever sketches of musical artist life by Nievelt.—Van Rijckevorsel gives some more of his impressions of travel in the United States.—'Ass-stories,' by J. van der Vliet, is a highly entertaining account of the old tales in which the donkey plays a principal part. In the course of the article some curious bits of old folk-lore are narrated.—In a similar line of study A. G. van Hamel takes up the study of old French tales of the Middle Ages, the days of the jongleur and

the 'fablieux,' so intensely interesting both in their origin and in the light they throw upon the life of the time and likewise on French character, then, as now, essentially optimistic.—'The topers of Blienbeek' is a short dialogue in the North Limburg dialect, showing how some topers addicted to neat gin follow the doctor's advice and forsake it for beer, and when the beer disagrees for red wine, and finally for grog, with which they drink themselves to death.—(July)—Light literature is represented in this number by a half-serious, half-comic piece of Cyriel Buysse. Its title is 'Sursum corda!' which is also the name of the magazine, the organ of a society in a Flemish country district, started by a young man of some culture and ability. His aim is to promote art and enlightenment among his country neighbours. The new society is promptly misunderstoood, and even its members take ludicrously low views of its mission, one of them, for example, thinking it a clever joke to palm off as original a tale by a well-known author which he reads at a meeting. The story is unfinished, but gives very graphic pictures of the boorishness of Flemish country folk. A review is given of Prof. Blok's history of the Netherland people, a history on the same lines as Green's English people. It is carried down to the sixteenth century. The author has just succeeded Fruin in his Chair at Leiden.—'On the idea of community' is Quack's farewell address on resigning his professorship at Amsterdam. It is a clear and eloquent statement of his well-known views. The most striking part is perhaps that in which he depicts anarchism as an exaggeration and caricature of the individualism against which he so earnestly contends. He sees in the socialistic state, organised like the Roman Church in such a way as to include and give free play to diverse gifts, a remedy for all the misery and confusion of society.—N. D. Doedes contributes the first half of an article on Jan van Riebeck, the founder of Cape Colony, a most interesting chapter for English readers.—Byvanck has unearthed another unknown and unappreciated author, this time a Frenchman, Paul Claudel, whose drama, 'Tête d'or,' touched with Eastern mysticism and impressed with the strong faith of the author, is full of true poetry.—A new contributor, Betsy Juta, has some harmonious verse, conveying by no means original ideas.

DENMARK.

YEAR-BOOK FOR NORTHERN ARCHÆOLOGY AND ANTIQUITIES. (Vol. VIII., Parts 3 and 4; 1893).—These somewhat belated parts are mainly taken up with a long article by Björn M. Olsen on the father of Icelandic History, Ari the learned. The

immediate cause of Dr. Olsen's paper is an article by Professor Maurer in *Germania*, from the conclusions in which Dr. Olsen strongly dissents. The main points in his long and elaborate argument are, (1) that the Runic and not the Latin alphabet was the one in which the earliest Icelandic works were written; (2) that Ari did write a Landnáma (History of Iceland's Colonization) distinct from the Islendingabók; (3) that the Kristni Saga did not form an original part of Landnáma, but is based partly on the work of Gunnlaug the monk, and partly on Ari's second Islendingabók. In this section is a long and searching excursus on the mutual relations of Gunnlaug's, Odd's, and other versions of the Olaf's Saga, and of Kristni Saga to these; (4) that Ari's Landnáma followed the division of the land into four districts, of which Melabók preserves the original order. The whole article (of some 150 pages) is a valuable contribution to the vexed question of Ari's literary activity.—Kr. Erslev and A. Fabricius have something to say about Dr. Bruun's attempt to restore Queen Berengaria's character; the former shows that Dr. Bruun's main authority, Korner, is absolutely untrustworthy, the latter points out that the traditional view agrees with the character of the Portuguese family to which Berengaria belonged, especially with that of her sister Theresa, under whose care she was brought up in the nunnery of Lorvan.—(Vol. IX., Part 1; 1894).—Professor Wimmer writes on 'The German Runic Monuments' with his usual minuteness and absolute certainty, chiefly to record his dissent from the views of Professor Henning of Strassburg. The inscriptions specially dealt with are those on the brooches of Bezenye (read as 'Godahid segun' = (Godahild, blessing) and 'Arsipoda,' with a little romance invented out of this,) Engers, Freilaubersheim and Osthofen, with notes on some of the more difficult inscriptions. Professor Wimmer admits that the philological information to be got from these inscriptions is small, but proposes hereafter to show their value for the history of Runic writing.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Philosophy and Development of Religion. Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh, 1894. By OTTO PFLEIDERER, D.D., Professor of Theology, University of Berlin. 2 vols. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1894.

So far the Gifford Lectures have not as a rule been regarded with much favour, at least in the Theological world. The complaint has been that, instead of confirming the faith, their tendency has been to undermine it. Protests have been made against them, and not a little fear and alarm has been raised. Dr. Pfleiderer's lectures will prove no exception to the rule. The sensation they caused during the time of their delivery was by no means favourable. A series of lectures was organised and delivered with a view to the refutation of their arguments, and it is very unlikely that the more careful study of these, now that they are printed, will have any other effect upon the minds of those who dissented from them as they fell from the Professor's lips, than to deepen the impression they originally made. Upon those who are accustomed to think along the theological lines of the orthodox type, it is scarcely possible for them to have any other effect. Professor Pfleiderer is thoroughly German; his logic is of that hard and dry type which the late Matthew Arnold was so fond of satirising; in respect to Christianity Strauss and Baur are apparently his masters, while in natural religion, though in some respects different, he has close and essential affiinities with Spencer and Tylor. To those, on the other hand, who believe in the infallibility of the Theologians of Germany and their methods. his lectures will in all probability prove highly acceptable. They are learned, philosophical, and 'advanced.' Of their scholarliness and ability indeed there can be no question. In these respects at least they are worthy of the high position their author has attained in his own land, and of the reputation he has acquired throughout Europe. There are other respects, however, in which they will prove scarcely so satisfactory, even to those who are disposed to give them a general approval. For our own part, without committing ourselves in any way to their author's doctrine, either theological or otherwise, while disposed to admire their ability, their learning, and the rigour of their logic, we are unable to avoid the feeling that they exhibit a pretty considerable want of the historic sense. Everything is looked at from a purely Nineteenth Century point of view. The hardest and most inflexible logic is applied to the most ancient utterances. The words of the prophets and the sayings of Jesus are treated as if they were the cold phlegmatic and precisely logical expressions of a German professorial mind. No allowance is made for differences of time, circumstance, or race, and no attempt is made to arrive at those deeper, and often unutterable, thoughts and feelings which underly all genuine religious expressions, and of which the words in which they find utterance are frequently little more than the merest index. For the adequate treatment of religion, either as to its origin or development, something more is needed than scholarship or learning. The theologian who comes to the task of unfolding its origin and development, armed only with logic and the latest theories of the

schools, will prove but a poor hand in dealing with it. He may expatiate upon what he calls its phenomena, and all the while miss the living spirit to which they owe their origin, and know little or nothing of its subtle and mysterious working. If anything, religion is the poetry of the human soul, and he who would treat it adequately must have, besides other equipments, something of what the poet calls the 'vision and faculty divine.' Dr. Pfleiderer is not altogether wanting in this. Here and there, amid what are otherwise somewhat arid pages, one is surprised with bright gleams of insight. One can only wish that they were more numerous. Larger perceptions and a profounder insight might have enabled the author to have treated his subject, more especially in the latter half, in a more profoundly appreciative way. This is not the place to enter upon an examination of Dr. Pfleiderer's arguments. We can only say that there is much in the first volume with which we can agree. In such a passage as the following, for instance, there is much to commend itself to all:—'"Thou hast created us for Thyself, and our heart is restless till it has come to rest in Thee." This beautiful expression of Augustine is in fact the key to the whole history of religion. In the universal experience that man's nature is so constituted that some kind of consciousness of God is inevitable to him, although it may be only a presentiment or a search, we must recognise the original revelation of the love of God. All human consciousness of God presupposes a self-communication of God, a working of the divine Logos in the finite spirit. Now, as the consciousness of God is a constitutive element of the human species, it may be rightly said that the whole of humanity is the object of the divine love, that it is an Immanuel and Son of God, that its whole history is a continual incarnation of God—as indeed it is also said in Scripture that we are a divine offspring, and that we live and move and have our being in God.' So, again, there is much in Dr. Pfleiderer's treatment of the old arguments for the existence of God which will find favour with many. Of the two volumes, the first is decidedly the better. The second is for the most part but a re-statement of what one has heard before, and not for the first time, and contributes little or nothing to our knowledge. A good deal of it might have been omitted. Some of the explanations are ingenious, as for instance, that of the conversion of St. Paul, but not satisfactory. The position assigned to Jesus is very much that which is assigned to him by the Socinians. Great use is made of Philo, and much too great an influence is, we venture to think, attributed to his teaching. The translator, we must add, has done his work in a most scholarly and efficient way.

Scottish Church Society Conference. First Series. Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt. 1894.

The papers contained in this volume represent a movement which has recently developed among a number of the ministers in the Church of Scotland. Whether they have a large following among the people of the Church or whether the views they advocate are widely held few we imagine are in a position to say. According to some indications they are not. The general attitude towards them may perhaps be interpreted either as one of indifference or as one of expectancy. Religious changes are slow to mature, and it may be, on the other hand, that we have here the first signs of a movement which may bear important fruits. The Society we gather from the introductory note was founded in 1892 'for the general purpose of defending and advancing Catholic Doctrine as set forth in the Ancient Creeds and embodied in the Standards of the Church of Scotland, and of asserting Scriptural principles in all matters relating to

Church Order, Policy, Christian Work, and Spiritual Life throughout Scotland.' For its motto the Society has taken the words of the Prophet 'Ask for the Old Paths . . . and walk therein.' So far the aims of the Society seem to be thoroughly conservative and it would appear as if its members desired to hark back to the thoughts and practices of ancient times. There is some haziness about the date and even as to the antiquity of the paths to which they wish to revert—whether the Apostolic Age, the age during which the 'Ancient Creeds' were constructed, the period of the Reformation, or the Sittings of the Westminster Assembly. Generally speaking, however, the aims of the society seem to be practical rather than speculative and to have in view alterations in the services of public worship and the quickening of the life and activity of the Church and nation. So much at least is manifest from the addresses here printed. They deal with such topics as The Devotional Life, National Religion, The Present Call to witness for the Fundamental Truths of the Gospel, The Church's Call to Study Social Questions, The Divine Order of Church Finance, Observance in its main Features of the Christian Year, The Holy Communion and Daily Service. Here and there one meets with a dash of controversy in the papers, but as a rule they are temperately written and are the sayings of men who are evidently in earnest. As might be expected they are of different degrees of interest and vary in ability, but if their publications serves no other purpose, it will at least have the effect of placing the Society clearly before the public and of dissipating a number of mistakes which are afloat in respect to its character and aims.

A History of the Christian Church during the First Six Centuries. By S. CHEETHAM, D.D., F.S.A., etc. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

As a student's manual of Church History during the first six centuries Dr. Cheetham's volume is likely to prove of considerable service. The nearest approach to it with which we are acquainted is Gieseler's. It is less bulky than Gieseler's, and does not contain the passages which illustrate and confirm the statements in the text. On the other hand the text is much fuller and a great deal more readable. The notes also are scarcely so numerous, though for the student they are probably sufficient, inasmuch as they indicate where he will obtain further information and fuller references. The text is certainly condensed, whole controversies being often crowded into a few sentences ; but the advantage it presents is that it contains in the fewest words the conclusions at which the author has arrived after careful consideration of the original and other sources mentioned in the notes at the foot of the pages. Of discussion there is little or none in the volume ; limitations of space forbade it. The narrative is told briefly and fairly, and with constant reference to the authorities used and to the principal modern works in which the topics dealt with are more fully treated. The plan on which the volume is constructed, though not precisely new, is admirably worked out, and for those who have not the time to read the larger and more ambitious Church Histories, as well as for students, the volume will prove a handy and useful introduction to the history of the first six centuries of the Christian Church. A single sentence will show the standpoint from which Dr. Cheetham writes. 'The history of the Church of Christ,' he says, 'is the history of a divine Life and a divine Society ; of the working of the Spirit of Christ in the world, and of the formation and development of the Society which acknowledges Christ as its Head.' This sentence may be said to be the theme of the volume—the truth or fact which the author seeks to illustrate by all the incidents he has to relate.

The Celtic Church in Scotland; being an Introduction to the History of the Christian Church in Scotland down to the death of Saint Margaret. By JOHN DOWDEN, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1894.

Though not an exhaustive account of the Celtic Church in Scotland, this work is in every way instructive and has evidently been written with great care and perpetual reference to the most recent and best authorities. Dr. Dowden has no new discoveries to relate and no new theories to propound. As a rule he is contented to follow those who have worked over the same ground in recent years and is, as all writers must be, largely indebted to the works of Bishop Reeves, Dr. Skene, Bishop Forbes and Bishop Healy. For the chapters dealing with the ritual of the Celtic Church he has placed himself under the excellent guidance of Mr. Warren whose work on that subject is without an equal, at least in the English language. Perhaps the most noticeable feature in Dr. Dowden's narrative is the freedom which he uses in respect to the miraculous stories he has to record respecting the lives of the Saints. In this respect he affords a striking contrast to Montalembert. He has little patience with them, though at the same time he willingly accepts the morsels of information which may be gathered from the incidental allusions they contain to the manners and customs, the faiths and practices of the times to which they relate. Perhaps the most noticeable omission in his volume is that of any reference to the Life of St. Columba by Cuimene Alba to whom Adamnan was so much indebted and whose narrative goes back much nearer to the time of the great apostle of the Picts. Unlike some or at least one writer on Celtic Church History Dr. Dowden is careful to give on account of St. Patrick. The chapters on the archæology of the Celtic Church is specially interesting. In the appendix on the connection of the apostle St. Andrew with Scotland, no reference is made to the other tradition respecting the way in which his relics are said to have found their resting-place in Scotland, that is, by way of Hexham and Acca. As an introduction to the subject, however, Dr. Dowden's scholarly little volume is deserving of the greatest praise, and contains by far, the fullest popular account that we have seen of a subject which presents many difficulties.

The Earliest Translation of the Old Testament into the Basque Language. (A Fragment.) Edited by LLEWELYN THOMAS, M.A. With a Facsimile. (Anecdota Oxoniensia; Mediæval and Modern Series—Part X.) Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1894.

The MS. from which this translation is taken is in the Earl of Macclesfield's Library at Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire. How the MS., which is extremely valuable, and contains, besides the translation now published, an elaborate grammar of the Basque Language and a Latin-Basque Dictionary, came into the possession of the Macclesfield family, whether by purchase or by bequest, is unknown. The tradition is that it formed part of a large collection of Welsh, or supposed Welsh MSS. which was bequeathed to the second Earl of Macclesfield by William Jones, F.R.S., father of the celebrated Sir William Jones, and originally made by a group of Welsh antiquaries early in the last century. The tradition is not at all improbable, as at the time the collection was made Basque was supposed to belong to the Celtic family of languages, and it may be that the Basque

MSS. in the collection were purchased under the impression that they had some possible bearing on Celtic studies. Whether they were obtained directly from the Basque refugee who wrote them or whether they were bought from a bookseller, to whom they had been sold, is a point on which there is no information. The translation begins with the first verse of Genesis, and ends abruptly in the middle of the sixth verse of Exodus xxii. It is believed to have been made about the year 1700, but whether in England or on the Continent is unknown. The translator was Pierre D'Urte, who was also the author of the Grammar and Dictionary referred to above. Extremely little is known about him. In a note which he wrote at the beginning of his Grammar he informs us that he was a native of St. Jean de Luz and a Protestant. A reference discovered by the Editor, with the assistance of Mr. R. L. Poole, proves, as had already been conjectured, that he was one of the ministers of the Reformed Church, who, after the revocation of the Edict Nantes in 1685, sought refuge in England from the persecution which assailed them at home. It is probable, however, that he died in England, though nothing on this point is certainly known. That the translation was made from the French-Geneva Bible there seems to be no reasonable doubt, as wherever the French version of the Bible, published at Geneva in 1588, differs from the Vulgate or other versions, D'Urte's always follows the variation. 'Every mistake, mistranslation, misprint, misspelling,' Mr. Thomas tells us, 'is reproduced.' 'But to make assurance doubly sure,' he continues, 'there is another similarity. The French Edition has long summaries of the contents of the chapters which are (I believe) peculiar to it. These appear clause for clause in D'Urte's translation.' Mr. Thomas's part of the work has been done with every evidence of painstaking care. The text has been reproduced letter for letter and line for line. The erasures, of which there are enough to form a characteristic feature of the MS., have been indicated. Words and letters apparently wrong in the MS. are shown by the use of different type. Missing words or letters have been supplied in brackets, and the few lacunae pointed out in footnotes. In adopting this mode of editing, Mr. Thomas has unquestionably acted wisely. Though belonging to the eighteenth century, the MS. deserved to be edited with the utmost care. An instructive as well as interesting introduction precedes the text, and two useful appendices have been written for the volume by Professor Julien Vinson and Mr. E. S. Dodgson, the first being a vocabulary, and the second a list of translations of the Bible, or parts of it, into Basque.

Aspects of Pessimism. By R. M. WENLEY, M.A., D.SC., author of *Socrates and Christ.* Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1894.

Mr. Wenley's new work is welcome for many reasons, not the least of them being that it is entirely free from the cant of the schools, and that it exhibits a power of expression in scholarly and polished English such as few of our philosophical writers can command. The freshness and originality with which the subjects under discussion are treated, and the firm handling of the material throughout, will assuredly increase his reputation as a philosophical writer. While the book embraces a scheme of six essays, whose subjects are not apparently closely connected, the character of the work as a unity is jealously preserved. The 'Aspects' are panoramic rather than kaleidoscopic. 'Jewish Pessimism' is closely linked in spirit as well as in treatment with 'Mediæval Mysticism,' 'Hamlet' with the works of Goethe, and the essay on Kant, Berkeley, and Schopenhauer with

that on Pessimism as a System, while all form links in one chain of subtle exposition and reasoning. The general design is to show how the sense of mystery, which naturally attaches itself to man's view of life, has grown with increasing reflection, and to trace through six successive typical phases of thought a deepening tendency towards a reasoned pessimism, which is finally reached, in its matured state, in the writings of Schopenhauer and Hartmann. Starting from the definition that Pessimism 'signifies that philosophical scheme which explains the universe by proving its badness,' Mr. Wenley shows that the Jew was precluded from adopting this doctrine of despair by the nature of his religious creed. The special relation of God to the chosen race made the Hebrew a co-operator with the Deity, for Whom no opposition could be irremediable. Thus although the 'mysterious discrepancy between realisation and aspiration' was for him never solved, the problem never pressed itself upon him as one impossible of solution. The Mystics, again, whom Schopenhauer and Hartmann claim as their intellectual ancestors, came very near to conclusions of a definitely pessimistic character by emphasising the impossibility for man in his present state of any participation in the spiritual nature of the Infinite. They escaped the metaphysical *felo de se* of Schopenhauer only to strangle self and all its human interests in a mystical belief that in this act of suicide man would attain to a momentary union with God. Hamlet probes the ever-recurring problem with a keener insight, and is crushed under the burden of the inexplicableness of life. He never sees through the enigma involved in the unceasing conflict of 'small opportunity and high ideal,' though he ultimately unconsciously solves it in his death. Goethe struggled for long in despairing depths to force from life the secret of its riddle, and finally reached an imaginative rather than a rational solution of his difficulties. Kant, in his turn, found that man's critical reason was bound within limits of knowledge which could not be overpassed. The Unknowable was for him a perpetual surd which could not be rationalised. The dualistic system of reason and sense which he thus set up became the basis for Schopenhauer's pessimistic theories, and for many of Hartmann's deductions. Schopenhauer finds the ultimate factor in man's dualistic nature to be a continuous energising Will, the essence of whose nature is to be for ever dissatisfied. Hartmann discovers the key to the meaning of the Universe in the being of an Unconscious Deity whose passion-history is the world's existence and process. To the discussion of the views indicated in this brief summary, the author brings an exceptionally wide knowledge of the literature connected with the subjects, and a keen and discriminating judgment in the analysis of contending theories. The essay on 'Jewish Pessimism' especially bears witness to an accurate grasp of the problems which surround the interpretation of Jewish thought, and certain modern views, which, as the author elsewhere curtly remarks, are inclined to cut and trim facts in order that they may square with a preconceived theory, fall easy victims to the vigour of his criticism. In 'Hamlet' and the 'Pessimistic Element in Goethe,' Mr. Wenley displays not only a subtle insight into the minds of the two great poets, but also a very keen artistic sympathy. 'Hamlet' in particular contains many *obiter dicta* with regard to the natnre of the poet's art and its relation to truth, which indicate a thorough knowledge of aesthetics. The reasoned delineation of the character of Shakspeare's greatest psychological study which is here set forth probably stands alone amidst other interpretations. In all the essays there is evidence of a thorough mastery of detail and a facile art in bringing the salient points into prominence, while the examination and refutation of Schopenhauer and Hartmann are carried out with much dialectic skill. Mr. Wenley's

positive contributions to the elucidation of the problem of pessimism in a book which is mainly critical are to be found *passim* through its pages. The very conflict which distressed the minds of Hamlet and Faust, of Job and Koheleth, is, we are told, 'the secret of the ceaseless onward movement of the ages, as well as the motive force of the individual soul's growth,' while in a passage of striking force and eloquence which closes the essay on Jewish Pessimism, we find the clue which Mr. Wenley offers for the understanding of the universe. 'The defeat of the real bad by the ideal good,' he says, 'the assuaging of misery by devotion to the miserable, who can themselves be made to become spiritual successes, supply vocations which reveal the depths of man's nature, as they are ends that the very existence of this nature implies. . . The sinlessness of Christ does not mean absence of evil, but assurance that despite evil, good, as exemplified in a consecrated life, is the mightier because infinitely the more permanent force. . . Life is capable of cheating only those who, in the deepest sense, have never been alive.'

An Essay concerning Human Understanding. By JOHN LOCKE. Collected and Annotated, with Prolegomena, Biographical, Critical, and Historical. By ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER, Hon. D.C.L., Oxford, Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Two Volumes. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1894.

Professor Fraser is to be warmly congratulated on the completion of this labour of love. His edition of the *Essay* is destined to remain the definitive one for many years, and for several very sufficient reasons. In the first place, it has been most carefully prepared, and the text is, consequently, as complete and trustworthy as could be desired. Locke lived for nearly fifteen years after the appearance of his masterpiece, and, during the first decennium of this period, the *Essay* went through four editions, all of which displayed evidences of thorough revision, mainly in the introduction of greater or lesser changes designed to afford adequate expression to the maturer conclusions of the author on many important problems. Not only has Professor Fraser collated these editions, in order to obtain a perfect text, he has also sought aid from the French translation of Coste, Locke's private secretary, in which not a few important alterations were made—many suggested by Locke himself—which seem to throw light upon that thinker's more obscure allusions. Nor has Professor Fraser rested content with adducing merely the results of his collations, but he has in all cases of importance appended the variant readings, which are obviously of the utmost value to the student who would carefully follow out the progress of Locke's distinctive ideas; a discipline, it may be remarked, rendered imperative by the present partizan condition of opinion respecting the writer of the *Essay.* This edition, then, is definitive, both in its matter and in its manner. Once again, while desiring to recognise to the full the value of the present text of the *Essay*, one must by no means omit to emphasize the annotations, and 'prolegomena, critical, historical, and biographical.' Like other epoch-making thinkers, Locke has been subjected to the most contradictory interpretations, and, in this country at least, the recent tendency has been to regard him as an eminently respectable Oxford don, half courtier, half physician, who dabbled in what he (mistakenly) thought to be philosophy, and who succeeded in making a rather egregious figure of himself. Professor Fraser's method of approaching the *Essay* affords an admirable correction to such confident, and often ill-informed, fanati-

cism. 'The present work,' he says, 'is meant partly as a homage to its author's historical importance, as a chief factor in the development of modern philosophy during the last two centuries. It is also intended to recall to a study of Locke those who, interested in the philosophical and theological problems of this age, are apt to be dominated too exclusively by its spirit and maxims. They may thus study the problems in a fresher, although cruder, form than they have now assumed, through the controversies of the intervening period.' The suggestion here made by Professor Fraser is of first importance, not simply because it summarises the spirit in which he has undertaken this laborious piece of work, but because it puts in a nutshell precisely what is most urgently necessary to-day in connection alike with Locke and with other thinkers of the type currently dismissed with a contemptuous reference as 'English.' It may be abundantly true that British thinkers are not distinguished for speculative profundity, or, at all events, that they do not indulge themselves with a jargon which suggests depth or incomprehensableness. It may be true, too, that Locke was 'loose and inexact,' and of 'colourless prolixity.' It yet remains, on the other side, that much British thought is classical, in the highest sense, and that Locke is among the most classical contributors to it. He, along with a dozen others, embodies positive elements, chiefly of a distinctively national character, which cannot be dismissed with a snarl of disparagement. What was their *positive* value? Professor Fraser, by putting every student of metaphysics in a position to answer this question for himself at first hand, has conferred a benefit upon our philosophy which history must be left to weigh. His edition of Locke, in particular, has appeared at a turning point, and will unquestionably exercise large influence in determining the relative importance to be attached to some factors in the new speculative departure now maturing.

Les Origines du Droit International. Par ERNEST NYS. Paris: Thorin & Fils. Bruxelles: A. Castaigne. 1894.

In this scholarly and ably written volume, which he dedicates to the memory of the late Professor Lorimer, M. Nys traces the development of international law from its first almost imperceptible beginning under the Papacy and the Empire down to the time of Grotius. That international law exists with the same sanctions and is sustained by the same power or capable of being enforced in the same way as, for instance, civil law, M. Nys does not of course pretend. On the other hand he maintains that it is a law that is steadily acquiring recognition, and though now passing through the early stages of an existence through which all other laws now enforced by men have had to pass, it may soon, and certainly sooner or late will, acquire a power among the nations which will either compel their respect or vindicate its authority by the enforcement of penalties. In the course of his narrative M. Nys pays a well merited compliment to the writers of the middle ages, and defends them against the charges which have so often been brought against them of utter sterility, by pointing out that on most matters with which international law is concerned they have delivered numerous and sound opinions. The volume is a valuable contribution to a subject which is becoming of more and more importance, and it is to be hoped that the author will at no distant date continue his narrative down to the present.

Epitome of Synthetic Philosophy. By F. HOWARD COLLINS. With Preface by Herbert Spencer. Third Edition. London: Williams & Norgate. 1894.

Mr. Howard Collins's excellent epitome of Mr. Herbert Spencer's system of philosophy is finding acceptance among a very wide circle of readers, and is probably doing more to spread a knowledge of the doctrine of evolution than the works of which it is an abridgement. Already within less than five years it has reached its third English edition, and its second edition in a French translation. It has also been published in America, and translated into Russian. It is probable that few works of the kind have ever attained so wide a circulation. The characteristics and excellence of the work were pointed out in the pages of this *Review* on its first appearance, and all that need be done now is to chronicle the fact that in this third edition Mr. Collins has incorporated an abridgement of Mr. Spencer's work on *The Principles of Ethics*. The abridgement extends to close on one hundred pages, representing over a thousand pages of the original work.

The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Lieutenant-General of the Horse in the Army of the Commonwealth of England, 1625-1672. Edited, with Appendices of Letters and Illustrative Documents, by C. H. FIRTH, M.A. 2 vols. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1894.

The value of Ludlow's Memoirs for the history of the Great Civil War has always been acknowledged. Th y have been several times republished, but this is the first time they have been adequately edited, and Mr. Firth may be congratulated on having done a much needed work in a very creditable way—in a way in fact with which few can find fault. Ludlow's errors, and they are many, have been corrected, and much has been added in the way of illustration and supplement, more especially in relation to the first part of the Memoirs where Ludlow is often meagre and confused. In the Introduction, Mr. Firth gives an account of Ludlow, supplying many details in respect to his life, which are omitted in the Memoirs. He also discusses the several questions connected with the date when the Memoirs were written, their first edition, publication, value and effect. The idea of writing them, he very plausibly conjectures, was first suggested to Ludlow by some such incident as that which he describes as happening at Bern, in 1663, when at a banquet given by the senators of that town to the exile and his friends, he was asked to narrate the causes which had led up to the fall of the English republic, and arrives at the conclusion that they were written sometime between that date and 1673. Tyers' opinion that Ludlow was not the author of the Memoirs Mr. Firth sets aside as untenable, and is disposed to the opinion that their first editor was Littlebury, whose name Hollis wrote at the end of the copy which he presented to the Library of Bern in 1758. How Littlebury came into possession of the manuscript, however, is unknown. That the Memoirs were printed in London by John Darby of Bartholomew Close, and not at Vevay, as the original title-page bears, seems to be certain. At any rate the type and style of the work are sufficient to dissipate the idea that it was issued from any other than an English press, and accepting the story which makes Littlebury the editor, there can be little doubt that Darby, who was well known as a publisher of anti-governmental literature, and was often employed by Littlebury, was the printer. Ludlow was not a particularly able man ; nor can he be said to have been always consistent. Of his energy and obstinacy there can be no doubt. Straightforward and honest according to his lights, he was singularly obtuse and owed his influence and position quite as much to his extreme opinions and the obstinacy with which he insisted upon them as to any ability he had. While far

from unprejudiced, his Memoirs, so far as the facts narrated are concerned, are on the whole trustworthy, and he does not intentionally misrepresent. His inclination, as Mr. Firth points out, was 'rather to gibbet the memories of the bad men he had known, than to make famous those of the good.' . . . 'He hated a constant Cavalier much less than an apostate Republican.' Of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and Cromwell he has probably said the worst, and has laid himself open to much severe criticism. Carlyle's opinion of him is well known. The chief value, however, of his Memoirs, is not so much in the opinions they contain as in the facts. From few works can a more vivid impression be obtained of the manner in which the Civil War was waged, or of the way in which English life was affected by it. If he is often in error in recounting affairs in which he was not personally concerned, it has to be borne in mind that he wrote with little assistance in the shape of documents. On the other hand, his memory of events to which he was an eye witness is, as Mr. Firth points out, extremely accurate. The Appendices which have been added to both volumes are of great value. Among them are an admirable sketch of the Civil War in Wiltshire, two series of letters illustrating Ludlow's services in Ireland between the year 1651 and 1654, and in 1659-60, and a number of letters and documents referring to his residence in Switzerland. To the second volume an excellent index has been supplied.

Select Statutes and other Constitutional Documents illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Edited by G. W. PROTHERO. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1894.

Every student of English History knows the value of the Bishop of Oxford's *Select Charters* and Mr. S. R. Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Period.* The present volume is intended as a contribution towards filling up the gap between them. The period which it covers is one of the most important in English History, more especially in connection with the history of Parliamentary Government. Most of the documents have of course been printed before. Some of them, however, have not. But whether printed before or not, the advantage of having them all between the same covers, and edited as they are here edited, is obvious. The documents are classified and chronologically arranged under their separate headings; repetitions and what may be termed unnecessary verbiage are omitted, and footnotes are added which are often of considerable interest and importance. The introduction which Mr. Prothero has written for the volume is admirable, both for its clearness and conciseness as well as for the light which it throws on the documents by which it is followed. These are all carefully analysed, and placed in their proper historical setting. Among the papers now printed for the first time are the writ for the Court of Castle Chamber in Ireland, issued by Elizabeth, and establishing that Court; two relating to the Court of High Commission, one referring to the Ecclesiastical Commission for Wales, under date 1579, and Shirley's Act. A number of other papers, which have hitherto been only partly printed, are given in full. As already indicated, many of the documents relate to the history of Parliament. As might be expected, those referring to ecclesiastical matters occupy considerable space. In addition to official papers, Mr. Prothero has included a number of extracts from the political and ecclesiastical writers of the time. Altogether, the volume is an excellent companion to the two already named, and for its own period is as indispensable to the student as they are for theirs. It is to be hoped that other volumes will follow, and that in some way the gap of three years between Mr. Prothero's volume and Mr. Gardiner's will be covered.

The Protected Princes of India. By WILLIAM LEE-WARNER, C.S.I. Macmillan & Co.: London and New York. 1894.

At the present moment, when so much attention is directed towards India, Mr. Lee-Warner's remarkable volume can scarcely fail to be studied with more than ordinary interest. The subject with which it deals is vast and complicated, and one about which very little is generally known, though of great importance. That there are protected princes and protected states in India is known to most, but how they are related to the Imperial Crown, what measure of protection is afforded them, to what extent they are independent, to what extent they are subordinate or dependent, and how and by what stages the present state of inter-relation or union has been brought about, are subjects on which very little is known. Many of the statements made by writers who profess to deal with them are apparently, at least, inconsistent with each other, and the reader who has hitherto attempted to get something like clear and coherent ideas respecting the great Protectorate, is apt to rise from the attempt in a state of bewilderment. Mr. Lee-Warner's treatment is not exhaustive, but it has at least the merit of lucidity. The higher flights of philosophic inquiry he has avoided, and without attempting to deal with abstract principles, and confining himself to the facts of history, he has traced broadly and clearly the main lines of the evolution of the political system of India under British rule. Of the interest attaching to the volume it is useless to speak. It is sufficient to say that Mr. Lee-Warner writes with fulness of knowledge and in a clear and judicial spirit.

Documents illustrating Catholic Policy in the reign of James VI., 1596, 1598. Edited with Introduction and Notes by THOMAS GRAVES LAW. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society. 1893.

Among the many valuable works which the Scottish History Society has now published, few are more valuable than the apparently slight documents which Mr. Law has here edited for the Society. They deal with one of the many mysterious transactions into which James VI. entered, or is said to have entered, with foreign Catholic powers for the purpose of securing to himself the succession to the English throne. At the same time they incidentally illustrate the discussions which arose among the Catholic exiles and missionaries both Scottish and English with regard to the policy of furthering the King's design. The first is in Spanish and bears the title—'Summary of the memorials that John Ogilvy, Scottish baron, sent by the King of Scotland, gave to his Catholic Majesty in favour of a League between the two Kings; and what John Cecil, priest, an Englishman, on the part of the Earls and other Catholic lords of Scotland, set forth to the contrary in the city of Toledo, in the months of May and June 1596.' The next is a reply to this with the title 'An Apologie and Defence of the K. of Scotlande against the infamous libell forged by John Cecil, English Priest, Intelligencer to Treasurer Cecile of England.' This is followed by certain memoranda consisting of a number of additions and alterations made in later copies of it by Creichton, the author of the abortive conspiracy of the 'Spanish Blanks,' or intended to be incorporated in a Latin translation of the Apologie, together with some explanatory notes by certain intelligencers in Flanders, and among others by John Petit, who in 1596 was in Rome watching the movements of Ogilvy and Cecil, and duly reporting them to Treasurer Cecil. The three documents are extremely interesting as well for what they imply as for what they say.

Their historical value is great. Great also is their value for the student of human nature. There is a good deal of strong language in them, a good deal of hard-swearing, and a good deal of what passed at the time they were written for statecraft and diplomacy. The amount of intrigue they disclose is amazing. Only an editor equipped as Mr. Law is with a thorough knowledge of the history of the times and the intimate acquaintance with what such men as Ogilvy were in the habit of doing, is capable of telling what amount of truth the documents contain, or whether they contain any at all. That James did negotiate with foreign powers and made overtures to certain of the Catholic princes of Europe for assistance in his cherished design there seems to be an abundance of evidence, but the character of the witnesses is such as in a great measure to vitiate it, or at all events to throw doubt upon it, and to leave the matter an open question. Such light, however, as is to be obtained on the subject Mr. Law has here given. His introduction and notes show a remarkably intimate acquaintance with the period, and especially with the doings of such men as Cecil and Petit, and may be said to constitute a brilliant chapter on a very mysterious subject. But this is what might have been expected from the author of the *Jesuites and Seculars in the Reign of Elizabeth,* and of 'The Spanish Blanks.'

Letters of Edward Fitzgerald. 2 vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

These two volumes form an excellent addition to the Publishers' 'Eversley Series,' and not a few will thank Mr. Aldis Wright for separating their contents from the other literary remains of their author and issuing them independently. Beside the long, careful, and elaborate letters which used to be written, Mr. Fitzgerald's form somewhat of a contrast. There is no constraint about them, nor is there any attempt at elaboration or literary form. They are just such letters as a man of education, who is acquainted with the telegraph and penny post, may now be supposed to throw off. They are quiet, easy, pleasant talks. At the same time they are full of humour and human kindness. To read them is to come in contact with one of the most gifted of men, full of gentle and affectionate thoughts, and perfectly unaffected in all his ways. The letters are of course addressed to his friends, and among these he numbered most of the best men of his time. They are full of chats about men and books, and are perfectly delightful in their way. Mr. Aldis Wright, in his capacity as editor and literary executor, has done all that was requisite in the way of notes and introduction to make the letters and the allusions they contain understandable by the reader.

Reliquiae Celticae. Texts, Papers and Studies in Gaelic Literature and Philology left by the late Rev. Alexander Cameron, LL.D. Edited by ALEXANDER MACBAIN, M.A., and REV. JOHN KENNEDY. Vol. II., Poetry, History and Philology. Inverness: Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company. 1894.

With this very substantial volume the editors of the late Dr. Cameron's papers bring their work to a close. They have devoted much time and labour to it, and have completed as well as they can, and in no unskilful way, what Dr. Cameron left unfinished. It is to be hoped that they will not be without their reward. The papers they have here brought together and edited are of a very varied character. Some of them are of more than

ordinary interest and value. First of all we have a transcript of the Fernaig MS. which is here printed for the first time. For the older Gaelic it is next to the Dean of Lismore's Book one of the most important documents. Its poetry, which is mostly religious and political, is of a high order. Dr. Cameron had transcribed about two-thirds of it. The Editors have added the rest. They have also written a history of the MS., and have given, besides several of the poems as transliterated by Dr. Cameron, a number of transliterations by different hands. The second piece is the Book of Clanranald valuable alike for its history of the Macdonalds and for its account of the Montrose wars. Here again the Editors have supplemented the labours of Dr. Cameron. The transcription of the Black Book of Clanranald was the work on which he was last engaged and at the time of his death he had completed about one-third of what is here given. The text printed is substantially that of the Black Book for the Macdonald and Montrose histories, the omissions in the Montrose portions being supplied from the Red Book. The poems of the latter version are given separately. The Book of Clanranald with its translation and poems is followed by the text of the Turner MS. xiv., a valuable collection of poems, mostly of the ballad kind and made in Kintyre during the last century. Some of the poems belong to the Cuchulinn and Ossianic heroic cycles. The tragic tale of Deirdre and the sons of Uisneach from the Edinburgh MSS. 56 and 53 follows. Dr. Cameron was in the act of preparing the text and translation of this popular story for this *Review* when overtaken by his last illness and left it all but complete. The rest of the volume is mainly taken up with a collection of Proverbs, several lectures connected with Gaelic literature and a glossary of unpublished etymologies. The Editors it may be said have discharged their duties with learning and patience and have succeeded in raising an enduring monument to one whose devotion to the literature of his race was during his lifetime almost unrecognised. Certainly it was not recognised in any substantial way.

The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. Edited from numerous Manuscripts. By the REV. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt. D., LL.D., M.A., etc. Vols. I. and II. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1894.

A complete edition of the works of Chaucer skilfully edited with good text and notes and introductions has long been wanting. Excellent editions of the 'Canterbury Tales' and of the 'Minor Poems' have been issued, as also of other works of Chaucer, among others notably by Dr. Skeat. The Chaucer Society and its President have also done good work in this direction. To the latter, indeed, it may be said that it is to a large extent due that a good edition of the complete works is now possible. In some respects Dr. Skeat may be said to have entered upon his task with advantages no other editors have possessed; certainly no other editor has been better qualified to do ample justice to it and to execute it in a more satisfactory way. His edition of 'Piers the Ploughman,' with which the work before us is uniform, is a splendid piece of editing, while scarcely inferior to it are his recent editions of Chaucer's 'Minor Poems' and 'The Legend of Good Women.' Excellent, however, as these latter are the present work promises to surpass them, and in fact so far as it goes does. The intention is to include in the present issue not only the poetical, but also the prose works. The first volume opens with a Life of Chaucer, where of course Dr. Skeat has relied chiefly on the work of his predecessors, and especially on the works issued by the Chaucer Society, the members of which have done much to clear up many obscure and dis-

puted points in connection with the poet and his family. The date of Chaucer's birth is placed by Dr. Skeat between 1330 and 1340, with the remark that 'the reader can incline to whichever end of the decade best pleases him.' Dr. Skeat himself shows that 'shortly before 1340 fits in best with *all* the facts.' The sketch, as need hardly be said, is a very careful study. It is amply supplied with notes and references, and contains among other things notices of Thomas Chaucer and of Thomas's mother, and a long list of the passages in the poet's works in which he alludes to himself or his fortunes. Lists are also given of the historical allusions contained in his works as well as of the references which are made to him in the writings of Eustache Deschamps, Gower, Henry Scogan, and others. The rest of the volume is taken up chiefly by 'The Romaunt of the Rose' and the 'Minor Poems.' Hitherto Dr. Skeat has maintained that the translation of 'Le Roman de la Rose' usually assigned to Chaucer is from a different hand, and that Chaucer had no hand whatever in its authorship. That Chaucer did translate the 'Le Roman de la Rose,' or at least some part of it, was, of course, admitted, but what Dr. Skeat contended for was that the version assigned to Chaucer was not his. He now maintains, on sufficient grounds, that that version is by different hands, and that the first 1705 lines are by Chaucer. The arguments are too elaborate to be adduced here. They may be said, however, to be based on the discoveries made by Dr. Linden and Dr. Max Kaluza, and will commend themselves to most Chaucerian scholars as valid. Dr. Skeat has printed the whole of the English version, and beneath the part now assigned to Chaucer he has given the French text of 'Le Roman de la Rose' down to the end of line 1678. The introduction is very full, and in every way admirable. The same may be said of the introduction to the 'Minor Poems.' Compared with the introduction prefixed to Dr. Skeat's earlier edition of these poems, it shows many additions, omissions, and alterations. As for the text both of the 'Minor Poems' and of the 'Romaunt of the Rose,' it is entirely new; that is to say, none of the printed texts has been followed. Dr. Skeat has worked independently upon the MSS. and texts before him, and has made his own, registering differences in spelling as well as all the more important variants at the foot of each page. Of the 'Minor Poems' the 'Balade Against Women Unconstant,' 'An Amorous Complaint,' and the 'Balade of Complaynt,' have been relegated to an appendix because they are not expressly attributed to Chaucer. 'To Rosemounde,' discovered so recently as April 1891 has been admitted among those regarded as genuine, as has also 'A Compleint to his Lady,' which was formerly placed in an appendix as doubtful. The second volume has for its contents Chaucer's prose translation 'Boethius De Consolatione Philosophie,' and the five books of 'Troilus and Criseyde.' Both works are preceded by long and scholarly introductions, and are such as perhaps only Dr. Skeat can write. The notes supplied to all the pieces in each of the volumes are such as those who are acquainted with the author's 'Piers the Ploughman' would naturally expect. They are full almost to a fault, and so far as we have examined them they seem to leave nothing obscure and to pass over nothing needing to be explained. The edition indeed promises to be exactly what an edition of Chaucer ought to be, and will undoubtedly take its place as *the* edition. So far as it has gone it is without an equal, and there is no student of Chaucer or of English literature who will not hail these volumes with pleasure, and anxiously await the completion of those which are to follow.

The Rhind Lectures in Archæology. Scottish land names, their origin and meaning. By Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Bart., M.P. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Son. 1894.

Sir Herbert Maxwell's introduction of these lectures as 'a contribution to a study conducted until lately on lines the reverse of scientific' promises well; the fulfilment is not a little disappointing. In a series of Rhind Lectures one expects a real advancement of knowledge in the department of Archæology discussed, but the present series does little more than present in a popular form results already well known. The first of the six lectures is wholly devoted to general principles and warnings to the student of place-names—warnings sometimes exemplified by the lecturer's own examples—while to the second and third it might be objected that they are almost entirely reproductions of the previous lectures by Prof. Rhys, and the views of Dr. Skene. To these as well as to the Rev. Mr. Johnston's 'Place-names of Scotland' Sir Herbert Maxwell admits his indebtedness, (to the latter it seems to be very large indeed), but it is a pity to devote three lectures to material already easily accessible. The result is that as Lecture IV. is devoted to Norse names much of the real matter has to be compressed into the last two, the scheme of which is good but not at all exhaustive. With the plan of the work however there would be less quarrel were it reliable in other respects, but this is unfortunately not the case. There is throughout a good deal of loose argument and some amount of that 'pure conjecture' for which the author blames Mr. Johnston. Thus the identification in Lecture I. of Almond and Avon is vitiated by the fact that the word in question is properly written *abann*, not *amuin*; Latin *amnis* shows the same change as in *Samnium, scamnum,* beside *Sabini, scabellum.* The derivation of Fairfield and Fairgirth from *fær*, sheep, would be itself improbable from the rareness of the word, but Fair Isle is certainly not of that origin. In Njála (c. 154) and the Orkneyinga Saga it is *Fridarey*, which has apparently been taken as *Fridey* synonymous with *Fagrey*, and so translated 'Fair Isle,' (Johnston indeed quotes '*Faray*, clara insula' from 1529). So too in Lect. III. the identification of *pit, both, bod (!), bad, fetter,* and *for* would require a much closer argument to prove it. 'Guessing etymology is of all pursuits the most deceptive,' says Sir Herbert, but at times he leaves one in doubt as to whether he is not merely guessing himself. The main defect however lies in the imperfect acquaintance shown with both Gaelic and Norse, which is accountable for many grave errors. Sir Herbert Maxwell's Gaelic is indeed far superior to Mr. Johnston's, but errors in grammar or orthography such as *amhainn na' fhearn, pol na' inbhar, achadh na bheith, coille nam uinnse, sliabh n' adhairce, meall a' fithiaich,* show that the mysteries of the Gaelic article are too much for him, while genitives like *fhiaidh, fithiaich, eilidh, Crioisd, sealghe,* (which is often repeated), would discredit the scholarship of any one who committed such mistakes in Latin or Greek. The attribution of eclipsis to the 'pedantry of early Irish writers' only shows a complete misunderstanding of Celtic philology, while the charge against them of being 'ever anxious to cram as many letters as possible into a word' might be retorted on Sir Herbert himself when he persists in giving *Amhalghadh* as the Gaelic spelling of N. *O'lafr.* This is to confound a genuine Irish name with the foreign *Amhlaibh*, which faithfully represents O.N. *A'leifr*, with nasal *A'*, the *n* being retained in the O.E. spelling *Anláf.* So too he translates *Row na farrif* as '*rudha na (!) atharrachaidh*, point of the turning,' where it is plain that *farrif* is simply N. *hvarf*, while *atharrachadh* only means 'changing,' 'mutation,' not 'turning.' Objection

might also be taken to some of the antiquated derivations given, as *gadhar*, a greyhound, from *gaeth*, the wind; *fearann*, land, from *fear*, a man, (it also produces *earann* as 'it very often took the aspirate' !) The pronunciation assigned to Gaelic words is also loose and inconsistent; *fiadh* and *fitheach* are both given as *feeah*, while *an fhir* and *a' choilich* are quoted as instances of initial *h*, though neither of them has that sound. Nor does Sir Herbert Maxwell know the difference between the two words for a well, *tiobar* (O.I. *tipra*) and *tobar*, as he explains both Dalintobar and Tobermory by the former. Matters are still worse in the Norse derivations, where there is not even an attempt at grammar; the two words of the compound being simply put side by side in the nominative singular. So much is this the case that it may be safely said not one of these is right except by accident. For instance, *breidr vík*, *trylldir nes*, *hár ey*, are false concords, which show that the two latter cannot be the origin of Trotternish and Harris. (*Háey* or rather *háöy* gives 'Hoy.') So we get *haugr land* for *haugaland*, *höfn vágr* for *hafnarvágr*, *borgh (!) dalr* for *borgardalr*; *Stjarna vágr* would require to be *Stjörnuvágr*, but who was she? (Stornoway is doubtless *stjórnarvágr*t helm bay.) A proper name is similarly invented to account for Snizort, which is explained as 'Sney's (!) firth.' To call the Vikings 'Lochlinn,' as on p. 92, is as much as to call them 'Norway,' while the fixed idea that *Papar* is the O.N. word for 'priests,' might have been dispelled by looking up *prestr* in Cleasby and Vigfusson. Curious specimens of Norse are *kví rand* and *kví schör setr* to account for Quirang and Quoyschorsetter. Finally, as space forbids an attempt to point out all the errors in this fourth lecture, suffice it to say that *Todhope* cannot be Norse; the Icelandic word is *tóta* (more commonly *refr*); *shiel* cannot be *skáli* by any law of phonetics; why not *sel*, which Iceland has in *Selfors*, *Seltungur?* and *haugh* from *hagi* is impossible; a reference to *healh*, (*halh*), in Bosworth-Toller will show its real origin. Mistakes like these in such a work show the danger of trying to account for place-names by the dictionary alone. They are the more to be regretted, as Sir Herbert Maxwell's lectures will naturally be of considerable influence in this study, to which they may give a useful impetus, but will have to be very cautiously used as an authority.

Essays in Historical Chemistry. By T. E. Thorpe, Ph.D., B.Sc., etc. London and New York: Macmillan and Co. 1894.

The lectures and addresses of which this volume mainly consists have been delivered to audiences during the last eighteen years, and are now put together and issued for the purpose of showing how the labours of some of the greatest masters of Chemical Science have contributed to its development. The volume makes no pretensions to being a history of Chemistry, nor even of the period over which its narratives extend. It is simply a number of biographical sketches from which those of some who might have been expected to figure among them are left out. This however need not in any way militate against the value of the book; nor does it. Each lecture or address is complete in itself, and tells as much about its subject and his work as can conveniently be told in the limited space at the author's disposal. Of the lectures and addresses the first deals with Robert Boyle and the beginning of the Royal Society, though mainly of course with Boyle himself. Among the rest we have Mr. Thorpe's lecture on Priestly, which formed one of the 'Manchester Science Lectures' in 1874, and the lecture he delivered in the following year's course of the same Lectures on Henry Cavendish. Others are his lectures on [illegible]s Graham. Wohler, J. B. André Dumas, and Hermann Koff, also the [illegible] year at Owen's College, and subsequently p[illegible] *Review*.

Other two pieces are Mr. Thorpe's review of Dr. Bence Jones's *Life of Faraday*, and the sketch of Mendeleeff, which appeared among the 'Scientific Worthies' in *Nature* some three or four years ago. For the most part the papers are popularly written. Mr. Thorpe's aim throughout is to show what each of the Chemists whose career he sketches contributed to his science and how he helped on its development. The author exhibits considerable skill in exposition, and his pages while highly instructive, and in many places of a highly scientific character, contain a large amount of extremely interesting reading.

The Ascent of Man. By HENRY DRUMMOND. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1894.

The object of these Lowell Lectures, as Mr. Drummond informs us, is to tell in a plain way a few of the things which science is now seeing with regard to the Ascent of Man. That the 'few things' he has to tell are eloquently told need hardly be said. Mr. Drummond is a master of the English language and few writers are so fertile in apt illustrations. Apart from the theory it sets forth, his book is sure to be popular and to command a wide circle of readers of every class. The main thing on which he insists is that the doctrine of evolution, which furnishes the stand-point from which he regards his subject, was 'first seen out of focus,' 'was given to the world out of focus,' and 'has remained out of focus to the present time;' and what he attempts is not the entire readjustment of it to the whole truths of Nature and of Man, but 'to supply at least the accents of such a scheme.' In other words, he attempts to supply the missing link in the doctrine of evolution. That the struggle for life is as Mr. Darwin and others have insisted, the only factor in evolution, Mr. Drummond denies. There is another factor he maintains which plays an equally prominent part with it, and that is, the 'Struggle for the Life of Others.' While the struggle for life is based on the functions of nutrition, the struggle for the life of others is based upon that of reproduction. Mr. Drummond dwells upon the importance of this missing link and points out with abundance of illustration both in the introduction to the volume and in its text the part it has played in the development of humanity, and is led to the conclusion that the supreme effort of nature has been the production of a mother. There are many admirable passages in the volume, and even if the hypothesis set forth should turn out to be nothing more than a 'vision' it is deserving of careful study. That the Struggle for Life is not the only factor in nature seems to be evident.

Eight Hours for Work. By JOHN RAE, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

The question with which Mr. Rae here deals, if not one of the most important, is certainly one of those which are now most prominently before the public mind. Apparently he sat down to the study of it an unbeliever, and has risen from it a believer. Whether the facts he adduces will convert others is, of course, a different question. They have convinced him, and the probability is they will convince many more. For the facts on which he bases his argument, and to the consideration of which he owes his conversion, Mr. Rae has travelled over a wide area. Scarcely one of the nine important industries has been omitted from his survey, and to say the least, such facts as he has here set forth are extremely interesting, and go very far indeed to prove his point that an eight hours day is better for the operative and better for the employer. In fact, we shall not be far wrong if we say that they do prove it. The

strange thing, however, is that the shortening of the hours of labour does not in any way lessen the output, and would not, if adopted as a general rule, necessitate the employment of more workers. The notion that the shortening of the hours of labour will find work for the unemployed is characterized as an illusion. 'It stands,' he says, 'in absolute contradiction to our now very abundant experience of the real effects of shortening the hours of labour, and it stands in absolute contradiction to the natural operation of economic forces to which it professes to appeal; and the illusion arises, first, from simply not observing or apparently caring to observe, the important alteration which the introduction of shorter hours itself exerts on the productive capacity of the workpeople; and, second, from yielding to the gross but evidently very seductive economic fallacy, which leads so many persons to think that they will all increase the wealth they individually enjoy by all diminishing the wealth they individually produce, and to look for a great absorption of the unemployed to flow from a general restriction of production, the very thing which in reality would have the opposite effect of reducing the demand for labour, and throwing multitudes more out of employ.' Mr. Rae writes temperately, and with an abundance of illustrative facts. His book is calculated to have great influence in the formation of opinion on the subject. A legislative eight hours day for all, however, finds little favour with Mr. Rae. He inclines rather to the principle enunciated by Mr. Gladstone of local trade option.

Man Hunting in the Desert. An account of the Palmer Search Expedition. By CAPT. A. E. HAYNES, R.E. 1894.

Capt. Haynes gives a clear and well-written account of one of the most dramatic incidents of the Egyptian war of 1882. The events themselves are dramatic, and without any attempt at dramatic writing they read as a striking story of tragedy and adventure. Prof. Palmer, the well-known Arabic scholar, was sent by Lord Northbrook to obtain information as to the Sinai Bedouin, and to conciliate them. Exaggerated ideas prevailed as to their numbers, and as to their designs on the Suez Canal, and on the flank of the British Expedition to Ismailieh. Palmer had been a member of the Sinai Survey Party in 1869, and had wandered in the Tih Desert in the following year. He knew the Arabic language well, and believed that he had gained the affections of the Arabs. He was fearless and able, but he knew nothing of the political situation, or of the devotion of the Arabs to the cause of Arabi Pasha, which was partly due to religious feeling, but yet more to detestation of the Turks. At Nakplin the centre of the desert, a governor devoted to Arabi was established, and was in communication with all the tribes. Palmer had never commanded an expedition. He had not been in the east for 12 years, and his comrades knew nothing either of the people or of their language. His design seems to have been to convoke all the tribes at Nakhl, and to lead them to assist the English. What he intended to do with the Egyptian governor is not clear. On the 9th July he reached Jaffa, and proceeded in Arab disguise to Gaza, where he met the Teiahah chiefs; then proceeding to Suez he entered into treaty with Metr a chief who lived on the road leading thence to Nakhl, who does not seem to have had much power. He was watched and pursued from Gaza; and orders were sent by Arabi that any Christians entering the desert should be seized. Palmer took camel men from the Tuwâra tribe to the south; and the three companions, without any armed escort, proceeded east from Suez to Wady Sadr, carrying £3000 in gold, and eager to meet the Sheikh's at Nakhl by the 12th of August. On the

day preceding they were attacked by local Arabs, and the Tuwâra deserted, while their ally Metr also disappeared, and his nephew rode off with the money on his camel, and buried it in the desert to the west. The attacking party (well informed) pursued the money, leaving the three prisoners (Prof. Palmer, Capt. Gill, R.E., and Lt. Chamington, R.N.,) stripped and defenceless in charge of two Arabs. The faithless Metr returned with ten men, but instead of carrying them off, he palavered, and finally withdrew, offering only a few camels for their rescue. The captors returned disappointed of booty, and in revenge drove their victims to the precipice, and shot them as they fell. Rumours of disaster soon spread; and a fortnight after the murder Sir Charles Warren was sent out to relieve the party. Palmer's mistakes hadbeen many. He overestimated his own influence. He was watched, tricked, and betrayed. He employed Arabs in the territory of another tribe; and he took a large sum with him, allowing the fact to be known. He treated with complete confidence a treacherous and crafty people, and regarded as friends those who were bitter against all Christians and Franks. The fate of the search party might have been the same, but for the combined daring and prudence of Sir Charles Warren—qualities which he had already shewn as an explorer, and was again to shew in his subsequent conquest of Bechuanaland, which laid the basis of the recent advance made in South Africa. When the search party reached Suez it was rumoured that Palmer had escaped towards Sinai. Every effort was made to throw suspicion on the Tuwâra tribes to the south; and Wâdy Sidri in this distinction was (perhaps purposely) confused with Wady Sadr on the road due east from Suez. The party therefore endeavoured first to penetrate from Tor on the Red Sea to Sinai, and to send letters to the supposed captives. It was not until the Egyptian War had ended in victory that it became possible to get any hold on the Arabs; and on the 4th October the real direction of the journey was discovered. Sir Charles Warren, with an escort of nearly 400 Egyptian Arabs, then reached the site of the murder, two and a half months after its occurrence; and a fortnight later he recovered part of the stolen money (£1000). He employed a responsible Sheikh to collect the murderers, and remained on the spot to ensure success. By rapid journey to Akabah, Sinai, and El Arish, he collected damnatory evidence, striking terror into the hearts of the Arabs, and deposing the governors of Nakhl and El Arish. By the 27th January, 1883, twelve prisoners had been taken, including five of the actual murderers; and their guilt was duly proved before an Egyptian tribunal. The remains of the unfortunate victims were brought home, and buried in St. Paul's Cathedral; and the striking success of the most difficult search was duly acknowledged in Parliament. The details form a volume of great interest and of not a little historical importance.

Scottish Pastorals and Ballads and Other Poems. By ALEXANDER FALCONER. Glasgow: William Hodge & Co.

At once, when one opens the dainty grey and green covers of this slight volume, one catches the drifting hawthorn scent, and, by the fireside, whither the untimely east winds have driven him, there comes to the reader strange, delightful suggestions of sunny field-paths, bee-haunted hills, and the silver-foaming western seas. A feeling for the impressions of Nature—colour, and scent, and sound—has from the very earliest times formed one of the most striking and exquisite characteristics of Scottish poetry. From John Barbour to Burns and Scott, this and that other quality known as the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*, have formed one unfailing touchstone of the poetic genius of the

North. By this sign Mr. Falconer's volume may be hailed as one of the fair fruits of that remarkable revival of Scottish feeling in English literature which is now going on, and of which we are probably destined presently to see a great deal more. Here one sees the sunshine upon Arran hills, and hears the autumn leaves rustle by Loch Lomond's shore; he treads the green holms of Douglasdale, and breathes the mystic clover-scent in the garths of Bute. Mere description of nature by itself, however, soon becomes a rather wearisome affair—a fact which some prose writers of late, no less than writers of verse, do not seem to have found out. It is only when 'natural description,' as it is called, has some bearing, by suggestion, analogy, or association, upon human nature, that the thing has any real interest or value at all. Mr. Falconer, for instance, might have *described* Summer, and the description might have been a very dreary business. Here, however, are some of his verses:—

'Oh, what more sweet than to lift tired eyes
Unto the fulness and exceeding calm
Of Summer's azure skies,
When every breath of wind is breath of balm,
And drink delight and vigour as we lie
Among the heather or the long, cool grass,
Letting the moments pass
All unconcernedly!

. . . .

The cuckoo calls in every lane;
My heart replies, Oh, soon again
The merry May, in blush and snowy white,
Shall gladden young and old,
And Love's eternal tale be told
When lovers linger late and early in the dream-lit heaven of night.'

The passage needs no comment: those of us who are old have once been young. And such touches abound in the book. The same charm belongs to Mr. Falconer's ballads. These are not verbal imitations of the old folk-songs of the country. It is the dismal failure which invariably attends all attempts at such verbal imitation which has given rise to the dogma that ballad composition is no longer possible. Mr. Falconer's ballads are ballads in the sense that they are narrative compositions. Some of them, like that on 'Grizel Cochrane,' and another on 'Westerha',' deal with well-known dramatic incidents of Scottish history; but a greater charm will probably be thought to belong to others in which the historic element is less conscious, such, for instance, as that on 'The Kirk of Saint Bride." These are instinct with the charm of old romance, full of the suggestion

Of old, unhappy, far-off things,
And battles long ago.

It would be idle to suggest that no exception might be taken to Mr. Falconer's book. Here and there stanzas might be pointed out which trail somewhat in the step, and once or twice the burden of the theme seems to make Pegasus stoop his wing. But these are isolated details, and the charm of the book remains what has been said. It is a volume of fresh and sunny verse, wholesome as the air of mountain, field, and moorland, in which it has been written—a book to wake in the heart the longing for high-hedged lanes and upland solitudes—which revives [illegible] more from the dust of centuries the romantic charm of the [illegible] F [illegible] of a certain feeling which has hardly been conveyed [illegible]
two old folk-songs, the reader may be referred to

perfect set of verses, 'The Haunted House;' and for a touch of the noble spirit which rises through English poetry at rare intervals, 'like the throbbing of a single string.'—the spirit which breathes in Wordsworth's 'Tintern Abbey,' and in Tennyson's 'Passing of Arthur,'—the lover of poetry will find his reward in Mr. Falconer's stanzas on 'An Evening Star.'

The Elements of Metaphysics. By Dr. PAUL DEUSSEN. Translated, with the personal collaboration of the author, C. M. DUFF. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

Select Specimens of the Great French Writers in the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries. Edited by G. EUGENE FASNACHT. Same Publishers.

English Prose Selections. Edited by HENRY CRAIK. Vol. II. Same Publishers.

These three volumes are placed together, not because they treat of the same or similar subjects, but because they are excellent examples of the kind of text books which are now being prepared and published for the use of advanced pupils and students. Compared with the older text-books, they exhibit in every respect a marked advance, and, if anything can, make the road to learning easy. Dr. Deussen's volume may perhaps be regarded as somewhat in advance of the two we have placed with it, inasmuch as it professes to be a guide for lecturers as well as for private study. At any rate, it will take a student of very considerable ability to master it. But, given a student of such ability, it will prove a very effective guide. It is written from the standpoint of the Idealism founded by Kant and wrought out by Schopenhauer. As might be expected, the style is exceedingly condensed. At the same time, however, it is perfectly lucid. A skilful use has been made of different types in emphasising the divisions and subdivisions of thoughts. Dr. Deussen travels over the whole ground of metaphysics, and has produced a really valuable handbook whether for lecturer or private student. He has added to it the lecture on the Vedanta in its relations to Western Metaphysics, which he delivered in Bombay at the beginning of last year.—M. Fasnacht has compiled his selections from the Great French Writers of the seventeenth and two following centuries on what may be called, if not a new, at least a very admirable plan. To begin with, he gives a succinct account of French literature, in the shape of an abridgement of a discourse by M. Vinet, from the middle of the sixteenth century down to 1830, and continues it with a sketch for the next fifty years by M. Faguet. The specimens are placed under three heads—(1) from Corneille to the death of Louis XIV.; (2) from the death of Louis XIV. to the Revolution; and (3) from the Revolution to the death of Victor Hugo. The first series of Specimens is prefaced by an account of the founding of the French Academy, from the pen of M. Sainte-Beuve; next we have a sketch of Corneille by M. Faguet, and this is followed by a sketch of the French Drama before Corneille, by M. Nisard. The style of Corneille is then described by a passage taken from Sainte-Beuve, after which M. Nisard gives an account of 'Le Cid,' from which a number of extracts are given. These are followed by a scene from 'Horace,' of which play an analysis is given. Extracts from other plays are treated in the same careful and elaborate way. In short, not only are specimens of the great writers given, but they are also accompanied by biographical notices, analyses of the works from which they are taken, and the

judgments of the greatest French critics on the works and style of their authors. A more complete series of selections, equally well edited or equally well calculated to inform the student, and to quicken an intelligent apprehension of the works and merits of the great writers of France during the chief period of its literature, we have not met with.—Mr. Craik's first volume of *English Prose* we had the pleasure of noticing some time ago; the second volume contains selections from the prose writers of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, beginning with Bacon and ending with Sir Roger L'Estrange. Among the contributors to this volume in the way of criticism are, besides the editor, the late Professor Minto and Mr. G. Saintsbury. Others are J. M. Dodds, W. P. Ker, Edmund Gorse, W. Wallace, A. W. Ward, and Canon Ainger. As in the previous volume, the specimens of each writer are preceded by a brief sketch of his life and writings. The general introduction is contributed by the Editor.

SHORT NOTICES.

The addresses gathered together by the Rev. D. J. Vaughan, M.A., and issued under the title *Questions of the Day* (Macmillan), were delivered during the last twenty years or so in St. Martin's Church, Leicester, on special occasions. The questions they deal with are social and national as well as religious. With these questions, with such, for instance, as the Use of Politics, the Secret of National Life and Freedom, Capital and Labour, Trade-Unionism, the Religion of the Masses, and Morality in Business, the addresses deal in a broad, vigorous, and reverent way. Mr. Vaughan's aim seems to have been to reach the ear and heart of the working-classes, and whether he was able to achieve that or not, those who listened to his discourses must have been impressed with the spirit of fairness and the desire to promote the best and highest interests of all classes with which they are inspired. His addresses, in fact, to use the old phrase, are veritable Tracts for the Times.

Church Work: its Means and Method (Macmillan) contains the addresses delivered by Bishop Moorhouse in the rural deaneries of the diocese of Manchester. They are full of information respecting the various organisations at work in the various parishes, and supply many notes as to the spiritual condition both of the clergy and the people. The suggestions they contain as to the methods of carrying on Church work, and of meeting and overcoming difficulties, are characterised by sound practical wisdom. Bishop Moorhouse seems to have visited every parish in his diocese, and to have made himself personally acquainted with the work of the clergy and their lay assistants. The tone throughout is hopeful, earnest, and reverent.

In *Ethics of Citizenship* (Maclehose) Professor Maccunn seeks to connect some of the leading aspects of democratic citizenship with ethical facts and beliefs. The justification of democracy, or the bestowal of equal civil and political rights upon every citizen, he finds 'not in the untenable doctrine that men are equal, but in the fact, recognised alike in moral and religious experience, that the humblest member of the community possesses a spiritual worth which effectually parts the man from the chattel and the animal.' A like spiritual foundation is found for the doctrine of fraternity. There is an interesting discussion respecting the influence which a democratic form of society is likely to have on the moral character, and more especially when the society is commercial and industrial. In his last chapter Mr. Maccunn deals with luxury, and points out that the chief moral problem which awaits a democratic society is to find securities not

so much against lawlessness as against that virtuous materialism which is the usual and natural concomitant of material prosperity.

Brave Little Holland and What She has Taught Us (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston) is a brief history of Holland, meant chiefly for young people. Its author, the Rev. Dr. Griffis, is well versed in the history of the country, and is apparently engaged on a work of larger dimensions dealing with it. Sufficient attention, he believes, has not been paid to the influence which Holland has had in the making of the American States. 'In our government and ideas,' he says, 'the American people are more Dutch than English.' Coming from a descendant of a Dutch family and the minister of a Dutch church, the sentiment may possibly be praiseworthy. History has little sentiment, and the probability is that he will find that an impartial study of the subject will lead him to the opposite conclusion.

Richard Steele is the latest edition to Mr. Fisher Unwin's 'Mermaid Series' of the best plays of the Old Dramatic Authors. The editor is Mr. G. A. Aitken, who has here brought together for the first time all the pieces Steele wrote for the stage, including the two unfinished fragments published by Nichols in 1809. The text has been carefully collated throughout. The changes of scene, often unnoticed in the older editions, are indicated and the spelling is modernised. By way of introduction to the volume, Mr. Aitken has contributed a careful sketch of Steele's life.

To their 'Golden Treasury Series' Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have made a notable addition in the shape of *Selections from the Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough*. The famous 'Bothie' is among the selections, and is given in full, as are also a number of the early poems and a number of the miscellaneous. The selections are preceded by an excellent portrait.

In *Conciliation and Arbitration in Labour Disputes* (Crosby Lockwood), Mr. J. S. Jeans gives an account of the various attempts which have been made to settle trade disputes by arbitration and conciliation, and of the present relations between capital and labour. The problem which the latter presents he appropriately calls the problem of the hour. That it is waiting for solution there can be no doubt, but that a legislative solution will be found for it Mr. Jeans does not appear to be very hopeful. His volume, however, may possibly contribute something towards it. At any rate, it is well worth reading, both for the information it contains and as the work of one who is entitled to be heard upon the question.

James Inwick, (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier) by Mr. P. Hay Hunter, is a story of Scottish rural life. Inwick is a ploughman, and an Elder in the Church of Scotland, and the chief subject of his thoughts is the threatened disestablishment of the Church. The story is told in Mr. Hay Hunter's best style. The plot is simple but quite sufficient to enlist and hold the attention throughout. The conversations are racy and full of humour, and the discussions lively. The story is a decided success, and amongst Scotchmen, if not among others, will be widely read, as it deserves to be.

Among other books we have received the following : *The Distribution of Wealth*, (Macmillan) by John R. Commons ; *Foreign Missions After a Century*, (Fleming, H. Revell & Co.) by Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D. ; *The Seabury Commemoration*, (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) by George Shea ; *St. Andrews*, (Longmans) by Andrew Lang ; *The Continent via Flushing*, (Iliffe & Son) by H. Tiedman ; *My Ducats and My Daughter* (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier) by P. H. Hunter and Walter White ; *Old John and Other Poems*, (Macmillan) by T. E. Brown ; *A Camsterie Nacket*, (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier) by Jessie M. E. Saxby ; *Attempt at a Catalogue of the late Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte*, (Sotheran & Co.) by Victor Collins.

THE

SCOTTISH REVIEW.

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Art. I.—TUDOR INTRIGUES IN SCOTLAND.

NOTWITHSTANDING the spy-system which was brought to such perfection under the Tudors, the study of human nature was yet in its infancy. The world had long ceased to be ingenuous, but nations had not yet learned civilized methods of guarding themselves against their enemies. At a time when distrust was general, it was simpler, like Machiavelli, to erect deceit and fraud into a science, and to teach the vile utility of dissembling, than to scrutinize character and weigh motives. It was generally understood that opponents might legitimately be hoodwinked to the limits of their gullibility; but it was reserved for Lord Chesterfield two centuries later, to show how a man's passions must be studied with microscopic intensity in order to discover his prevailing passion, and how, that passion once discovered, he should never be trusted where it is concerned. Thus, for want of insight into Margaret Tudor's character, the Scottish people were repeatedly betrayed by one, whose interests they fondly hoped had become by marriage with their King, identical with their own.

She had come among them at an age, when new impressions are quickly taken, and experiences of every kind are necessarily very limited, but to the end of her days, she remained an alien in their midst. From the moment that she had set

foot in Scotland, as a bride of thirteen, she had begun to sow discord; but although it was soon apparent that she would seize every occasion to turn public events to her own profit, James IV. had so mistaken a belief in her one day becoming a good Scotchwoman, that when he went to his death at Flodden Field, he left the whole welfare of his country in her hands. Not only did he confide the treasure of the realm to her safe keeping, but by his will he appointed her to the Regency, with the sole guardianship of his infant son. Such a thing was unprecedented in Scotland, and it needed all their fidelity to their chivalrous sovereign, as well as their enthusiasm for his young and beautiful widow, to induce the Scottish lords to tolerate an arrangement so distasteful to them all. Had Margaret cared to fit herself for the duties which lay before her, her lot might have been a brilliant one. Instead of the wretched wars which made a perpetual wilderness of the Borders, and kept the nation in a constant ferment, an advantageous treaty would have secured prosperity to both England and Scotland, while the various disturbing factions which rendered Scotland so difficult to govern by main force, would gradually have subsided under the gentle influence of a Queen who united all parties through the loyalty which she inspired. Fierce and rebellious as were so many of the elements which went to make up the Scottish people at that time, Margaret had a far easier task than her grand-daughter Mary Stuart, for, at least, fanatical religious differences did not enter into the difficulties she had to encounter. But such a Queen of Scotland, as would have claimed the respect and won the love of her subjects, was by no means the Margaret Tudor of history, as she stands revealed in her correspondence.

While James IV. lived, she had comparatively few opportunities for betraying State secrets, but from the disaster of Flodden to her death, her history is one long series of intrigues, the outcome of her two ruling passions, vanity and greed. Her first short-sighted act of treachery after the death of James, was to appropriate to her own use, the treasure he had entrusted to her for his successors, thereby incurring life-long retribution in her ineffectual attempts to wring her dowry

from an Exchequer which she had herself impoverished. Hence the tiresome and ridiculous quarrels in connection with her 'conjunct feoffment,' for besides other ungentle amenities, there was in Margaret, as in Henry Tudor, a grotesque element, arising from a total lack of the sense of humour. There was a denseness almost bucolic, in the stolid indifference to the effect they produced on the minds of others, with which the brother and sister pursued the tenour of their way, and which was perhaps the crowning similarity that made the one the counterpart of the other.

The eleven months which elapsed between the 9th September, 1513, to the 4th August, 1514, were the most eventful of Margaret's whole life. The catastrophe of Flodden left her, not perhaps without cause, the least mournful woman in Scotland, for James IV., with all the heroism that attaches to his name, had little claim to be called a faithful husband. Unhindered, therefore, by any excess of grief, she was the better able to attend to the affairs of state, and to hasten the coronation of her little son, a baby of one year and five months. In December, she convened the Parliament of Scotland, to meet at Stirling Castle, and formally took up her dignity as Regent, with the consent of the assembled nobles. At this sitting, the greatest unanimity prevailed. In the acts of the Privy Council of Scotland, under date 12th January, 1514, occurs the following entry: 'to advise of the setting up of the Queen's household, and what persons and officers are necessary thereto, and to advise of the expenses for the supportation of the same, and by what ways it shall be gotten.' All was peace for a short time, and the most friendly relations existed between Margaret and her Council, till the first high-handed attempt of Henry VIII. to interfere through his sister, in the government of Scotland, resulted in her temporary banishment, and the removal of the baby King from his mother's care.*

* P. Martyr, Ep. 535. For a detailed account of the state of Scotland for the first nine years after the disastrous defeat at Flodden, see Vol. XIV. of the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, edited by George Burnett, LL.D., Lyon King of Arms, and A. J. G. Mackay, M.A. (Oxon.) LL.D. (Edin.) etc. Her Majesty's General Register House, Edinburgh.

On the 30th of April, Margaret gave birth to a posthumous son, who received the title of the Duke of Rothesay, and scarcely had she reappeared in public after the birth of this child, than an envoy from the Emperor Maximilian brought overtures of marriage. About the same time, she received a like proposal from Louis XII. of France; but sacrificing her ambition to her fancy, she dismissed both aspirants to her hand, and before the first year of her widowhood had run its course, she married Archibald Earl of Angus, Margaret being in her twenty-fifth, he in his nineteenth year. The alliance was equally unfortunate for Margaret herself and for her wretched husband, who when the first charm of novelty had subsided, was disdainfully flung aside, and never restored to favour. There was an ancient custom of the realm, which placed the executive power and the person of the King should he be a minor at the death of the preceding sovereign, in the hands of the next male heir, and the appointment of the King's widow to the regency, and to the guardianship of his son, was made in distinct disregard of all recognised tradition. The consent of the Scottish lords to the innovation, had been given entirely from a sense of loyalty to their beloved and unfortunate monarch, James IV. But a proviso had been made in his will, that in the event of the Queen's remarriage, the regency as well as the guardianship of the young King should pass to John Duke of Albany, the next heir to the throne. Margaret, who had not scrupled to make away with the royal treasure, was scarcely likely to be very conscientious with regard to the duty of laying down a sceptre, the pleasantness of which she had only just begun to taste. She was already at variance with her Council, who in despair of any order being established, had invited Albany, then in France, to come over, and take up the reins of government. As early as April, 1514, a bill for his recall had been read in Parliament, and it was formally enacted that all the fortresses in Scotland should be given up; a blow aimed primarily at Stirling, the Queen's chief stronghold.* Here, she and Angus had shut themselves

* Brewer. Preface to Cal. 2, Part I. Note.

up, on hearing that Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, was marching upon Edinburgh. They were captured, but escaped and returned to Stirling, where they were besieged by John Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews.

Margaret, assuming a tone of injured innocence, wrote to Henry VIII., telling him that she and her party are in great trouble till they know what help he will give them, that her enemies continue to usurp the King's authority in Parliament, holding her and her friends rebels; and she entreats him to hasten his army against Scotland by sea and by land.* This was clearly as much an act of treason as if she had deliberately invited any other foreign enemy to come and take possession of the realm, for although her object was merely to regain the powers she had lost by her own fault, she could estimate the ruin which would have resulted to Scotland, if Henry had really been in a position to invade the country. His answer to her appeal was to send the most urgent instructions to his sister to prevent Albany's landing by every means at her disposal. Meanwhile, she waited impatiently but in vain for either troops or money from Henry, who did not think it necessary to inform her that the French king had agreed to detain Albany in France, on condition that his dear cousin should send his sister no help, but leave the various parties in Scotland to fight out their differences alone. Margaret's position at last became intolerable, and she began, no less than her enemies, to look forward to the Duke's arrival, as a means of extricating herself from a labyrinth of difficulties. Francis, in spite of his promise to Henry, had no intention of preventing Albany, who was more than half a Frenchman, from assuming a dignity that would result in a strong bond of union between Scotland and France. He was therefore quietly allowed to escape, and, when after running the gauntlet of Henry's ships, he landed in Scotland, Margaret wisely resolved to be friends with him.† But Henry instructed Lord Dacre, the formidable

* Queen Margaret to Henry VIII., 23rd November, 1514. Cotton MS. Calig., B. I., 164. British Museum.

† Seb. Giustinian to the Doge. London, 5th August, 1515. Venetian Archives.

chief of the Marches, to stir up all the strife possible between her, the new regent and the Scottish lords, and whenever there was a sign of a better understanding between them, Dacre was always careful to insinuate that they would be far less true to her than her brother was.

Meanwhile Henry wrote to the Council requesting that Albany might be sent back to France at once. The reply of the assembled lords was as dignified as Albany's own conduct throughout, and in strong contrast to Margaret's attitude. They have, they say, received Henry's letter dated Greenwich, 1st July, 1516, desiring them to remove John Duke of Albany the Regent from the person of their King, in order to promote the amity of the two realms. The Duke was chosen Protector by the unanimous voice of the three Estates, was sent for by them from France, left his master, his lady, his living, has taken great pains in the King's service, has given, and proposes to give no cause for dissatisfaction, and if he would leave, they would not let him. Moreover, it is in exact conformity with their laws that the nearest in succession should have the governance; security has been taken by the Queen and others, to remove all cause of suspicion, and they will spend their lives if any attempt be made against his Highness.*

This document was signed and sealed by twenty-eight lords, spiritual and temporal, whose names are still legible. Ten other names are mutilated beyond recognition, although the seals remain.

Albany had meanwhile written to Lord Dacre denying that he had usurped the King's authority, and declaring that he had done nothing but by order of the estates of the realm. But Henry was bent on picking a quarrel with him, and Dacre's letter to the King of England's Council shows the part he was instructed to play in the troubles of Scotland, fomenting feuds between Albany and every member of his government, in the hope of driving him out of the country.†

Difficult, however, as Henry's policy made it, the Regent was

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* Scotch Lords to Henry VIII., 4th July, 1516. Record Office.

† Calig. B. II., 341. B. M.

determined to maintain peace, and would probably have succeeeded but for Margaret.*

The good understanding between them was broken by his summoning her to deliver up the royal children into his custody, a cruel but necessary proceeding, since the regency was considered inseparable from the governorship of the King and the next heir. A true and tender chord is struck at last, when the Queen, appealing to Henry, exclaims, 'God send I were such a woman as might go with my bairns in mine arms. I trow I should not be long fra you.' Nor is it possible to feel aught but sympathy for her, when she allows herself to be stormed in Stirling Castle, before she suffers her children to be torn from her. Dacre professed to believe, and perhaps caused Margaret to fear, that they would be destroyed if they fell into the Duke's hands. On the very day that Dacre wrote to Henry's Council, advising that money should be sent to enable her to hold out, the Regent prepared to bombard her, and it was not till her friends had forsaken her, flying for their lives and in terror of Albany's proclamation, that placing the keys of the fortress in her little son's hands, she desired him to give them to the Regent, and to beg him to show favour to himself, to his brother, and to her husband. The Regent answered that he would be good to the King, to his brother and to their mother, but that as for Angus, he 'would not dalye with no traitor.' †

No sooner had Margaret given up her children, than she began to manœuvre how to steal them back again, and spirit them over the Border. While pretending to be too ill to leave her palace at Linlithgow, where she gave out that she had 'taken her chamber' in anticipation of her approaching confinement, she effected her own escape into England, but the plan for capturing the King and his brother failed. Nothing could now exceed her desolate condition, as wandering from place to place, alone, ill, and worse than friendless, she sought in vain a refuge in all the wild Border region, where she might

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* Albany to Dacre, 10th August, 1515. Record Office.

† Calig., B. II. 369. B. M.

await her hour of peril. Angus, seeing the turn which affairs had taken, had thought it prudent to abandon her, and after helping her to escape, had returned to Scotland in the hope of coming to terms with Albany. Margaret was at last thankful to accept Lord Dacre's rough hospitality in his gloomy Castle of Harbottle. Here, in the midst of brutal soldiers, with no woman to render her the most needful service, she gave birth to a daughter, the Lady Margaret Douglas, on the 5th October, 1515. On the tenth, she wrote to Albany to announce her delivery 'of a cristen sowle, beying a young lady,' and miserably ill though she was, did not omit to demand, 'as tutrix of the young King and Prince, her tender children, to have the whole rule and governance of Scotland.'

To this she received an answer from the Council, stating that the governance of the realm had expired with the death of her husband, and had devolved to the Estates; that with her consent, they had appointed the Duke of Albany; that she had forfeited the tutelage of her children, by her second marriage, and that in all temporal matters, the realm of Scotland had been immediately subject to Almighty God, not recognising the Pope or any superior upon earth. With this Margaret was forced to be contented; further words would have been as unavailing as a reed against the tempest, and even words were soon beyond her power to write, for the birth of her daughter was succeeded by a long and painful illness, which nearly proved fatal to the unhappy Queen. To add to the bitterness of her situation, at the moment when she was beginning slowly to recover, came the news of the illness and sudden death of the little Duke of Rothesay. Grief, anger, and anxiety for the safety of the King, served naturally to increase the gravity of her condition, and for months she lay hovering between life and death, loudly accusing Albany of having murdered her child. The accusation was repeated to Albany himself, as soon as her unsteady fingers could grasp a pen, but the Regent took no heed of her stinging words, continued to invite her to return to Scotland, in spite of her persistent refusals, and apparently succeeded at last in convincing her of his innocence. On her recovery, she wrote to him from Morpeth, to announce

her departure for the south, Henry having invited her to his court, accompanying his invitation with presents of costly stuffs and money, and clothing for the new-born infant.

Margaret's letter to the Regent is significant of a sudden change in her demeanour towards him, and to judge by her subsequent behaviour, the change meant treachery. Instead of the fierce denunciations she had lately indulged in, she acknowledges that she has often had goodly and pleasant words, as well as letters from him, and 'though his conduct has not always corresponded to them, yet as matters are being accommodated,' she hopes he 'will reform it.' The meaning of this change of tactics became clear to all but the Regent himself, who seems to have been of a singularly unsuspicious nature, as soon as Margaret reached London. He was still hoping for a permanent peace with Henry, and more than once expressed a wish to pay him a friendly visit. This, both Henry and Margaret encouraged him to do, and writing to Wolsey about this time, the Scottish Queen expressed the most fervent hope that he would come, counterbalanced by the fear that he would not.* Had the matter rested entirely with him, the visit would certainly have been paid, but his Council, who had some reason to doubt Henry's plausible words, were urgent in dissuading him. All things considered, it is fair to surmise that the Duke would have repented his temerity, if he had placed his head within the lion's jaws.

Having failed to inveigle him into their power, the brother and sister instructed Dacre to 'sow debate' between him and his Council, but this scheme also failed. Dacre wrote, however, to show that he was not devoid of zeal, saying that being unable to interfere with Scottish affairs in any other way, he had given rewards to four hundred outlaws, for burnings in various parts of the kingdom.† No means were too vile, no instrument unworthy to be employed in the work of destroying the Regent and advancing Tudor interests. The Queen even condescended to use her truant husband, and the part played

* Cotton MS. Vesp., F. III., 36. B. M.

† Dacre to Wolsey, Calig. B. I., 150. B. M.

by Angus is scarcely less reprehensible than Margaret's own, for while he pretended to be loyal to Albany and to Scotland, he possessed himself of every important State secret, and transmitted it to his wife, in the hope of appeasing her for his desertion. She of course passed on all that she thus learned to Henry and Wolsey.

It is not our purpose to give a detailed account of Margaret's life, or it would be interesting to describe the pomp and splendour, the feasts and revels with which she was entertained for a whole year at the English Court—luxury in strange contrast to the misery she had undergone during the first months after her flight from Scotland. Pageants, tournaments and banquets now took the place of privation and suffering; all that met the eye was changed, but the dark and treacherous under-currents, known to but few of her contemporaries, remained the same and were the realities that shaped her course. In spite, however, of plots and intrigues, Margaret's position was not improving. Her visit to England could not be prolonged indefinitely, and as she was evidently not to return to Scotland in triumph, it was desirable to make as good terms for herself as she could.

The Regent promised that her dowry should be paid, and that Angus should be allowed to join her, if he were willing to do so, a somewhat doubtful alternative, as he had not availed himself of the leave that had already been given to him. As for the Regent himself, he declared that it had always been his desire to gratify the Queen and to advise the best for her and her son.* Reluctantly therefore, Margaret at last prepared to turn her face northwards, having obtained permission to take with her a suite befitting her station, safe-conduct being granted, except in the case of any person among them plotting harm to the kingdom; and to these conditions, the King set his Great Seal.

A letter from the Venetian envoy to the Doge, dated 13th April, 1517, says: 'The truce between England and Scotland has been arranged. The Queen is to return, but is not to be

* Calig. B. II., 262. B. M.

admitted to the administration of the kingdom. She may take with her twenty-four Englishmen and as many Scotch as she pleases, provided they be not rebels;' and he adds that he has been assured of these facts by Albany's Secretary.

Magnus and Dacre did their best to make her journey smooth; but when she arrived at Berwick it needed all their persuasion to induce her to enter Scotland. 'We did our best,' they reported to Wolsey, 'to help her forward and give her counsel, otherwise she would have remained on the Borders.' At Lamberton Kirk, contrary to the Regent's expectation, she was met by Angus accompanied by Morton and other lords, with three hundred men chiefly Borderers. Albany had left for France, taking with him the heirs or brothers of the principal men in the country, whom he had bound over to keep the peace during his absence, which he then did not intend to prolong more than five months.

Margaret's return was an excellent opportunity for beginning a new and better life, had she been so minded; but events proved her to be in a more querulous, treacherous and discontented mood than ever. 'Her Grace considereth now the honour of England, and the poverty and wretchedness of Scotland,' wrote Magnus to Wolsey, 'which she did not afore, but in her opinion, esteemed Scotland equal with England,' * and her complaints to Henry are frequent and loud. She complained of her husband, of her poverty, of the bad faith of the Scottish people who still left her dowry unpaid, of not being allowed free access to her son. She has been obliged to lay in wed (pawn) the plate given to her by her brother, and is likely to be driven to extreme poverty, as Wolsey will learn by her messenger. She would have been still worse off, she caused her friends to write, had not Magnus and Dacre drawn up a book at Berwick, the day before her entry into Scotland, by which Angus, signing it, renounced all claim to her 'conjunct feoffment.' † But Margaret did not stop at complaints; Henry must begin the war again.

* June 16, 1517. Calig., B. II., 253. B. M.

† Dacre to Wolsey. Harbottle, 5th March, 1518. R. O.

He may, she declares, reasonably cause Scotch ships to be taken, for she has suffered long and forborne to do evil, although she knew she would never get good from Scotland by fair means. When by dint of her constant urging to renewed onsets, the Borders had become one vast battle field, she wrote to the Marquis of Dorset to beg him to spare the Convent of Coldstream, whose abbess had done her good service in times past.* The motive was, however, no mere charitable one; the abbess being 'one of the best spies for England.' And now, for the first time, Margaret ventures to express the wish that has for long been forming itself in her mind. She has been much troubled by Angus since her coming to Scotland, and is so more and more daily. They have not met this half year, and—after some hovering on the brink of the word, she pronounces it boldly—she will part with him, if she may by God's law and with honour to herself, for he loves her not! Unlike Henry, when seeking a pretext to divorce Queen Katharine, Margaret was at no pains to disguise the motive which inspired her, and the possibility of a flaw in the marriage is openly but a pretext for getting rid of a husband of whom she was weary. We are at least spared the nausea caused by Henry's conscientious scruples. She first puts forward honestly her wish to be free from Angus, and then her determination to divorce him if she may lawfully. But it was the only piece of honesty in the whole business, for the suit itself was one long wearisome series of misrepresentation and falsehood, without which her cause could by no possibility have been gained. The usual plea of pre-contracts was brought forward, but as these were of too flimsy a nature to bear investigation, Margaret declared that the late King of Scots, her husband, was still living three years after the battle of Flodden, and that consequently he was alive when she was married to the Earl of Angus.† As the King's body had never been found, this assertion could not be disproved, though there could be no reasonable doubt as to his having fallen on that calamitous

* Thomas, Marquis of Dorset to Henry VIII. Calig., B. III., 255.
† Magnus to Wolsey. State Papers, Vol. IV., p. 385.

day. But in spite of her bold swearing, Margaret was not so certain of success, but that she was anxious for Henry's support, and she not only begged him to befriend her, but promised that she would only consult his wishes in taking another husband, and that this time she would not part from him.* It was, however, no part of Henry's policy that his sister should put Angus away, for although she had not consulted him in the choice of her second husband, he was very well satisfied with him. Henry could to a certain extent control him, and at all events, while married to him, the Queen could not contribute by any foreign alliance, to the power and greatness of Scotland. But Angus was making himself obnoxious to his wife, beyond her very limited capacity for endurance. Not only had he proved a faithless husband, but what was infinitely worse to her mind, he refused to give up the income of her Ettrick forest estate, which she had made over to him in the days when his handsome face and figure had first struck her fancy, and when she thought nothing too costly to lavish upon him. She had made him great, to her own and the country's misfortune, and it was a difficult matter to make him small again, but all Scotland felt the evil effects of his power, of his ascendency over the young King, and of the feuds which resulted therefrom. So great was the scourge felt to be, that the King's Council appealed to Margaret to recall the Regent Albany that he might restore order. She was aware that Albany's return was the thing of all others that Henry wished to avoid, but it suited her for the nonce to act the part of a good Scotchwoman, and she wrote an imploring letter to the Duke, begging him to come back and take pity on his unhappy country.† Notwithstanding this, her complaints to Henry, through Dacre, of her bad treatment, and her entreaties to be allowed to return to England did not cease. She had 'lieuer be dead than live among the Scotch,' and she entreats that no peace may be renewed unless 'some good may be taken' that she may live at ease.‡

Wolsey was not sparing in his remarks on the Queen's

Calig., B. I., 232. † Calig., B. II., 195. ‡ Calig., B. I., 275.

double dealing, the facts of which had all been disclosed to him by spies. He has, he says, represented to the King 'the folly of Queen Margaret in leaning to her enemies, and departing from her husband,' notwithstanding what Dacre has already written to her. Dacre, by the King's desire, is to write to her again and tell her that if she persists in her dishonourable course, she can expect no favour.*

The Earl of Surrey meanwhile had been despatched with an army to the Borders, and threatened to invade Scotland unless the Duke of Albany were abandoned, and Margaret reinstated as Regent. On the 16th September, 1523, he wrote two letters to the Queen, one intended for her eyes alone, the other to be shown to her son's Council. In the first, he says that the King of England would approve of her son's 'coming forth' and shaking off all tutelage but his mother's, for Surrey is about to waste Scotland, and the young King's plea for emancipating himself should be, that he cannot suffer his realm to be laid waste. Margaret is then to summon the lords to take up arms in her son's defence, and will then be in a position to command Surrrey to retire. She will thus form a party for her son, and be enabled to send Albany and his Frenchmen back to France. Then Surrey will turn his arms against her enemies. If Margaret keeps her promise, money will be forthcoming. In the event of her causing James V. to 'come forth' to Edinburgh, he has no doubt, that if he will command his subjects on their allegiance to take his part, the most of them will do so, especially the commons, who must be roused to drive the French to Dunbar. Surrey will be ready to give assistance.†

The second letter was to the same effect, though more cautiously worded. The King of England would be glad to hear of his nephew's prosperous estate, but would certainly be dissatisfied that his nobles suffered him and themselves to be kept in subjection by Albany. Surrey was ready to help with men and money all who would come forward to protect their natural sovereign; but peace could never be between the two realms if the Scots did not abandon the Duke. As for Mar-

* Calig., B. III., 106.

† Calig., B. IV., 196.

garet's hope that Henry would be a better friend to Scotland on her account, Surrey had been ordered from doing any more hurt when she wrote. He had now waited a long time, hoping that the lords would have shown themselves more natural, loving subjects than they now appeared, seeing that the day appointed for the Duke's arrival had expired, and their King was in no greater safety than he was before. All the world would see that the fault was not Henry's, but that of the Scots, who refused to put *him* out of the realm who meant to destroy the King and usurp the crown. Henry would never desist from making war upon Scotland, until they abandoned Albany, and sued to him for peace. On their doing this, Surrey had full authority to treat with them, and to assist them with men and money*

This advice had no effect whatever upon the Scotch lords, whose loyalty to the Regent remained unshaken; but Margaret did not consider herself hampered by any pledges given to Albany, and two days after the receipt of the letters, she urged Surrey to come to Edinburgh, or somewhere near it, at once, declaring that the lords would certainly do as she desired. As for the threatened laying waste, however, 'they laughed at injuries done only to the poor people.' A thousand men with artillery would have Edinburgh at their mercy, if they came suddenly. Surrey must go at it at once or let it be. Failing this, she desired leave to come to England with her true servants, adding, 'for I will come away and I should steal out of it.'† The truth was, that far from being sure that the lords would agree to any of the above proposals, Margaret knew well that she had but a handful of friends in Scotland, and that her only hope of regaining the Regency lay in Henry's power of coercion. Trusting that Surrey would really march on Edinburgh, she did all she could to persuade the young King's Council to allow of his being brought to that place, and to appoint new guardians friendly to her interests.

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* *State Papers*, IV. 21. 'Copy of my letter to be showed to the loı of Scotland.' In Surrey's hand. Record Office.

† *State Papers*, IV., 26.

In both these endeavours she however failed, and James remained at Stirling. 'The lords are all fallen away from the Queen, and adhere to the Governor,' wrote the Abbess of Coldstream to Sir John Bulmer, and Surrey passed on the information to Wolsey, telling him that she had no credit with them, and that they looked hourly for Albany's arrival.

As for Surrey's own movements, even if he had been willing to besiege Edinburgh, he would have been frustrated by the want of sufficient transport-carriages for his victuals. Had he not caused his soldiers to carry their food in wallets, and their drink in bottles, it would not have been possible for him to have reached the North, and a raid into the enemy's country necessitated a far ampler stock of provisions than could thus be carried. The Queen's desire that he should take Edinburgh, was he thought, only to provide herself with a means of escape.*

In England, it was commonly believed that the Scottish lords were in such fear of the Duke of Albany, who was hourly expected to arrive, that they would break their covenant with him, even if they had each given him four of the best of their sons as hostages. But Surrey declared vehemently that though they should deceive Margaret, they should not deceive him. The suspense was at last ended and Margaret wrote to inform him of the Regent's arrival. He answered at once, desiring to know what number of horse and foot soldiers had come with him, and what countrymen they were. He could, he said, give her no advice about coming away, but would meet her in any part of the Marches, and at whatever time she pleased; she in return was to let him know when Albany intended to invade England. In conclusion, hoping to prevent any agreement between the Queen and the Regent, he warned her that Albany would most certainly be King, if the King were not well guarded, 'for the Frenchmen can empoison one, and yet he shall not die for a year after.' †

* Surrey to Wolsey, Berwick, 21st Sep., 1523. Record Office.

† Surrey's Letterbook. Tanner MS., 90, f. 47. Bodleian Library.

The slippery nature of Margaret's friendships was well known to Surrey, and he kept up the fiction of Albany's nefarious intentions with regard to the young King, in the hope of securing her adherence to English policy. But, unluckily for his schemes, he did not sufficiently study the springs of her actions, which would have taught him to be a little more lavish with money. The end of her next letter ought to have opened his eyes to the necessity of striking a bargain with her, if he would pretend to draw her into the English net.

After telling him that the Duke has held a Council at Glasgow and that he means to march into England in a fortnight, she goes on to warn him that Scotland was never before made so strong, and says that it is still a secret whether Albany intends to attack the east or west Border, but that she thinks both. She gives him a detailed account of the numbers and condition of his soldiers, and estimates his French contingent at six thousand men, adding that German reinforcements are expected by the first fair wind. They trust to win Berwick, and if they succeed, she and her son are undone. Then she begs to know how she is to get away and have some money. If Henry will not help her, she must perforce ask help of the Duke, and she adds significantly: 'and he will cause me to do as he will, or else he will give me nothing.' He has not yet come to her, she says, but he writes 'very good writings of his own hand, and as many fair words as can be devised,' to which however she professes to give no credence.* Surrey was of the opinion that Margaret should remain in Scotland, as her coming to England would cause embarrassment and expense. Two thousand marks would hardly satisfy her in England, whereas she would be content with three or four hundred pounds a year in Scotland,† to say nothing of the loss Henry would incur, if she came away, in being deprived of the information she sent.

But it was just this haggling over bribes, that prevented Margaret from being altogether on Henry's side, and which

* Calig., B. VI., 379. State Papers, IV., 40.
† State Papers, IV., 40.

threw her into the arms of the more generous Albany, whenever there was the least hope of gain. Thus, a month later, after the Governor's somewhat hasty retreat from Wark, the Queen told Surrey that she had been obliged to take what money the Duke would give her, that she would do her best to keep her son, but that she could not displease Albany without Henry's support. She implored Surrey to plead with the King for her, and in return for his help, she would inform him of all she knew, but he must keep it secret.*

Meanwhile, she gave the Duke to understand that she had incurred her brother's displeasure for his sake,† and the same legend was repeated to the lords in Council. Complaining to them of the bad treatment she had received in Scotland, she begged them to bear in mind the good faith she had always kept to her son, to the lord Governor and to the realm, incurring for the last three or four years her brother's displeasure, for the Governor's sake, at whose desire, she was always ready to write the best she could.‡ Immediately after this remarkable statement comes Henry's answer to her last appeal, in the guise of one hundred marks for information received, together with the refusal of the truce which Albany had repeatedly solicited.§ The smallness of the sum prompted a diplomatic letter to Surrey, in which the Queen declared that she had promised before the lords to be a good Scotchwoman, and to accept whatever was for the good of her son, with whom she is resolved to bide as long as she may, although the lords are bent on separating them. They say that they cannot help her to her 'conjunct feoffment' while her brother makes war on them, and she knows not where any other help may be got. If she is to live with her son, Henry must contribute to her support, as he has done to a certain extent already. She will do as he commands her, and have as few servants as possible. She had asked the Governor and lords in Council why she was holden suspect, and not allowed to be with her son, and the answer she received was that she

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* Calig., B. I., 281. † *Ib.*, 159. ‡ *Ib.*, B. II., 268.
§ *Ib.*, B. II., 11. State Papers, IV., 60, 26 Nov., 1523.

was Henry's sister, and would perhaps take the King her son into England, and they knew well her brother would do more for her than any other. She had answered that her deeds had shown otherwise, and that she could prove the malice of such an imputation! *Thus Henry would see how she suffered for his sake.**

The next scene in the comedy is her displeasure on hearing that the Governor is treating with Henry for peace, without her intervention. 'It is hard,' she complains, 'to be out with the Governor here, and not to know what the King will do for me!' If she had flattered Albany she might have had 'great profits,' but she will not take them till she knows Henry's mind. She has not spoken with Albany since Surrey left, and would not do so, as long as he remained in Scotland, so discontented were they with each other.†

Upon this follows an astounding revelation. Surrey received a letter from the Queen, containing another document, the seals of which had been broken and closed again. It was a copy of an agreement between Queen Margaret and the Duke of Albany; but the manner in which it came to be enclosed in her letter never transpired, though it was thought that the packet had been opened by a spy, and the document inserted, in order to ruin her prospects with her brother.

It ran as follows:—The Queen promises that during the minority of her son, she will never suffer anything contrary to the Duke's authority, and will inform him of it, and hinder as much as she can any wrong intended against him; she will not consent to a truce or peace with England without the comprehension of her son's allies; she will assist to keep him securely, according to the decree of the last Parliament; she will do all she can to hinder any practice against him, of which she may hear, and will inform the Governor of it, if he be in the country, and if not, those who have charge of the King; she will not consent to anything contrary to the alliance with France or to the treaty of Rouen, and will further a marriage

* Queen Margaret to Surrey, Dec. 1523. Record Office.

† Calig., B. I., 209, April 21, 1524.

between her son and one of the daughters of the King of France. The Governor promises to do the like, and to obtain for her an honourable reception by the King of France, if she incurs the enmity of her brother, and is forced to quit the country in consequence of the assistance he may give to Angus, or other evil-disposed persons who may interfere with her goods and conjunct feoffment; he will, if she requests, send some of his servants with her, and will maintain her against every one except the King her son. Both parties swear to keep these promises upon the Holy Gospels.* Wolsey, upon receipt of this information, at once addressed instructions to Dacre, charging him to find out whether such an agreement had really been made, and if so, how the copy of it had found its way into the Queen's letter.

Dacre therefore wrote to her, telling her of the discovery, and recapitulating the contents of the document, adding that the King desired to know whether she had consented to it of her own free will, why it was done, whether she herself sent the copy, or if not, who did, and with what intent. Margaret replied by an indignant but weak denial. The instrument in question was one, she averred, which the Duke had *desired* her to execute, but which she had declined at all costs to meddle with. This explanation was too improbable for Wolsey to accept, the whole course of Margaret's actions tending to shew that had Albany tried and failed to draw her into such a compact, she would unhesitatingly have disclosed the negotiations in order to make capital out of her refusal. The opportunity for demanding large sums as a reward for fidelity to Henry's interests, would have proved irresistible; while, as a matter of fact, the transaction had never been mentioned in any of her letters. Vague hints to the effect that Albany was continually outbidding Henry, had been her refrain for years; but whereas she sent minute and circumstantial details ef every other secret likely to prejudice the country and its Regent, she had been silent as to any definite overtures such as those contained in the document referred to.

* Add. MS., 24, 965, ff. 231 and 234, B.M.

The alternative was to believe that, while pretending to be false, for once she was true to Scotland; and yet she stands so 'rooted in dishonour,' that her acquittal is but little to her credit. Her only resource, when Dacre persisted in his accusation, was to complain of the bad treatment she was receiving at her brother's hands, saying that he neither regarded herself nor her writing; that she had not failed, and did not mean to do so, but that if others had been in her place, they would have acted very differently.* To this Dacre ruthlessly replied that it was well known both in Scotland and in England not only that she had assented to the bond found in her letter, but that it had passed her sign manual and seal, in return for which the Duke had given her the wardship and marriage of the young Earl of Huntly and of others, together with other gifts and rewards, a proceeding which Dacre declared was a great dishonour to her brother, and would perhaps after all avail her but little. He marvelled greatly also at her pretended ignorance of the negotiations on foot between Albany and himself, since in his last letter he had informed her of all the proceedings.†

Margaret continued for some time to feebly deny having allied herself formally with the Governor, complaining of Dacre's 'sharpness' with her, notwithstanding which, he went on bringing proofs of her duplicity before her, till Henry at last ordered him to let the matter drop, whereupon she was willing to do the same.‡

Having failed to secure Margaret's undivided favour in the past, Henry now took a more indulgent line and tried to convince her how much good might accrue to her in future, if she would but 'go the fruitful way.' The unfortunate Angus, who had taken refuge in England, was now sent back to Scotland, in the hope that a possible reconciliation with her husband might estrange the Queen from Albany. But this was far from successful. She could with difficulty be persuaded to receive him, and all the money that Henry sent to her went to strengthen the hands of her husband's enemies, so that Angus

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* Add. MS., 24, 965, f. 223, B.M., May 19, 1524.

† *Ib.*, 24, 965, f. 244, B.M., 27th May, 1524. ‡ *Ib.*, 24, 965, f. 253, B.M.

was obliged to entreat that no further supplies might be provided. Margaret then veered round and said that Albany had sent to her with great offers if she would join his party, adding that perhaps the Duke would marry her after getting her divorced. How this could be possible, considering that Albany had a wife already, might puzzle a mind more fettered by the logic of facts than was the Queen's.

That she was seriously anxious to be agreeable to the Duke, is proved by the instructions she sent to John Cantely, who was to tell Albany her good will towards him and the kingdom of France. And lest he should interpret unfavourably the fact of her having sent ambassadors from herself and her son to England, she assured him that she would do nothing without including France. Finally, she wished to know his intentions towards her, and what he would give her. He must secure for her the protection of the King of France, in the event of her taking his part against England, which she will certainly do if Henry continues to help Angus. If the King of France desires to have her and her son on his side, he must support them. Albany is to keep the matter secret, and not to allow her letters to be sent into England, as has been done formerly, and she will take his part against everybody except her son.* These instructions were written on the 22nd February, 1525, but on the 31st March following, Margaret, in a stormy interview with Magnus, angrily denied having favoured Albany at all. She declared that she had always sought to please Henry, and complained of his letters being 'sore and sharp.' She maintained that she had taken a great matter on hand at his request, and had had much trouble with the Duke of Albany for his sake, yet now that she had plainly told the Duke that she followed Henry's pleasure, Henry would have no more to do with her. If he will not be kind to her, she hopes he will not at least cause Angus to trouble her in her living. She has a plea against Angus before the Pope, and he cannot interfere with her by law. †

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* *Double de la credence de la Royne et mémoire de Mr. John Cantely.* R. O.

† Calig., B. VII., 3.

It was clearly to Henry's interest to persuade Margaret to take her husband back, for Angus belonged with the whole Douglas family to Albany's bitterest enemies. The reconciliation between him and the Regent had been but a short interlude, brought about solely by self-interest, on the part of Angus, and followed by a deep and lasting feud. Added to this claim on Henry's favour was the fact of his possessing a powerful ascendancy over the mind of the young King. But with the page of Henry's own domestic history open before us, it is hardly possible to repress a smile at the arguments against her divorce which Henry put before Margaret at the very moment when he was trying to force the Pope's hand, in order to obtain from him a sentence against his own marriage. The following substance of a letter, written it is true by Wolsey, but dictated by his master, applies in every detail as well to Henry's as to Margaret's case. If we change the pronoun, substitute London for Rome, King for Queen, Katharine for Angus, wife for husband, all that he causes Wolsey to say, becomes as applicable to himself as to his sister.

After desiring her to accept favourably Henry's message, which, he says, much concerns the wealth of her son and her own repute, the Cardinal urges her brother's hope that the 'undeceivable Spirit of God which moved him to send to her will effectually work.' Amid the cares of his government, he has never forgotten her, and hopes she will turn to God's Word, 'the vyvely doctrine of Jesu Christ, the only ground of salvation' (1 Cor. 3.) He reminds her of the divine ordinance of inseparable matrimony, first instituted in Paradise, and hopes her Grace will perceive how she was seduced by flatterers to an unlawul divorce from 'the right noble Earl of Angus, etc.,' upon untrue and insufficient grounds. Furthermore, 'the shameless sentence sent from Rome plainly showed how unlawfully it was handled, judgment being given against a party neither present in person, nor by proxy. He urges her further, for the weal of her soul, and to avoid the inevitable damnation threatened against 'advoutrers,' to reconcile herself with Angus as her true husband, or out of mere natural affection for her daughter whose excellent beauty and pleasant be-

haviour, nothing less godly than goodly, furnished with virtues and womanly demeanour, should soften her heart. That she should be reputed baseborn cannot be avoided, except the Queen will relinquish the 'advoutrous' company' with him that is not, nor may not be of right her husband.*

The individual here mentioned was Harry Stuart, with whom Margaret had already contracted a secret marriage. She does not appear to have been in the least affected by this pious letter, but the manner in which her son received the news of her marriage caused her some inconvenience. In his displeasure, James sent Lord Erskine to besiege his mother and her new husband in Stirling Castle; but what promised to be a tragedy had a somewhat ludicrous ending, for Margaret, in terror of what might follow, at once gave up her husband, who after a short imprisonment was allowed to escape. He promptly rejoined the Queen, and James subsequently forgave him, and created him Lord Methven.

But not even when James had come to his own, did Margaret cease to intrigue. Henry's suspicious and overbearing character made it imperative for him to know all that was going on in Scotland, and his sister was the only available agent for the purpose. It does not appear that the treachery, now doubly odious, cost her the least qualm. The climax was however reached, when after persuading James to confide to her his private instructions to the Scotch ambassador residing in London, she contrived that the information thus obtained should be in Henry's hands at the same moment that it reached its legitimate destination. Fortunately for the affairs of Scotland, the treacherous correspondence was discovered, and Margaret narrowly escaped imprisonment. The immediate consequence was to put an end to the more friendly relations that had been springing up between the two kings, and to prevent a meeting in process of negotiation. At this interview, which was to take place at York, Henry hoped to convert his nephew to his own views regarding the Pope, and to pave the way to a good understanding between them, he sent Barlow

* Calig., B. VI., 194.

and Holcroft to Scotland with a lengthy document containing, with much fulsome flattery of James, all Henry's choice vocabulary of epithets against the 'Bishop of Rome.'* Margaret, ignorant that her son had discovered her treachery, continued to urge him to proceed to York; but her eagerness only roused his suspicions that worse was intended. 'The Queen, your Grace's sister,' wrote Lord William Howard to Henry, 'because she hath so earnestly solicited in the cause of meeting, is in high displeasure with the King her son, he bearing her in hand that she received gifts of your Highness to betray him, with many other unkind and suspicious words.† Enough has been seen of Margaret's method of conduct to make it quite clear what her next step would be. Out of favour with James, she of course threw the whole brunt of her misfortune on Henry, for whose sake she had incurred so much danger and expense, having lived for the last six months at Court, for the sole purpose of advancing his interests.‡ But Henry was beginning to weary of his sister's complaints and appeals for money. Besides, James would in future guard his secrets better, and Margaret almost cease to be useful as a spy. So she must not expect him to disburse notable sums merely because she is his sister, and must learn to be content with the entirely sufficient provision made for her on her marriage with the King of Scots.§

This was all the consolation he could afford her for some time to come, for besides his other reasons for disregarding the letters which she, nothing daunted by his silence, continued to send him, Henry was too much occupied with his own affairs to bestow much thought on a sister whose power of helping him was henceforth small. It was the moment of Anne Boleyn's disgrace, and he was engrossed with the list of crimes he was about to accuse her of. On the subject of Margaret's various marriages, her brother had ever failed to manifest that sympathy which a similarity of tastes would seem to justify.

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* Hamilton Papers, fol. 27. Instructions to Barlow and Holcroft. Oct. 3, 1535.

† State Papers, IV., p. 46.

‡ Add MS., 32, 616, fol. 87. B. M.

§ State Papers, V., 56.

He had assumed the tone of a moralist on her separation from Angus, and had treated Lord Methven in his letters with scant respect, and when in the course of time she began to weary of her new spouse, and to complain of him with increasing bitterness, it was long before Henry could be roused to express any interest in the matter. At last, however, he found a convenient season for attending to her affairs. She had written to inform him that whereas she did Lord Meffen (*sic*) the honour to take him as her husband, he had spent her lands and profits upon his own kin, and had brought her into debt to the sum of 8000 marks Scots, and would give her no account of it. She trusted the King, her son, would treat her to his and her own honour, but if not, she had no refuge but in Henry, and she begged him not to suffer her to be wronged. To this letter he deigned to reply that he should be sorry if his good brother and nephew treated her otherwise than a son should treat his mother. As it appeared by certain evidence, she was well-handled and grown to much wealth and quiet; but according to other reports, quite the contrary, so that he was in doubt which to believe. 'Also,' he continues, 'having heard at other times from you of your evil-treatment by your son and Lord Muffyn, (*sic*) and as we are sending the bearer into those parts, on our business, we desire you to show him the points wherein you note yourself evil-handled, and whether you desire us to treat of them with your son, or only generally to recommend your condition.* Margaret had remained faithful to Lord Methven for about ten years, and it was not till 1537 that she thought of applying formally for a divorce, her chief plea being that he wasted her money, although she said she had 'forty famous proofs' against him. †

James was furious, and ordered that the divorce, whether obtained at the cost of more false oaths, or whether Margaret's so-called third husband really had a wife living when he married her, should not be proclaimed in Scotland. This was what constituted Margaret's grievance

* State Papers, V. 65. 9 Ib., V. 63.

† Hamilton Papers, fol. 105. Oct. 13th, 1537.

against her son, his objection to her divorce being, she declared, the fear lest she should pass into England and remarry the Earl of Angus. 'And this Harry Stuart Lord of Methven causes him to believe this of *me!*' she exclaimed contemptuously.* One plea for getting rid of the now despised Harry Stuart is too amusing to be passed over. James was in France whither he had gone to bring home his bride, the young and beautiful Magdalene, daughter of the French King, and Margaret thought to induce her brother to interest himself in her divorce through his jealousy of the French. After begging him to send a special messenger to the King her son to know his 'utter mind' she says: 'For now dearest brother your Grace I trust will consider that now the Queen his wife is to come into this realm soon after Easter, as he hath sent word here, to make ready for the same, and that being, it will be great dishonour to him that I, his mother having a just cause to part, can nought get a final end; and I trust your Grace will consider I may do your Grace and my son more honour to be without him (Lord Methven) than to have him, considering that he is but a sober man, and if the Queen that is to come, see me not entreated as I should be, she will think it an evil example.'†

But all efforts were fruitless; Henry could not be persuaded to plead his sister's cause, and James was obdurate. Margaret, however, then in her forty-ninth year, dispensed with the legal formality she had hitherto considered necessary, and allied herself to a certain John Stuart, who, according to some opinions, is identical with the adventurous Earl of Arran, so notorious in the reign of James VI. Then, a few more miserable years of petty intrigues, when it was no longer in her power to carry on important ones, and the faithless, undignified life drew to a close. But before the end, a ray of sorrow for her mis-spent days brightened the hitherto unrelieved gloom of Margaret's career. Henry's messenger, sent after her death to gather up the details of her last moments, and above all to find out whether she had made a will, wrote to his master as

* State Papers, V., 119. † Hamilton Papers, fol. 109.

follows :—'When she did perceive that death did approach, she did desire the friars that was her confessors, that they should sit on their knees before the King, and to beseech him that he would be good and gracious unto the Earl of Angwische, and did extremely lament and ask God mercy that she had offended unto the said Earl as she had.' * The friars were also to plead with her son for the Lady Margaret Douglas, the daughter whom she had so remorselessly abandoned, and to beg him that she might have some of her mother's goods. And thus, making what reparation she could, with penitent words on her lips, Margaret Tudor passed away.

After his sister's death, Henry had few opportunities of interfering in the affairs of Scotland, and to the end of his reign, the State Papers relating to the intercourse between the two Kings, contain little beyond commercial treaties, safe conducts, and mutual compliments.

ART. II.—LORD WOLSELEY'S LIFE OF MARLBOROUGH.

The Life of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, to the Accession of Queen Anne. By Field-Marshal VISCOUNT WOLSELEY, K.P. London. 1894.

WE shall sharply criticise parts of this book, but parts of it are of undoubted merit. Lord Wolseley has given us a life of Marlborough in the first stages of his splendid career, which, if very far from a great biography, easily eclipses Coxe's rather dull narrative, and the extremely imperfect sketch of Alison. We shall take exception to his account of many passages of Marlborough's conduct; his portrait of his subject is flawed and blemished, and has its lights and shadows badly arranged; he has not placed before us the living image of the man. But he has brought out features of Marlborough's

* Ray to the Privy Council. State Papers, V., pt. IV., 193.

character which hitherto have remained obscure, or overlaid by clouds of detraction; he has added largely to our knowledge of Marlborough's exploits in the early phase of his military life, and he has, in some measure, relieved his hero's memory from charges unduly pressed against him. Lord Wolseley, too, possesses descriptive skill; his sketches of Charles and James II., and of William III., show insight and art; and he has caught and reproduced the genius of the age of the Restoration and of the Revolution of 1688—a comprehension of this, we need hardly say, is essential to the true interpretation of his theme—though he has not shown distinctly enough how this influence affected the leading men of the time. Some chapters of the work are of sterling value, as illustrating military events of the period; the narrative of these, if not of the highest order, is lucid, judicious, and very well arranged. One characteristic of Lord Wolseley, as a writer on war, deserves special praise. He appreciates the importance of 'the divine side of the art;' perceives that the genius of great captains is the paramount cause of victory in the field; and assigns their just value to the moral forces of enthusiasm, patriotism, and energetic zeal, which have repeatedly played a decisive part in war. He has done well clearly to bring out these truths, in an age when mechanism, organisation, and mere material power, have been largely accepted as almost the only elements that determine the issues of campaigns and battles.

The defects of this work, however, are grave and numerous; we are compelled to direct attention to them. Lord Wolseley is Marlborough's avowed champion; but his championship is hardly judicious or skilful. Many circumstances of the age, in a great measure, palliate the misdeeds and even the crimes of Marlborough, and especially explain why he was held up to odium, beyond other public men of his day. Lord Wolseley, however, does not give the weight to these considerations which they certainly have in the eyes of a fair-minded enquirer. He repeatedly adopts a mode of defence, which, in our judgment, is quite untenable. He sometimes vindicates Marlborough on high moral grounds, from which he can be dislodged with ease;] has raised the subject of his eulogy to a bad eminence, in whi

his worst deformities are all the more conspicuous. He makes excuses, besides, for Marlborough, which really are not excuses at all; more than once he evades the true question at issue, in an examination of Marlborough's conduct; occasionally he has recourse to mere sophistry. As regards the two worst acts of Marlborough's life, his desertion of his master, in the face of the enemy, and his atrocious treachery in the affair of Brest, Lord Wolseley's vindication utterly breaks down; he ought never to have chosen the lines he has followed. Lord Wolseley, too, in the course of his narrative, indulges in sallies quite out of place; he makes comparisons and draws contrasts which have no bearing on his immediate subject; he scoffs at modern statesmen, and modern opinion, with what we can only describe as flippancy; in this respect his heady and impetuous sarcasms form a bad foil to the serene intelligence, and the unerring judgment of the great captain and diplomatist he has made his study. One episode of this work is very erroneous. In his sketch of the state of the military art in the second part of the seventeenth century, Lord Wolseley has taken the period when its decline was marked, as the standard by which it can be fairly measured; and, in his brief description of the Army of France, he has omitted one feature of extreme importance. He is also hardly just to Turenne, as a strategist, second to Napoleon alone, and if inferior to Marlborough on the field of battle, assuredly his superior in the great movements of war. An irreverent critic, who had read Lord Wolseley's sneers at merely learned generals, sneers that, in some instances, are mere paradox, might ascribe these mis-statements to want of knowledge; but we think they may be more truly referred to a desire to magnify his hero's exploits. The book, we must add, contains some positive mistakes, which should not be found in a good biography; and it abounds in words that are hardly pure English.*

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* We refer here to a few of these mistakes, not in a carping spirit, but in order to bring them under the author's notice. I., Vol. I., p. 15—Crewkerne is in Somerset, and Lyme Regis in Dorset; Lord Wolseley has placed them in Devon. II., *Ibid.*, p. 54—'The great majority of the

Lord Wolseley's sketches of the Churchills and Drakes, of Ash house, and the valley of the Axe, and of all that surrounded Marlborough's childhood, show much research. and are very attractive; but our space precludes us from dwelling on them. The blood of the Cavalier and the Roundhead mingled in John Churchill; but his sympathies were on the side of the Cavaliers; he continued, through life, a Tory at heart. The boy learned the rudiments from a High Church Divine; was brought up in the chill shade of poverty; and witnessed at the Court of Claims, in Dublin, the miseries endured by loyal Irish gentlemen; these associations, Lord Wolseley truly remarks, had, in all probability, a strong influence on a powerful understanding, and a cautious nature. Young Churchill was for some time at St. Paul's, but he appears not to have learned much at school, though no inference, Lord Wolseley properly says, can be drawn from the fact that his spelling was bad, and his writings and speeches plainly show, that, as in the case of all vigorous

English and Scotch subjects,' of Charles II., were certainly not 'Presbyterians and Nonconformists,' as Lord Wolseley asserts they were. III., *Ibid.*, p. 119—Napoleon Corr., 32, p. 146, charges Turenne with participating in the bad advice given by Louvois to Louis XIV., in 1672, and denies that Turenne made the recommendations Lord Wolseley mentions. IV., *Ibid*, p. 124—Turenne was not left 'to complete the Conquest of Holland,' in 1673, as Lord Wolseley has written; in that year he was making one of his finest marches in Germany, while the French were overrunning Holland; and he was ultimately outgeneralled by Montecuculli on the Main. Napoleon Corr., pp. 147-8., V. *Ibid.*, p. 272. 'The great Locke,' did not give '£400' to assist Monmouth in his enterprise; Lord Wolseley has confounded Locke with another person called Nicholas Locke, or Look. Macaulay, II., p. 123, Ed. 1858. VI., Vol. II., p. 8. The Prince of Wales was not born while 'the trial' of the Seven Bishops 'was proceeding;' he was born nearly three months before the trial. Macaulay, III., p. 98, 110. VII., *Ibid.*, p. 14. Skelton was not 'the English Ambassador at the Hague' in 1688; that post was held by Albeville. Macaulay, III., 100. VIII., *Ibid.*, p. 236. Lord Wolseley scarcely alludes to the fall of Mons, the capital event of the campaign of 1691, which provoked intense indignation against William III. in England. IX., *Ibid.*, p. 304. The treason of Marlborough in the affair of Brest was certainly not 'repeated,' as Lord Wolseley has said, 'as an historical fact for nearly two centuries;' it was not even suspected till long after Marlborough's death in 1722.

intellects, he could clearly and fully convey his meaning. It is a tradition that the lad read the work of Vegetius; but almost certainly he never made the history of war a special study; nor was he deeply versed in the learning of his art. He was at a disadvantage, in this, compared with Condé, trained in military knowledge from his teens, and to Turenne, who devoted laborious hours to the campaigns of Cæsar and Alexander's marches; and Churchill, besides, unlike these great soldiers, was not brought up among men of the sword.†

Churchill entered the Foot Guards in his eighteenth year, the first stage in his glorious career as a soldier. We need not inquire whether this preferment was due to the shame of Arabella, his sister; all that is certain is that James was a beneficent master, and a kind friend to him; and this circumstance must be kept in sight, in examining the servant's subsequent conduct. Lord Wolseley very properly condemns the extravagance of Macaulay and other writers, in denouncing, as an inexpiable sin, the amour of the young Guardsman with Barbara Palmer; assuredly, even in these decorous days, a beautiful and reckless woman of the world has seduced many a handsome boy. Churchill compares favourably, in the sphere of morals, with Condé, the most selfish of *roués*, and even with Turenne, whose

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† His genius, however, which consisted rather in inspiration, and judgment in the shock of battle, than in the large combinations of war, was not of the kind that owed much to learning; and Churchill, moreover, we must bear in mind, served, when young, under the eye of Turenne, experience and discipline of much greater value than anything the reading of books could afford. Marlborough cannot be deemed a profound student of war; but Lord Wolseley rushes into paradox, when, in comparing Marlborough with William III., that is a commander of the very first order, with a highly educated man of routine, he almost hints that the study of war is not of much use. No doubt, a great captain, like a great poet, is born, not made; but in the military, as in every other art, meditation, and the examination of what has been achieved, by consummate artists, is of immense importance. Napoleon was one of the most learned of soldiers; he has placed it on record that the best method of understanding war, in its highest aspects, is to master the campaigns of great warriors; and Moltke, in our day, has been a grand example, how industry and vast theoretical knowledge may, in some measure, supply the want of genius, and even accomplish prodigious success.

ill-starred passion for the Longueville led him fatally astray; a charge of this kind would have been never heard of, had there been nothing more against Marlborough's fame. As for Churchill's accepting money from a wealthy mistress, such things, Lord Wolseley remarks, were done in that age; we find instances, even in the circle of Versailles; and if the act shows the want of a nice sense of honour, it may at least be said that paid lovers of the Empress Catherine were some of the finest gentlemen of another day. Nor is there much in the accusation that the prudent gallant bought an annuity with his illgotten gains; this was by no means a very bad specimen of the misplaced parsimony, which was one of the least agreeable features of Marlborough's character. The excellence of Churchill, in his married life, is, as Lord Wolseley correctly observes, a complete set off to these youthful sins; unquestionably he was a model husband, in an age when conjugal virtue was almost unknown. Lord Wolseley has published a number of letters from Churchill to his wife, before and after marriage, which form not the least interesting part of the book; they touch the heart, after the lapse of centuries; they are instinct with passionate devotion and the deepest tenderness. As we read them we see the best side of Marlborough's complex and subtle nature; we are attracted to him despite his misdeeds, we feel that he was not a mere treacherous Harpagon. This profound affection, we must not forget, remained unchanged, though Marlborough's wife contributed to his tremendous fall; and it stood the trial of all that a violent woman could do to annoy an uxorious husband.

It was the fortune of Churchill, like Eugène and Moltke, to see war, for the first time, amidst the tribes of Islam; but his services at Tangiers were of no importance. He was in the fleet at Solebay in the Dutch War of 1672, was an officer in the expeditionary British force attached, for a time, to the French army, and was, for some years, in the camp of Turenne. He distinguished himself greatly at the siege of Maestricht, and was thanked, on the spot, by Louis XIV.; and he won golden opinions from Turenne for his heroism on the bloody day of Entzheim, and for the intelligence and valour he often displayed. There can be no doubt that this experience was most valuable in

his career afterwards; and though his genius was different from that of Turenne, the example and the skill of that illustrious chief must have taught him many a lesson in war. Lord Wolseley's account of these passages is somewhat vague, if not inaccurate; we are surprised he has not referred to the fact that Villars, the future adversary of the great Englishman, and a soldier of hardly inferior power, was a companion in arms of Churchill at this time, and was also conspicuous for his daring at the siege of Maestricht.*

In 1678 Churchill became the husband of one of the most extraordinary women of that age. Lord Wolseley has properly dwelt, at some length, on the remarkable character of Sarah

* In this part of his book Lord Wolseley has sketched the state of the art of war in that age; but his description, as we have said, is misleading. He has selected the campaign of 1691, as a specimen of the military operations of the time; has asserted that war had still the contracted aspect of the siege operations of the First Nassaus; and has even denied that winter campaigns were common. All this conveys a very false impression: the campaign of 1691, and the campaign that followed, marked a period of retrogression in the military art,* and contrast unfavourably with the great passages of arms of the last years of the Thirty Years War, and of the War closed by the Peace of Nimeguen; and to set up such a standard is a sheer fallacy. As to war being what it had been seventy years before, this ignores the revolution wrought by Gustavus, and even, in a greater degree, by Turenne, whose genius 'substituted his wars of marches for the wars of sieges before general;' and as to winter campaigns, we need only refer to Turenne's exploits in 1646, in 1673, and in 1674, noble examples of fine operations in winter. We have little doubt, we have said, that Lord Wolseley's object, in making these statements, was to place the genius of Marlborough in the fullest relief, and to maintain that he gave a new impulse to war; but he contradicts history in this respect; and, in our judgment, the most brilliant marches of the great War of the Spanish Succession are hardly equal to the best of those of Turenne, to whost extraordinary and original gifts, Lord Wolseley has done only scane justice. In his account too of the French Army of the time, Lord Wolseley omits the capital fact, that its infantry had been almost trebled by Turenne—a change that marked a new era in war (Napoleon Corr., 32, 146.)—and in his sketch of the fight of Entzheim, he contradicts Napoleon on a most important point—the able movement of Beurnonville against the French left wing.

* This is specially noted by Villars, I. 119. The Vogüe edition.

Jennings, for her influence on Marlborough's career was immense; but for her he might never have won Blenheim; but for her he might never have been disgraced in 1712. It is not improbable, Lord Wolseley has acutely remarked, that a vein of insanity ran through her being; her impatience of contradiction, her furious temper, her fixed passionate ideas seem allied to madness. Yet, undoubtedly, she was devoted, through life, to Marlborough, after her eccentric fashion, even if her love sometimes appeared coquettish, and was accompanied with sallies of untamed violence; the scandals told against her are all falsehoods. Lord Wolseley has also published some of her letters; they are less characteristic than those of Churchill, and reveal a vehement and uncertain nature; but they are affectionate, and, on the whole, pleasing; and they show what was the best and most human in her. For the rest, Atossa is a vindictive caricature; and no one can question the genuine love of the great Duchess for her renowned Lord. A visit to the Blenheim, of forty years ago, where every room and gallery contained tokens of affection to Marlborough placed by her hand, would have convinced the most sceptical on this subject.

We shall only glance at Lord Wolseley's account of the life of Churchill during the six years that followed. The admirable tact, and power of persuasion which made him the first diplomatist of his time, were evidently perceived, while he was still young; he was employed by Charles II. and the Duke of York in various missions of a delicate kind. Thus he was sent to negotiate with the Prince of Orange, with reference to some of those demonstrations against France, which were never sincerely meant by the King; and he repeatedly carried messages between the royal brothers, which prove that he fully possessed their confidence. The most marked feature, however, of this part of his career is the position he held as a favourite, and a friend of James, and the ascendency of his wife, and his own, in his patron's councils. It is idle to say, as Lord Wolseley hints, that James did not do much for him; Churchill was made Gentleman of the Bed Chamber to the Duke of York, a Colonel and a General of Brigade; he obtained before long a Scotch Peerage; and James endeavoured to raise him to high office in the State. As to Sarah

Churchill, we need not repeat the story how she became Lady of the Bed Chamber to the Princess Anne; how Mrs. Freeman, almost from the first, was loved, honoured, and rewarded by Mrs. Morley; and how she acquired that influence over her mistress, which was to affect the fortunes of Europe. Lord Wolseley may insinuate that favours like these are trifles hardly deserving notice; this reminds us of the famous 'nothings' of Junius, in his scornful castigation of Sir William Drapier. The intimacy, too, of James and of Mary of Modena, with both the Churchill's was close and cordial, they all lived together in the many wanderings of the royal pair, in those troubled times; and we say again, this must be borne in mind, in considering the betrayal of a few years afterwards.

Churchill, in these years, took no part in politics, and refused, Lord Wolseley tells us, a seat in Parliament. We can hardly doubt, however, that, with his observant caution, he carefully watched the signs of the times; in his case, certainly, as in that of all the contemporary leading men of England, the influence of a revolutionary age, which sapped loyalty, destroyed faith and principle, and made life a scramble of selfishness, had a powerful and unhappy effect; and this, too, must be taken into account, in reviewing all that is worst in his conduct. On the accession of James, he was made a Peer of England, and—a plain mark of his acknowledged talents—he was despatched to Versailles to deal with Louis XIV., in one of those underhand bargains, which the great King made with his vassal of England. He soon afterwards obtained a command in the army, employed to put down the rising of Monmouth, though the incapable Feversham was his chief; and, on this occasion, he displayed, for the first time, if on a small scale, and in a petty conflict, the powers of a real leader in war. Lord Wolseley's description of this brief campaign is one of the best parts of his book, and largely redeems its defects and errors. The narrative, if somewhat wanting in dramatic force, gives proof of true insight and sound judgment; the operations are placed clearly before us; and the story, on the whole, is admirably told.

We must, however, pass over the excellent account of the slow and hesitating advance of Monmouth, and of the timidity

and remissness of Feversham; neither had the capacity of a true soldier. Nor can we dwell on the graphic description of the night attack on the rebel army, of the panic in the camp of Weston Zoylaud, of the discomfiture in front of the Bussex Rhine, and of the ultimate destruction of Monmouth's levies. All this is exceedingly well told, save that Lord Wolseley, perhaps, has condemned Grey too severely for the defeat of his untrained horsemen, and has not sufficiently shown how the royal army was, in itself deficient in order and discipline, the one circumstance that gave its assailants a chance. The point to be noted is the skill displayed by Churchill in these operations, from first to last, and especially at Sedgemoor on the field. He hung on the flank of the rebels as they moved; seized the initiative, while his superior lost it; and often saw through the enemy's designs. His coolness and resource were admirable too, in encountering a sudden and perilous attack made in the midst of confusion and darkness; and his readiness in directing his guns and his men to the decisive point where the fight was raging, and in charging across the Bussex Rhine exhibited the gifts of a true leader. In these movements, comparatively trifling as they were, we see a presage of the genius in war which shone out at Blenheim and Ramillies; and Lord Wolseley has properly dwelt on them. We should add that he has done justice to the heroism and stubbornness of the ill-fated rebels; he rightly sees what wonders religious fervour and patriotism have often achieved in the field.

Lord Wolseley dwells at considerable length on the misgovernment of James II., and describes his persistent and unwise attacks on the liberties, the laws, and the Church of England. He also sketches the foreign policy of the King; sets clearly before us the views and the aims of Louis XIV. and the Prince of Orange, the great antagonists on the stage of Europe; and shows how England was drawn, by the events of 1688, into the arena of a mighty Continental war. He owes, for his account of these remarkable years, more to Macaulay, than he would like to admit; and it is a rash and feeble sally of his to call Macaulay 'an historical novelist.' His portrait of James is, however, well done, as is that of the voluptuous cynic Charles; and he has

given us a very graphic picture of William III., of his profound ambition, his heroic nature, his calculating and unscrupulous craft, his ungainly presence, and his harsh cold manner, so thoroughly distasteful to English gentlemen. This part of the narrative is striking and good, but it is injured by what we must call irrelevance. In describing the position of France, England, and Holland at this time, Lord Wolseley repeatedly makes allusions to the European politics of these days; denounces our want of preparation for war, our unwise reliance on our navy alone, and the deficiency of our military force; and breaks out into sarcasms against the selfishness and short-sightedness of English parties and statesmen. All this is well enough in its place, but in the present work is beside the subject; a biography of Marlborough should not be mixed up with a pamphlet of the last years of the nineteenth century.

Churchill kept, as was his wont, aloof from politics, in the first years of the reign of James. We can readily believe that he viewed with displeasure, the oppressive and reckless conduct of the King; and we may accept Lord Wolseley's statement that he remonstrated against the ascendency being given to Popery. This did not, however, prevent him from seeking preferment; he was raised to the rank of Lieutenant General, a short time before he abandoned his master. His first steps in treason were made after Dykveldt's mission; he joined the conspirators against James; and he wrote a plausible letter to the Prince of Orange, assuring him of his cordial support. He soon became one of the most powerful agents, in the intrigues that brought about, by underhand means, the fate of the Stuarts, and the Revolution of 1688; and a very few words will describe his conduct. His influence over the army, after Sedgemoor, was great; and, in all probability, it was he who arranged the defection of Cornbury, Kirke, and Trelawney. Meantime Lady Churchill had secured Anne; and the weak Princess, following the counsels of her friends, had willingly consented to betray her father. When the news of what Cornbury had done arrived, James entreated Churchill, and other officers to say if they would remain true; the professions of Churchill were loud and profuse; and he accompanied the King to Salisbury, to join the army, then at a

short distance from William's camp. At Salisbury Churchill urged his master to fight; he then suddenly threw off the mask; and, acting on a long preconcerted design, he went over with Grafton to the Prince of Orange, in open arms against Churchill's sovereign. This defection annihilated the power of James; his army soon proved a broken reed; and he fled to Whitehall to find his daughter gone, and his crown already fallen from his head. We may reject the statement that Churchill had meant to hand James over to the Prince of Orange; he always preferred dexterous, to violent measures.

It is impossible to excuse a betrayal like this, premeditated, cruel, perfidious, and base; yet some palliating circumstances may be borne in mind. It is vain, indeed, to urge that other public men acted after the same fashion as Churchill; they had not been from youth the familiar friends of James; they did not owe everything in life to him. But the demoralising and corrupting influences of the age, to which we have already adverted, to a certain extent, explain Churchill's conduct; the time was one of violent changes in affairs of State, of savage faction, of reckless scheming, of political profligacy of the extremest kind; and treason and disloyalty cease to appear criminal, when the sentiment of honour, and the sense of duty, have almost died out of the hearts of men, and they live, as it were from hand to mouth, for themselves only. Turenne has been called by a poet godlike, and has been described as an honour to mankind, by Montecuculli, his ablest foe; and yet Turenne, at a period not unlike that of 1688, abandoned his army, and was false to his trust, that is, was not free from guilt of the same type as Churchill's, if not equally odious and shocking. It is fair, too, to add that, in this instance, a real principle gave colour, at least, to treason. Churchill cannot be deemed a religious man; but he had, from childhood, the reverence of the Cavalier for the Church; and it is difficult to understand in our day, how powerfully this feeling affected conduct. Church stood before King in the Tory toast; the Church had been the rallying cry of the great Tory following for many troubled years; and the misgovernment of James had insulted the Church, and placed the whole institution in danger. It may justly be urged that

Churchill felt his allegiance divided at this crisis; in what he did he was 'falsely true;' insufficient and feeble as is the plea.

These considerations have not escaped Lord Wolseley; but he does not put them forward with sufficient fulness, for they are nearly all that can be alleged for Churchill. He slips out, too, angry words at his hero, as if to set things right with his conscience; but he, nevertheless, makes a defence for him which we must pronounce hopeless, and even frivolous. Lord Wolseley contends that, in this matter, Churchill acted from a lofty sense of duty, and was in the highest degree a patriot; his betrayal of his master was against his interests; in any case, he did lasting good to England; but pleas like these are trifling with the facts, or sophistry. Churchill's conduct was universally condemned at the time; even his fellow conspirators looked askance at him; his unhappy master cursed him as the worst of men; and Reresby expresses the general drift of opinion in recording that this desertion was deemed black ingratitude. As for Churchill's interest, he profited largely from the Revolution, and shared in its spoils; and it is reasonable to suppose that he believed he would possess immense influence under the new order of things, through his wife's instrument, the Princess Anne, though he was disappointed in this hope afterwards. That what he did was a national service, may be true; but who has excused Talleyrand in 1814, and Marmont, when he went into the camp of the Allies, on flimsy pretences, which ignore the real question at issue, their moral turpitude? In view of the plain facts, our gorge rises, when we read in these pages that 'in the virtues of public and private life,' Marlborough 'was far ahead of his contemporaries;' that 'no dispassionate judge can withhold his admiration for his manly, honest, and steadfast resolution' in destroying his master; and that he 'preferred the cause of the Reformation (!) to the loyal promptings of his heart, and to all immediate considerations of his own immediate interests.'

Churchill was created Earl of Marlborough by William III.; was made one of the Council of Nine who ruled England during the absence of the King; and received appointments, Macaulay

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* *Memoirs*, p. 370. Ed. 1813.

tells us, supposed to be worth £12,000 a year; his disinterested patriotism proved a real god-send. It deserves notice that, as soon as he had climbed to power, the charges of peculation, extortion, and greed, which proved fatal afterwards, were made against him; exaggerated as they may be, they cannot be dismissed by the passing denial of Lord Wolseley. Marlborough distinguished himself at the bloody skirmish of Walcourt, described with some spirit in these pages; it would have been well for our army had he been in command in the Low Countries in the campaigns that followed. He remained, however, for the most part, at home, while William and his Dutch lieutenants conducted the war, and the consequences must be pronounced unfortunate. Lord Wolseley dwells on the long doubtful contest in Ireland, and justly remarks that it reflects little credit on the capacity of the King and his generals. One point of considerable importance he omits: William failed to secure the command of the sea, as Cromwell had secured it forty years before, and this was attended with bad results; the conduct of the operations on the two occasions presents indeed a remarkable contrast. The combined naval power of Holland and England ought to have made this advantage certain; but it was misdirected and even wasted; and this was the real cause of the defeat of Beachy Head, which placed the Revolution in extreme danger. The one bright episode, in fact, in the war in Ireland, was Marlborough's attack on Cork and Kensale, operations admirably told by Lord Wolseley, and which again give proof of Marlborough's powers. These strokes were aimed at a vital point, the communications of the French army by sea; and ultimately they led to important success. We are surprised that Lord Wolseley, who understands what patriotism and a strong faith can accomplish in war, has not noticed the heroic qualities displayed at Londonderry and Limerick alike.

Lord Wolseley notices the campaigns of William in Belgium, and comments on his slow and ill-conceived movements. He has not done justice to one great quality of the King, his indomitable constancy in evil fortune, and his account is plainly intended to mark a contrast with Marlborough's splendid exploits on the same theatre of war. William, however, was not a great

captain; he was conscious of this, and expressed his regret that he had not served under the grand Condé, his adversary on the field of Seneffe, and probably the issue of Steinkirk and Landen would have been different had Marlborough commanded the allied army. An admirer of genius turns with grief and shame to its dismal eclipse in the years that followed. William had been hardly seated on the throne when Marlborough began to plot against him; he entered into a correspondence with James, and grovelled at his late master's feet, and he informed Jacobite agents, Lord Wolseley admits, of what the Government knew their movements; may be sent intelligence to Saint Germains 'of naval and military plans' arranged at the Council Board at Whitehall. Here, again, something may be said to extenuate, if justification or excuse are impossible. The settlement of the Revolution was extremely insecure; several late ministers of the exiled sovereign concurred with Marlborough in these acts of treason, and undoubtedly they were strongly tempted to provide for their own safety by hedging with Fortune, and dealing with James, in the not unlikely chance, that he might regain the crown he had lost. Marlborough, too, had special and potent reasons to resent much that had lately happened. He had been coldly treated by William and Mary at Court; he had been baffled in his hope of gaining immense authority through the agency of the Princess Anne; above all, conscious as he was of his military gifts, he felt bitterly that foreigners, not to be compared to him, had been placed over his head in superior command. If a legitimate King, moreover, in that age could not expect loyalty from a subject, a usurper certainly could not look for it.

Once more Lord Wolseley refers to the facts which may be urged on behalf of Marlborough, but, as before, he hardly relies on them, and he has suggested a defence of no value whatever. Marlborough, he says, was angling for a pardon from James, and was not sincere in his negotiations with him; he did not intend to betray the Revolution and England. But the question is one of a moral nature, of the character to be affixed on Marlborough's conduct, and it does not lessen his guilt, nay, it makes it worse, if he was deceiving the late King as well as William, and was playing the part of a double traitor. A spy is not the less a spy,

if he resorts to both camps and acts the part of a villain in both, and this casuistry only aggravates the case.

We come next to the affair of Brest, and to Marlborough's share in it, and here his champion, too, has proved a complete failure. The British expedition was defeated, and Talmash was slain, because the French had been put on their guard by communications from England to Versailles, and one of these confessedly was made by Marlborough. Lord Wolseley imagines that he has relieved his hero from blame for a most atrocious act of treachery—it would have sent him to Tower Hill, even in that bad age, had it been known or even suspected—by alleging that Marlborough's letter had been forestalled, and that others had sent the information before him. Undoubtedly Marlborough was not the first in the field, and the intelligence he gave was what is called 'stale news,' but we are at a loss to perceive how this diminishes, even in the slightest degree, the guilt of conduct which consisted in telling an enemy a fact of supreme importance to him. If it could be shown, indeed, that Marlborough knew that the information he sent had been sent already, this would not make him less morally culpable, but it would place him in a less odious light; unhappily, the evidence points the opposite way. Marlborough's letter contains the damning words: 'It is but this day that it came to my knowledge what I send to you;' he was, therefore, not aware that the message he conveyed, of the expedition to Brest, had been conveyed previously, It is significant, and very suggestive beside, that Talmash had been preferred to him; we need not indicate the possibly terrible inference.

The conduct of Marlborough on this occasion stands out as the worst act of his life, and even palliation is here impossible. Some time previously he had been dismissed, with marked ignominy, from the service of the King, and his wife and the Princess Anne were involved in his fall. Notwithstanding Macaulay's prodigous research, these occurrences have not been fully explained; but Lord Wolseley's account is very misleading. Lord Wolseley does not believe that Marlborough's project to induce Parliament to remove from England the Dutch officers, and the Dutch regiments—that is to deprive

the King of his best supporters—had the restoration of James in view; but it is absolutely certain that James and William suspected at least that this was his purpose. Nor does Lord Wolseley examine the question, whether the plan of Marlborough was not a deep design to place Anne on her father's throne, and through her to become supreme in England, setting both William and James aside. Many Jacobites thought this was his object, and on this very ground they informed to Bentinck against him. That the man who afterwards sought to obtain an absolute control over the British army, and who was held up to odium as a second Cromwell, was capable of such an intention, is not impossible; and the subserviency of Anne, to Marlborough and his wife, made her, we must recollect, a mere tool in their hands. Lord Wolseley endeavours to show that the disgrace of Marlborough was mainly due to comparatively trifling causes; to the personal animosity of the King and the Queen; to ill-natured gossip that reached their ears; to intrigues of the Bed Chamber and the Palace; but this is contradicted by the known evidence. It appears certain that William believed Marlborough to be a plotter of a very dangerous kind, and Sarah to be, at least, an accomplice; and Anne was harshly treated because she would not give up friends who, it was tolerably well known, were devising treason.

Marlborough, after these events, was sent to the Tower, and perhaps narrowly escaped a miserable death. He owed much to the desperate men, who, very inferior to him in the genius of intrigue, were endeavouring to restore the exiled house of Stuart. He was falsely accused by Young and Fenwick: with characteristic adroitness and resource, turned the charges made by Young to his own advantage, but remained banished from the Court for a time. He regained by degrees the favour of William; was appointed governor of the young Duke of Gloucester, and ultimately was made Commander-in-chief of our forces in Belgium, and negotiated the grand alliance of 1701, in conjunction with the King. We need not dwell on the causes of this return of fortune, they are set forth by Lord Wolseley and other writers. William knew that Marlborough was a skilled diplomatist, and a soldier of the very highest promise; if he distrusted him, he

could not dispense with his services; and, besides, Queen Mary was dead, the King's days were numbered; Anne was about to ascend the throne; the Act of Settlement had become law; and Marlborough had the strongest possible interest to maintain the existing order of things in England. Lord Wolseley has thrown fresh light on the protracted councils which inaugurated the great League against Louis XIV.; he has clearly brought out Marlborough's wisdom and tact, especially in the management of English public men, and he is doubtless correct in hinting that Marlborough played a greater part in these negotiations than the dying King. Lord Wolseley, however, has here made a mistake, in all probability a slip of the pen, in describing the arrangements made by the Grand Alliance; he states that it was one of the terms of the compact, that 'a transfer,' of 'the Spanish Crown,' was not to be made 'to any member of the Bourbon family;' but the allies in 1701 were willing to leave Spain tc Philip of Anjou. The point is important, if we recollect the war policy of the Whigs in 1711-12; the ambitious and selfish conduct of Marlborough, and the long negotiations before the Peace of Utrecht.

Lord Wolseley's volumes end at this point; we shall eagerly look forward to the remaining parts of this work. His account of Blenheim and Ramillies will, no doubt, be excellent, and we especially wish to read his comments on Marlborough's great march from the Meuse to the Danube, a movement, we believe, inspired by Eugene, unavoidable perhaps, as affairs stood, and executed with consummate skill; but, nevertheless, hazardous in the highest degree, and hardly a specimen of the best type of strategy.* We shall also expect a careful description of the state of English and foreign politics at the time; of the ascendancy of Marlborough and his wife in our Councils; of the furious and reckless strife of parties in the State; of the quarrel of Sarah Jennings and Anne Stuart, and finally of Marlborough's fall from his high estate; here we shall only remark, that we hope Lord Wolseley will not, as he has already done, misinterpret

* Napoleon has made notes on this campaign never published. Could not Lord Wolseley see these? It is believed they are in the Louvre.

Swift. The capital fault of this work is that the author represents Marlborough as a high-souled being, soiled, no doubt, by the corrupted currents of the age, but essentially a noble, and pure minded patriot. This ideal, we believe, is absolutely false; and Marlborough, we fear, if the most gifted and illustriou of the Englishmen of his day, was also one of the most self-seeking, the most unscrupulous, the most devoid of conscience, and principle. Yet there were special reasons why this great man was singled out for contempt and odium; Lord Wolseley would have done better to set these out, than to attempt a description contradicted by the facts. Marlborough was an obscure man, who rose through his own genius, a kind of rise that usually provokes jealousy; his avarice and greed if to be ascribed, perhaps, in some degree, to his youth of privations, were vices particularly disliked in that age; he did not permanently belong to any party in the State, shifted from one to the other, and was abused by both; he was a royal favourite, with his wife, for years, possessing extraordinary power and influence, a position always viewed with distrust by Englishmen; and he was suspected of a design to reach supreme power, and to overthrow our laws and liberties by his sword. These considerations largely explain why he was pursued with ferocious obloquy; they must be borne in mind in judging his conduct, and Lord Wolseley ought to have placed them in striking relief. We have freely condemned a great deal in this book, but we have done justice, we hope, to its real merits.

WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS.

ART. III.—THREE TALES OF THE FIANN.

IF but one half of all that Celtic scholars and students of folk-lore have written about Fionn and the Fiann within the past quarter of a century has taken effect on the general reader, it ought to be the case with their story as with that of Alexander in Chaucer's time, of whom he says—

> 'That every wight that hath discretioun
> Hath heard somewhat or all of his fortune.

Still there is much left to do for the worker who comes after even John F. Campbell, and the Fiann have yet to find a Sir Thomas Malory to sum up their multiplex legend into an artistic whole, and it would be a legend of chivalry too, though as different from the Arthurian romance as that is from the tale of Troy. If the recent revival in Irish literature takes firm root such a masterpiece may not be so remote after all, but the writer who attempts it will have to peruse and digest a vast amount of material, ten times more than any one who has not studied the subject would ever dream of. The author of the 'Colloquy with the Ancients,'* had such an idea before him in his day, but the legend kept on growing for long after that. A large section of the materials for such a work belongs to the period of Irish literature which has of late received least attention, namely, that contained for the most part in Irish manuscripts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which exist in large numbers in Dublin and the British Museum, while the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh has a sufficient number of specimens to attest their former prevalence in Scotland. The reasons why these have been so much neglected in the recent study of Gaelic literature are that they are not old enough for the philologist or student of primitive culture, and not new enough for the collector of folk-lore. The philologist is not particularly interested in the language of the period to which they belong; on the customs of early society they can throw no original light, and the folk-lorist sets them aside for the reason that they are too obviously works of fiction to be relied on in matters of fact.

This rejection of these tales by scientific enquirers ought not, however, to dismiss them from all serious attention: there may be much that is good in them though useless for their special purposes. There is indeed perhaps a little danger at present of Irish literature being judged only by the value of its texts for such objects of research, and taken too little on its own merits. A great part of the good literature of any language would have to be left out of consideration if judged by this standard alone,

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* *Agallamh na Senorach*, the text and translation of which may be found in Dr. O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*.

and the literary aims of the old Irish story-tellers ought to be taken into account as well as any incidental light their works may throw on problems of language or the history of culture.

Even for the student of folk-lore a knowledge of these tales is necessary, for however little they may contain for him in themselves, they may often throw a search-light on what is found in the oral tradition of the present day. The passion for the living word is indeed one of the snares of folk-lore, which sometimes entraps itself by accepting as genuine tradition what really came from written sources not so very far back. When the words of the illiterate Gael are zealously taken down and printed, it might be not unadvisable also to take a look at his great-grandfather's manuscripts, which are often much more worth printing. The preference for a 'plain unvarnished tale' is a principle right in itself, but it is as well to make quite sure that the plainness has not been attained by a simple process of detrition from the literary original.

This is a caution that applies particularly to Scottish Gaelic tradition. Of course, wherever the question is one of ordinary popular folk-lore—the common *märchen*—we are in a region where written literature has played but a small part, in most cases none at all; but whenever we touch on any point of genuine Celtic legend, dealing with purely Celtic heroes, there is every chance that the oral tradition is a more or less distorted version of some older written tale. It must be remembered that down to the '45 the trained bards were learned in Irish literature, and this period is the only safe starting point for any Highland legend relating to the heroes of the Gaelic cycles. Before that date any deviation from the ordinary tale could be checked by the written version which it was part of the bard's education to know, and that such written versions were in their hands is proved not only by the evidence given at the enquiry into Ossian's poems, but by the actual MSS. still preserved. In fact, the whole question of Fenian (or Ossianic) tradition in Scotland is conditioned by the existence of these MSS. The ballads collected in the second half of last century need not have passed through many hands before being again written down by men like Stone and Kennedy. The accuracy with which many of them are preserved

may only be the result of a very recent derivation from written copies.

Both the points involved above are well illustrated by the tales to be treated of here. In point of language and of folk-lore they are of little value, and therefore apt to be neglected by the scientist, though from a literary point of view they are clever and interesting compositions. Again, we find imperfectly remembered versions of them taken down in Scotland in 1800, and again in 1859, which are instructive instances of what happens to literary works when reproduced in oral tradition.

These 'Bruighean'* tales, as we may call them for shortness, from the common element in each, are a few out of the many which belong to the cycle of Gaelic legend relating to Fionn and the Fiann. This was the one most beloved by the later Irish tale-tellers, and the only one that was at all well known in the Scottish Highlands. To judge from the mass of literature it produced, both in prose and verse, it must have been quite as popular and of as perennial interest as the Troy-cycle in Greece, or the Arthurian romances in France and England. In the case of all of these the amount of ingenious brains expended on elaborating the original tradition must have been prodigious; in that of the Fionn-cycle we can fortunately see a great deal of the growth of the legend, from the small grain of tradition in the 'Cause of the Battle of Cnucha,' preserved in the 'Book of the Dun Cow,' down to encyclopædic works like the 'Colloquy with the Ancients,' and all the separate prose tales and ballads that group themselves round the Fiann.

One reason for this great popularity is to be found in the turn which the legend took. It grew up during the epoch when the strong grip of Scandinavia on Ireland was being loosened finger by finger. Of this struggle, Clontarf in 1014 and the fall

* *Bruighean* (more correctly written *Bruidhean*, = O. Ir. *bruden*, but the scribes generally use the *gh*: both *dh* and *gh* sound as *y*) means a 'palace,' and is so used in the older Irish tales. In the ones here in question it perhaps has an added idea of 'enchantment.' See a note on the various meanings of the word in O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, Part 2, p. xvi.

of Magnus Berfætr in 1103, were two of the most glorious days, the latter of which left its mark on the Fionn-legend in the 'Lay of Manus,' one of the commonest of the ballads. The conception then formed of Fionn as the defender of Ireland against everything Scandinavian was a brilliant idea, and there were good heads ready to carry it out. He was fitted into history; a place was found for him as generalissimo of the militia of Erin in the days of Cormac mac Art, monarch of Ireland in the third century. The Cuchulaind-cycle supplied the leading features; as Cuchulaind to Conchobhair, so Fionn to Cormac: replace the Connaughtmen under Ailill and Meyve by the Norsemen and their various allies, earthly and unearthly, and the story of Fionn is firmly set on foot. In 'Manus' and some of the other ballads actual fighting with real Norsemen appears in a form that might almost be historical, but the writers of the prose tales preferred less ordinary incidents and could only get under full sail by launching into the world of magic and superhuman beings. The personages with whom the Fionn have to deal at various times are wonderful enough—terrible hags, one-eyed giants and giantesses, and still more mysterious creatures; but worse than these separate enemies is their having against them the whole tribe of the Tuatha De Danann.* This people, which plays a great part in early legend under the leadership of the Dagda, is in Fionn's time relegated to a kind of invisible life, only appearing for the sake of causing him trouble. There is perhaps a slight inconsistency in this, for the Tuatha De Danann are celebrated for their struggles with the invading Fomhoraigh, and as these, even in the Cuchulaind legend, are identified with the Norsemen, one would rather have expected them to assist the Fiann against their Norse enemies. As a matter of fact, all their magical powers are exerted on the side of Lochlann.

In the tales with which we are here concerned, the troubles

* *i.e.* The Peoples of the Gods of Danu, whose names are given as Brian, Iuchair and Iucharba, sons of Danu. They were reckoned as the second colony in Ireland, and several of the most striking Irish legends are referred to their time, such as the Fate of the Children of Lir and that of the Children of Tuireann.

of the Fiann are caused by these Tuatha De Danann, either on their own account or in combination with the Norsemen. The texts in question are of frequent occurrence in Irish MSS. of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and bear the following titles, taking them in order of length :—

1. *Bruighean Cheise Chorrain*, 'the Enchanted Cave of Keshcorran,' which is situated in the parish of Toomour, barony of Corran, in County Sligo. Texts of the tale are pretty common, and it has been twice printed of late, first in O'Grady's 'Silva Gadelica' (Text, p. 306; Trans., p. 343), and again from a different MS. in the Boston *Irish Echo* (Vol. IV., No. 2). There seems to be no trace of this tale in Scottish Gaelic tradition, but a version of it occurs in the Ardchonail MS., Advocates' Library, No. XXXVI., different from either of the ones mentioned above.

2. *Bruighean Eochaidh bhig dheirg*, 'the Palace of little red Eocha,' which has also appeared in Dublin of late in *Bláithfhleasg de Mhílseáinibh na Gaoidheilge'* (A Garland of Gaelic Selections), edited by Patrick O'Brien. The text of this edition is made up from three Dublin MSS. A copy of the tale is found in the Advocates' Library, MS. No. LVI., agreeing almost verbally with the printed text. That the tale was commonly known in Scotland is shown by the version of it in Staffa's Collection, made in 1801-3, and printed by Campbell in the 'Leabhar na Feinne,' p. 89. There it is entitled 'Turus Fhinn do Thigh Odhacha-Beaganich,' or the 'Journey of Fionn to the House of Odhacha-Beaganich;' connected with it is the ballad of the 'Black Dog,' an incident which occurs in the original tale and seems to have taken the fancy of reciters (cf. L. na F. pp. 90-93). Another version taken down in 1859 in Barra is printed in Campbell's *West Highland Tales*, Vol. II., p. 89. Both of these versions must have come from the written copies at some earlier date.

3. *Bruighean Chaorthainn*, the Rowan-tree Palace, the full text of which does not seem to have yet found its way into print, but is common enough in MSS. In those of the Advocates' Library there are three versions of the story. One is in the MS. No. XXXIV., written at Dunstaffnage by Ewen MacPhail

in 1603,* which is one of the oldest copies of the tale extant. From a transcript of this MS. made in 1804 by the Rev. Donald MacIntosh, about half of the tale is printed by Campbell in the 'Leabhar na Feinne' (pp. 86-88), but in a form which is very inaccurate and often absolutely unintelligible. This is the more to be regretted as the tale is by far the cleverest of the three, and well deserves to be properly edited. Another copy is in MS. No. XXXVIII. and the third in No. LVIII.; both of these present a different text, with a greater superfluity of description—a tendency which is often carried to excess in such tales.

From its nature the tale was certain to be popular with reciters, and a version of it taken down in 1859 may be found in Campbell's *West Highland Tales* (Vol. II., p. 192), who rightly identifies it with the *Bruighean Chaorthainn.* An incidental reference to it in Lachlan Mackinnon's poem of the *Biodag thubaisteach*, shows also that the tale was generally known in his time. Another 'Bruighean' tale connected with the Fiann is the '*Bruighean bheag na h-Almhaine*,' which Dr. O'Grady prefers to translate by 'The Little Brawl at Almhain' (Allen), but this is a humourous account of a row in Fionn's palace, arising out of a dispute between himself and Goll, and has nothing in common with the foregoing tales. In thus grouping the stories together as 'Bruighean' tales we follow the example of the Irish tale-

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* This MS. also contains a version of the 'Bruighean bheag na h-Almhaine' (another copy of it is in the Ardchonail MS., No. XXXVI.) The entries of the scribe are exceedingly interesting and deserve to be quoted. At the end of the *Bruighean Chaorthainn* he writes :—

'This buik pertening to ane honourable mane callit Eowin mak Phaill wretter heirof, he or sche that staillis this buik frae me, God nor he be hangit on ane trie, and sche be drownit upone ane sea. Amen for me, amen for thé, amen for all the companye.'

Another is a letter to John O'Connor, for whom the MS. seems to have been written, and is half in Gaelic and half in Scottish.

'Beannacht friot, beannacht chugad, Eoin Ui Conchubhair, agus biodh a fhios agad nach ar sgriobh mé ach beag don leabhar fós, agus gur é is adhbhar dosin nach roibhe agum caibidil do bhi uaim isin leabhar, oir is olc leam a bheith uaim. na mair but sua *committis committis* yow to God from Dunstaffiniche, the xxii day of october the yeir of God 1603 yeires. EOUIN MAC PHAILL.'

In this Ewan explains that his delay in writing the MS. was caused by the want of a chapter in the copy he had.

tellers themselves, who distinguished the different classes of narratives by titles which at once gave a clue to their contents. Thus in the text last mentioned (Silva Gad., p. 379) we read how the bard went to Goll 'and in front of him recited the *bruidhne* or "Forts," the *toghla* or "Destructions," the *tána* or "Cattle-liftings," the *tochmarca* or "Wooings" of his elders and progenitors.' By reason of the extraordinary feats of memory expected of them the bards and tale-tellers had to systematize largely; indeed nowhere was traditional lore so systematically arranged and elaborated as in Ireland. This grouping was to some extent natural in dealing with real traditions, for the incidents in early society worth remembering of course belong to a few types, such as those enumerated above. In the case of sheer fiction, however, the one tale most probably suggested the other, the fix of the Fiann in one *bruighean* would lead other imaginative heads to invent new ones. It would of course be impossible to say which of our tales came first, but a natural order will be one rising from the simple to the complex,—from the Cave of Keshcorran through the Palace of Eocha to that of the Rowan tree.

I. The story of Keshcorran is simple and may be very briefly told, especially as the translation can easily be got in the Silva Gadelica,—a translation too that excellently reproduces the style in which these tales are written, a style intended to carry the reader or hearer along with it without being too critical as to the possibility of the incidents.

The Fiann were hunting in the district of Corran, and Fionn, with only Conan mac Morna beside him, sat on the top of Keshcorran listening to the music of the chase. In Keshcorran however ruled Conaran, of the Tuatha De Danann, who sent his three daughters, witches all of them, to entrap Fionn. These sat down at the mouth of the cave, hung three hanks of yarn on three pins of briarwood (or holly) and began to wind them 'withershins.' Fionn and Conan came upon them while they were thus engaged, and at the sight of the horrible hags and by the power of the magic all strength left them; the hags bound them fast and thrust them into the cave. All the Fiann met the same fate band by band, until all of them lay bound in the

cave. The three hags now came with their swords to execute their prisoners, but as they were about to enter the cave they saw a youth approaching. This was Goll mac Morna, who wore a shirt given him by Mananan mac Lir that rendered him proof against all sorcery. In the fight that followed Goll cut two of the hags right in two with one stroke, which is reckoned, in the usual systematic way, as one of the three greatest blows ever given in Ireland, the others being 'the blow given by Fergus in the battle of the Cattle-raid of Cuailgne, when he cut at one blow the three Maels of Meath, and the blow given by Conall Cernach to Cet mac Magach,' which latter is told of in the 'Tale of MacDatho's Pig.'

The elder of the three hags now came behind Goll and clasped her arms round him, but after a hard wrestling match Goll succeeded in binding her with the straps of his shield. To save her life she released the Fiann. Another sister now came upon them of still more hideous look; 'a small apple or a large sloe would have stuck fast upon every hair of her eye-lashes and eyebrows,' and the rest of her person corresponding. She demanded single combat with any of the Fiann, but, Ossian and all the others drawing back, Goll had again to take the champion's place, and after a hard bout succeeded in putting his sword through her. He then burned the *bruighean*, and divided the wealth among the Fiann, while Fionn rewarded him with his daughter in marriage.

The object of this tale seems to be the glorification of Goll,* as in other respects it is not a very ingenious composition, its best features being the descriptions of the hags and of the hunting. By the want of dialogue and of complexity of plot it falls much below the other two, which also contain a humorous element that very successfully relieves the distress of the Fiann. This humourous element is furnished by the hero mentioned at

* In the 'Tiomna Ghuill,' (Goll's testament), the hero reckons this incident among his great exploits :—

> 'Inghíon Conoráin nach ar shlim
> do mharbhus i a g-ceart comhluinn ;
> do thugas an inghíon eile slán
> go n-a h-airm ghinntlidhe.'

the beginning of the last tale, Conan mac Morna, or to give him his full title '*Conán maol na mallacht, i., fear millte agus mór-bhuaidheartha gacha cuideachta*,' 'bald cursing Conan, destroyer and annoyer of every company,'* who acts as a perennial Thersites among the Fiann. It was a bright inspiration, one that must have been due to the Irish sense of humour, to supply the great heroes with this persistent grumbler and mischief-maker; perhaps one might have found the Iliad more interesting, if less sublime, had Homer carried Thersites right through it. In the *Bruighean Eochaidh* and *Bruighean Chaorthainn* Conan appears at his very best.

II. The 'Palace of little red Eochaidh' runs as follows. Fionn was hunting in Galway, where a monster stag made its appearance every seventh year but could never be caught. The day before Hallowmas (which was the beginning of the Celtic year and a dangerous period for sorcery), while in this district, the Fiann asked him to give them a general entertainment.

'Conan mac Morna,' said Fionn, 'invite all the Fiann of Erin.'

'Long have you and all the Fiann cherished anger and ill-will against the Clan Morna,' said Conan, 'and if I omit a single company of the Fiann from the invitation they will be seeking to do me harm both secretly and openly for ever.'

Conan accordingly suggested Caoilte as a proper person to invite them, and on his agreeing to do so, Galgaoithe was commissioned to give the invitations. Just then fifteen of the Fiann, including Ossian, Osgar, Dermid and Conan, went off to the side of a knoll to play chess and Galgaoithe missed them. On discovering his omission he went up to them, drawing his sword as he approached, and asked Ossian kindly to cut off his head as the penalty of his forgetfulness. Ossian refused, but suggested that Conan was the very man for the purpose.

'I won't cut off the head of the like of him,' said Conan.

'What is the like of me?' said Galgaoithe.

'Well do I know that,' said Conan; 'do you know why you are called Galgaoithe?'

'No,' said he.

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* So too in the 'Colloquy,'—'Conan *mæl*, or 'the bare' [illegible] a breeder of quarrel among followers, a malicious mischief-m[illegible] and in host.' Silv. Gad., p. 155.

'I do, though,' said Conan; 'it is because you are one that would spring aloft with pain (*gaoth*) and fear when you heard the shout of battle or conflict: I never yet cut off the head of a coward or madman, and I certainly will not begin with you.'

'I won't stand being insulted and affronted any longer by you,' said Galgaoithe, and went off in a rage.

Whether Galgaoithe had anything to do with what follows is not so clear, but soon after his departure a beautiful young warrior came up to the company, who said he had come to invite Fionn and the seven battalions of the regular Fiann to pay him a visit and stay with him till Beltane, 'for I have a feast waiting for them.'

'Don't do that,' said Conan, 'take my advice. Here are we, fifteen of of the Fiann, nobles of the Fiann to boot, Ossian, Osgar, Dermid, and other good men whose names I don't mention; wherever they are, one might say the whole Fiann were there. Fionn would like you to give the feast to them, and we could put the fame of it in the mouths of learned men and historians, and poets, and readers of books over all the world if you will take us with you to consume it. Another reason why you should not take any more than us with you is that all the Fiann are invited already except these fifteen.'

'I would rather,' said the hero, 'that the five provinces of Ireland went with me all together than that the feast I have prepared were not consumed.'

Then he gave each of them an apple; Conan took a bite out of his, and his example was followed by the others.

'Have you all eaten your apples?' said he.

'We have,' said Conan, 'and every mischief be upon me* if ever we heard a tune played that we would think sweeter than getting our fill of these.'

'Well then,' said the youth, 'I have seven orchards of these apples, and you shall get your fill of these till Beltane comes. I wonder if you will go along me to my residence.'

'Every mischief upon me,' said Conan, 'why shouldn't we go along with you? We will bear down the fawns with the swiftness of our career.'

The youth gathered up his skirts and went off like a swallow, over glens and greens, invers and sandy shores, till the shades of evening fell, and after him went the fifteen Fianna.

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* This is Conan's regular preface to his remarks all through the story, hence his title of *mallachtach*, 'cursing.'

'Fianna of Erin,' said the youth, 'Your swiftness has been put to the test, and you are no great runners. That is my palace over there: go on before me and make a fire in it, till I search out some food for you.'

'Ill have we fared,' said they, 'if our food has to be provided now.'

They went into the palace, and Conan lighted a fire, while Ossian studied the surroundings.

'There is not a calf's or cattle beast's bed in Ireland,' said he, 'that I have not been in some time of the day or night, either sitting or lying, sleeping or waking, but I don't know the place I am in now. It seems to me that I have been transported out of Ireland altogether.'

All the Fiann said the same except Dermid, who said nothing, and Ossian presently asked his reason. Dermid answered that he had a suspicion which could be verified by looking whether there was a huge rock beside the door of the palace. Conan went out and found it, and Dermid then told how he and Fionn had once slept there when out hunting. In his sleep Fionn kicked Dermid in the breast, and on being wakened by Dermid piercing the soles of his feet, told what he had been dreaming, to wit, that a *bruighean* would be placed there in which the Fiann would one day be in danger at the hands of Eochaidh Beag Dearg and the Tuatha De Danann, which had now come to pass.

Meanwhile Fionn and the seven battalions of the Fiann had accepted the invitation of a husbandman, and the Fiann had all gone to his house, where at evening they were joined by Fionn. The latter by means of putting his thumb under his 'tooth of vision,'* discovered the strait in which the others were, and set off to assist them without the knowledge of any one. His young son, however, Aodh Beag ('Little Aodh') saw and followed him, and being discovered by Fionn on the way, the two went on together. Their arrival was hailed with great joy by the fifteen. Before long Eochaidh made his appearance.

'May the high gods bless you, Fionn mac Cumhail,'† said he, 'better is the place to which you have come, and worse is the place you have left. I have some other guests outside here, and I should like you to give them one side of the house.'

'Who are they?' said Fionn.

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* Compare the use of this in the *Bruighean Chaorthainn.*

† The old Lowland Scots wrote this phonetically as 'Fyn mak Coul.'

'Aodh mac Aodha, and three hundred valiant heroes of the Tuatha De Danann along with him.'

'Let them come in,' said Fionn.

These three hundred were soon followed by an equal number under Conn mac Aodha, and before long there also came in Cabhlach, the daughter of Aodh, and three hundred amazons along with her, all armed with short bows, that were never aimed without hitting, and never hit without killing. After these had all entered, Fionn made Conan doorkeeper.

'I accept the post,' said Conan, 'and every mischief upon me if I let one person out that is inside, or one in that is outside, except with your leave.'

(1.) The rest of the tale then turns on Conan's troubles as doorkeeper. First of all there came up an ugly youth, shock-headed, goggle-eyed, big-nosed, wide-mouthed, who was admitted and told by Fionn to sit down on the other side of the house.

'I won't sit down,' said he, 'but if I knew which was the best man on the one side or the other, I would take him out of his seat, and sit down in his place.' *

'I tell you,' said Fionn, 'that the bald man east there beside the door is the best of us.'

The youth straightway seized Conan and threw him outside into the pool of dirty water in front of the door, and sat down in his place. Conan instantly returned, and there was a royal wrestling match in which the Fiann encouraged Conan and the Tuatha De Danann the youth, until Conan threw him to the ground, split his head with his sword, and threw his body in the pool. Cabhlach now arose to avenge the youth, who was her brother, and Conan, tired out with the previous struggle, was thrown into the pool, where the hag was proceeding to behead him, when he besought the help of Dermid. Dermid rose to assist him, but Fionn stopped him.

'It is *tabu* † to me,' said he, 'to take away the advantage gained by any one in single combat, and I will not take it from her.'

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* This is a practice very common in the Icelandic Sagas.

† 'Is *geasa* damh-sa.' The Irish *geas* answered to the Maori *tabu*, and occurs *passim* throughout these tales. Some of the *geasa* attached to different persons are of the most curious description.

Dermid being thus prevented from going to Conan's assistance, 'the strength of his shoulder went to his elbow and the strength of his elbow to his fingers, and he put his fingers to the silken string of his spear and made a choice throw of it at the hag, but Fionn caught it by the shaft and stopped it. Then he shook a drop of poison from the point of the spear on the hag, with which he took away two-thirds of her strength.'

This gave Conan an opportunity to free himself and he succeeded in mastering the hag; to save her head she offered him a ransom.

'What is the ransom,' said Conan.

'This,' said she; 'there is not a bush or cavern for a whole cantred round about that is not filled with Tuatha De Danann bent on killing you. You are but seventeen Fianna in all, and I have three hundred amazons here under my orders, with three hundred bows that never send out an erring shot; all that assistance I will take from the Tuatha De if you spare me.'

'Shall I accept this, Fionn?' asked Conan.

'Don't refuse any assistance you can get,' said Fionn.

So Conan released her and she retired with her band.

(2.) Conan sat down again by the door, and before long noticed the Tuatha De looking out with an air of satisfaction on their faces. Conan also looked out, and saw a second visitor approaching,—a youth leading a black dog by an iron chain, 'and it is a marvel that she did not set the *bruighean* in a blaze with every spark of fire that came out of her mouth and over her jaw.' The youth entered and asked Fionn to let his dog have 'her fill of fighting.'

'Every mischief on the mouth that mentioned it,' said Conan, 'don't you think your ugly, blackmouthed dog will get her fill of fighting where there are the seventeen best dogs of the Fiann?'

The black dog however made short work of the others, till even the great Bran was frightened, and crept in the shape of a little 'messan' under Fionn's legs. Fionn, on seeing this, began to encourage him, reminding him of his victories over the venomous boar of Mount Gulban and the wild cat of the cave of Cruachan. Bran shook himself and broke his leash, a second shake restored him to his own form, and then he leapt on the Black Dog. Even Bran however proved unequal to the stranger, and was suffering severely, so Dermid separated the two for a moment while

Conan removed the silver shoe that guarded Bran's right paw, one blow of which tore out the entrails of the black dog and left him lifeless. The next minute Conan had drawn his sword and struck the head off the youth himself.

(3.) Conan again sat down by the door, and before long the expectant looks of the Tuatha De Danann showed that something else was on foot. Looking out he saw a third youth who carried a tub of water on his shoulder. He entered and set it down in the middle of the floor.

'The best man among you,' said he, 'let him come to me till I wash his feet and his hands.'

'That bald man east there beside the door is the best among us,' said Fionn.

The youth set the vessel before Conan, who rose (!) and lifted both his feet at once to put them into the tub.

'Canny there, Conan,' said Fionn, 'the limb that it would be the least misfortune for you to lose, put that in.'

'That's my little toe,' said Conan.

Conan put his little toe into the tub and it was immediately made dust and powder.

'Every mischief on me,' said he, 'if I have burned my little toe more than your flesh and hide shall be burned in it,' and he seized the youth and thrust him into the tub so that dust and powder was made of him completely.

Conan then lifted the tub and gave all the Tuatha De a share of its contents, and again sat down by the door.

(4.) The approach of a fourth youth was once more heralded by brighter looks among the Tuatha De. This one carried a shaggy grey boar on his shoulder which he cast down on the floor, and told Fionn that it had been sent him by Eochaidh for their supper 'and cook it for yourself.' Nine times nine of the Tuatha De Danann tried to lift it and take it to the fire, but could not move it.

'Every mischief on me,' said Conan, 'but that is how I should like to see you, with no strength or energy.' He rose and laid hold of the boar, but could not move it an inch.

'Every mischief on me,' said he; 'since I cannot take the boar to the fire, I shall bring the fire to the boar.'

He heaped the fire over the boar and sat down with his back to it, but as soon as the boar, which was an enchanted one, felt the

fire singeing his bristles he shook himself and scattered all the fire over Conan; then he went right over him and out at the door. Conan made search for the youth who had brought it and would have killed him, had he not promised as ransom to bring him the boar cooked on four silver spits, which he presently did. Conan proceeded to apportion the quarters to his company, one to Fionn, one to the other fifteen Fianna, one to Bran, and the last to himself in consideration of all that he had suffered that evening, 'and as for you, O Tuatha De Danann, get food for yourselves, or want.' Aodh mac Aodha resented this, and tried to take Conan's quarter from him, but Conan recovered it, and one of Aodh's youths was killed in the tumult.

(5.) Conan sat down again by the door, and shortly after saw an innumerable band of the Tuatha De Danann looking in through the windows of the *bruighean*. He took out Bran, and the two made short work of them, being afterwards aided by Dermid, who went out on pretence of restraining Bran. Eochaidh then persuaded Fionn to sound the *Dord Fhiann*,* on hearing which they were bound to come to him. Conan was thus brought back to his post as doorkeeper.

(6.) Another youth carrying a staff that would have been a full burden for six men next came up, and wanted some one to fight with. Fionn directed him to Conan, who accepted the challenge, and again proved victorious. Then Eochaidh spoke up:—

'Finn mac Cumhail,' he said, 'what we have suffered already is quite enough for us, and we will stand no more from you.'

Then the Tuatha De Danann arose on the one side, and the seventeen Fianna on the other, and the battle began. For a long time nothing was heard but the crash of shields, the heavy breathing of the combatants and the screams of ravens above the bruighean. At the request of Aodh a truce was made for the night, but at day-break they began again. The whole Fiann now

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* The *Dord Fhiann*, so often mentioned in the tales and ballads, is commonly taken as having been some musical instrument, but there seems to be nothing against its having been a vocal melody; compare the use of it in the Bruighean Chaorthainn.

came up, and the battle became general: 'like streams of brine dripping from the tops of the rocks after heavy waves were the heads of heroes and warriors falling to the ground in that conflict.' In the end the Tuatha De Danann were totally routed, scarcely a man escaped, and thus Eochaidh Beag Dearg and the Fiann parted from each other.

It will be seen from the above how the whole plot of the story turns on Conan, whose perversity lands him into trouble from which his strength has to free him. Apart from the slight monotony of the successive youths who come to the palace the plot is well conceived, and the style is clear and lively, especially in the dialogue. The versions taken down in the Scottish Highlands have naturally lost most of this, as will be readily believed by any one who tries to re-tell a well-written short story without the book. There is however some interest in comparing them with the original. That in Staffa's collection contains in an imperfect form the incident of the two invitations, but puts Fionn in the wrong company. Eochaidh Beag Dearg becomes Odhacha Beaganach, and receives the surname of Riogh Finnla, which is taken from the name of Aodh Finnliath, father of Aodh, Conn, and Cabhlach. Conan is made to bolt the door before the arrival of the three companies of the Tuatha De Danann; his wrestling with Cabhlach is told with some variations and additions; in the story of the boar the incident of the fire is omitted, Conan cooks it himself, and divides it into three parts, two of which he gives to the Fiann, and keeps the third for himself and the dogs. With the shoulder-blade he kills one of O'Finnla's (!) men who reflects on his hospitality. The incident of the Black Dog is best remembered, and is supplemented by the ballad, with the additional information that Bran had a venomous claw on his foot which the shoe was used to guard. Conan takes the dead dog by the tail and kills those outside with it, after which the great engagement takes place immediately. An interesting addition is the revenge taken by O'Finnla, who puts the women and children of the Fiann into the form of deer, so that Fionn hounds Bran at them, and most of them are killed.

The version taken down for Campbell opens with Fionn's

dream, as related by Dermid in our text, and then the narrative becomes very confused, with apparently some reminiscence of the the *Bruighean Chaorthainn* in it. At last the Fiann reaches a house which is kept by a woman, and answers to the Bruighean of Eochaidh. The different bands of Tuatha De Danann come up, and are followed by the lad with the boar, which has died from leanness. The Fiann reject it, and the lad promises to find another, which he brings to them. Fionn kills seven men from every row of the Tuatha De Danann with a bone. The incident of the black dog is told, and Bran's venomous claw. Bran begins to kill those outside, and the Fiann go out to help him until Fionn only is left inside. His enemies attack him, and he sounds the Ord Fianna, or rather it sounds of itself; his men return and save him as he is in the last extremity.

III. The 'Rowan-tree Palace' is even more ingenious as a literary product than that of Eochaidh, and has a more historic significance in the character of the enemies of the Fiann. In the preceding tales these were the mythical Tuatha De Danann; in this they are the historic Norsemen, though a very slight connection with the Tuatha De is implied. The story is as follows:—

Colgan, King of Lochlann, held a great fair on the green or Beirbhe (= Björgvin, Bergen) at which the four tribes of Lochlann were present. At this fair the king told of his discontent at bearing the title, 'King of the Islands,' while he had not sovereignty over Ireland, which his ancestors had taken such trouble to conquer. He recounted to them how Breas mac Balair fought the Tuatha De Danann on Magh Mor an Aonaigh (Great Plain of the Fair, near Ballisadare) and lost the five red battalions of the Fomhoraigh,* (*Fovori*) by the hand of Lugh Lamhfhada † (*Lav-ada*), and how a year later Balar fell in the second battle of Moytura.‡ 'This then,' said he, 'is what I desire —to go into Erin to take my ancestors' tribute from it.' The

* See *ante* on the identification of the *Fomhoraigh* with the *Lochlannaigh*.

† For this see the 'Fate of the Children of Tuireann,' cc. 9-21.

‡ In barony of Tirerril, co. Sligo. See the text of the 'Second Battle of Moytura, in the *Revue Celtique*,' Vol. XII., pp. 52-130.

nobles of Lochlann all said they were willing to go with him, and the sooner the better, so the King sent a war summons throughout the land, and five companies of the Norsemen gathered in Beirbhe. They launched their ships and went on board in high spirits; then steered over the ocean with the wind whistling in the sails and the waves splashing against the ships, and no hurt nor harm befel them till they reached the north of Ulster.*

News of the invasion was soon conveyed to Cormac mac Art, monarch of Ireland, in his royal residence at Tara, and he in turn sent to the hill of Allen † for Fionn mac Cumhail. Fionn speedily gathered his Fiann and gave battle to the invaders, where the powers of Goll mac Morna laid low the Norse King and put his army to flight. Two of the king's sons were also slain; the third, named Miodhach (Míoch) was spared by Fionn. In professed gratitude, though set at liberty and declared king of the Lochlannaigh, Miodhach declared that he would never leave Fionn. 'I shall have the tribute of Lochlann brought to me in Ireland,' said he, 'and spend it with you, and live with you for ever.'

After some time had passed, Conan interfered and pointed out to Fionn the danger of having Miodhach beside him after having killed his father and brothers.‡ Ossian backed him up, and advised Fionn to give him land for himself. Miodhach, getting his choice, selected a cantred in Kerry on the south side of the Shannon and another on the opposite bank. This he did for two reasons; first, to be as far beyond the Fiann's notice as possible, and, second, that he might conveniently bring in a fleet of his countrymen when the time was ripe for action. § Fourteen years he spent in making preparations for this.

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* This might almost be a genuine picture of a Norse King's invasion of Ireland; the consultation with the leading men was a necessary step for such a proceeding, and is often expressly mentioned in the Sagas. The closest parallel to our text would be the expeditions of Magnus.

† Almhain, Fionn's stronghold, is in Co. Kildare. A confusion of *Almhain* with *Alban* in the mouths of reciters gave colour to Macpherson's claim for his Fingal as a Scottish monarch.

‡ Conan was of Brynhild's opinion; 'Never trust in the faith of a wolf-cub, whose father or brother you have slain. A wolf lies in a young son.' *Sigrdrifumál*, 35.

§ The Irish had learned this Norse practice by bitter experience.

One day Fionn and the Fiann came to hunt in the west of Limerick, and Fionn as usual sat on a 'hunting knoll' with a number of the Fiann around him. Before long they saw coming towards them a youth in full armour,—silken coat, Norse byrny, jewelled helmet, a painted shield on his left shoulder, and two long spears in his right hand.* He came up and saluted Fionn, who asked his news.

'I am a poet,' said he ; 'I have come with a poem to you.'

'Strange dress that for a poet,' said Fionn, 'sure weeds of war and garb of battle like that !'

'I am a poet,' said he, 'and I have come with a poem to you.'

'This is no place to reward a poem,' said Fionn ;' 'come with me to any of the palaces of Erin and you will get your reward from me there.'

'The only reward I ask for my poem,' said the youth, 'is that you understand its meaning ; † and I put you under obligations to understand it.'

'Repeat the poem then,' said Fionn.

The youth's poem consisted of four riddles‡ which Fionn interpreted correctly, but the last one made him aware that the

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* This is a portrait of a Norse Viking, all except the *two* spears, which was rather the Irish custom, though instances are mentioned in the Sagas of throwing two spears at once, one with each hand.

† Not always easy with Irish poems, which were often composed with a more than Browningesque obscurity.

‡ The text as printed by Campbell (L. na F., p. 87, col. 2) is at this point absolutely unintelligible, as the transcriber has not noticed the proper arrangement of the lines. The actual reading of the MS. is as follows :—

' Adchonnuirc teach isin tir, as nach tabhuir geill do rí ;
ní loisge teine, ní airge creach, maith sean leur gabhadh an righ-theach.'

' Tuigim sin,' ar Fionn, 'is é sin Brogh na Boinne .i. teach Aonghus Oig mhic an Dagha, oir ni fheudar a losgadh na creachadh.'

'Is hé sin tuigsin an roinn sin,' ar an fear-dana.

' Adchonnuirc fer sa leith thuaith, noch beiras a lan do buaidh ;
ni fearr leis amh no bruith, no co mhin a gharbh cluith.'

'Tuicim sin,' ar Fionn, 'is é sin cloidhemh Aongusa Oig adchonnairc, agus ni fearr leis amh no bruithe a' gerradh cnamh agus chorp do laimh eachtaigh Aonghusa.'

' Adchonnarc bean sa leith thes, agas clann treuna cneas
ciodh mall a ceum tar gach tuaith, is luaithe i no ech luath.'

'Tuigim an ben sin adchonnarcus .i. an Boinn dod leith thes agus asiad a clann do chonnarcus trena cneas .i. bric mall-chorcra agus a bradáin eochair-breagha, uair ciodh mall an sruth sin is luaithe hé na eoch luath, óir siubhluidhe se an domhan re bliadhúin agus ni dhiongann each da luas an siubhal sin, etc.'

stranger was a friend to Aonghas of the Boyne, one of the Tuatha De Danann, and he demanded to know his name. Conan however had already solved the mystery.

'He is of your own people,' said Conan, 'and no friend to you, and it would be more fitting for a man to recognize his enemy than his friend, for the former may do him injury. This is Miodhach mac Colgan, whose father and two brothers fell through you, and you gave him his full freedom. For fourteen years he has been in your service, and has never served you with food or drink all that time.'

'That is not my blame at all,' said Miodhach, 'I have had a feast ready for him every month up till now, and he never came to partake of it; no more did I ever invite him. I have a feast ready for him this night; let him come to consume it. I have one palace on sea and another on land: the feast is in the one on the sea, but it is to be consumed in the one on land, and I put Fionn under obligations to come and consume it this night.'

Miodhach then departed and Fionn prepared to follow him, but left Ossian with some of the Fiann behind, charging him not to let them to the palace and promising to send word of what took place. Among those left with Ossian were Dermid and Caoilte, while Goll and Conan went with Fionn. On reaching the Bruighean the first to enter was Conan, who found no one there, but was delighted with the splendour of the place—the floor laid with carpets of many hues, and the boards all of different colours. At Conan's glowing report all the rest entered and sat down on the silken coverings, 'and they would not even have their own clothing between them and the trappings of the bruighean' (a wish easily gratified with the old Irish dress), while a sweet odour diffused through the palace seemed to lighten their spirits with its fragrance.

'I marvel,' said Fionn shortly, 'that we are so long in getting anything to eat here.'

'There is something that I marvel at more than that,' said Goll, 'which is, that the place that had such a sweet odour when we came into it now smells fouler than all the closets of the world.'

'There is something I marvel at more than that,' said Glas mac Aoin, 'and that is, that the palace which had every colour on it has now not a single board in it, but is firmly constructed of hard rods of rowan tree,* beaten together with the backs of axes and mallets.'

* This use of the rowan is curious, considering how valuable it was as a defence against witchcraft in later times, as taught in the rhyme,

'R'an-tree an' reid threid
Gars the witches tyne their speed.'

'There is something I marvel at still more,' said Faolan, 'the palace which had seven doors * when we entered it has now only one.'

'And I marvel still more,' said Conan, 'that of all the coverings and carpets that were under us when we sat down there is not one thread under us now, and methinks it is the clay of the earth that we are on, and it is colder than the cold snow of one night.'

Fionn began to suspect mischief, and being subject to a *tabu* against staying in a *bruighean* with only one door, told Conan to cut another one in the wall. On attempting to rise Conan found himself stuck fast to the ground, and so were all the others. At the request of Goll Fionn put his thumb under his 'tooth of vision,' though with reluctance, 'for,' said he, 'I must chew skin, flesh, bone and marrow of my finger before I get certain knowledge of our danger.' By this means he discovered the treachery of Miodhach, who had got the assistance of Sinsear of the Battles, King of the World, from Greece, along with thousands of warriors, besides the three Kings of the Island of Thule, who were devilish druids and terrible heroes. 'It is these who have put under us this earth to which we are stuck fast, and they themselves are in the Island Bruighean, and will shortly come to put us to death, nor is there any escape for us from here until the blood of these three Kings is poured on that earth.'

The Fiann lamented loudly at this, but Fionn rebuked them and told them to be bold in the face of death. 'No longer life was in store for us than what we have had. Let us sing the *Dord Fiann* before we die.' This they accordingly began to do.

(*a*). Meanwhile Ossian had grown impatient for the promised messenger from Fionn, and two of the party, Fiacha and Innse, volunteered to go in search of news. As they neared the Bruighean they heard the *Dord Fhiann*, and knew that their companions were in trouble. Fionn, hearing them outside, called to them and told them how matters lay, and on their refusing to desert him in his danger, asked them to de[illegible] l the ford until some of the rest of the Fiann might chance to ri[illegible] ha[illegible] however left Innse alone to guard the ford, whi[illegible] the Island Bruighean to see whether the forei[illegible] The rest of the story then turns on the suc[illegible]

* Seven doors and seven hearths were the

ford, a species of fighting very common in the Irish tales; the best specimen is perhaps that of Cuchulainn and the Fer Diad in the Tain Bo Cuailnge.

(1). A Greek Earl set out for the Rowan-tree Bruighean with 100 knights to bring back Fionn's head to the King of the World, but on reaching the ford found his passage barred by Innse, who refused to give way, and after killing the hundred knights was himself slain by the Earl. 'I will not go on to the Bruighean now,' said the earl, 'until I get more men with me, and I shall take this head with me to the King of the World.' On his way back he met with Fiacha returning from his scouting expedition and their talk went as follows:—

'Where have you been?' asked Fiacha.

'At the ford ahead of you,' said the Earl.

'What were you doing there?' said Fiacha.

'I went after the head of Fionn mac Cumhail for the King of the World,' said he, 'but a gallant youth met me in the breast of the ford, and the hundred knights that went with me fell by his hand.'

'What kept you from falling yourself?' said Fiacha.

'The hardiness of my heart and the strength of my hand,' said the Earl, 'and that youth fell before me.'

'If you had done that,' said Fiacha, 'you would have brought tokens of the victory with you.'

'I have brought his head with me,' said the Earl.

'Give it me,' said Fiacha.

Fiacha seized the head and recognized it and gave it three kisses * and pressed it to his breast.

'Well did this head become the body on which it was this morning,' said he; 'do you know to whom you have given it?'

'No,' answered the Earl, 'unless you are one of the King of the World's men.'

'I am not one of his men,' said Fiacha, 'nor shall you be so any longer.'

After a sharp combat the Earl fell by the hand of Fiacha, who then crossed the ford and went up to the Bruighean, where he spoke from the door.

'Is that the voice of Fiacha?' said Fionn.

'Of a truth it is,' answered he.

'Who was it that made that loud-sounding conflict that I heard at the ford just now?' asked Fionn.

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* The 'three kisses' is the regular number in the tales, see *Cath Ruis na Rig*, § 8. p. 13.

'It was your dear foster-son,' said Fiacha.

'And how is my fosterling after the battle?' said he.

'He is headless,' said Fiacha, 'and my heart is broken for that.'

'Did you see him being slain?' asked Fionn.

'I did not,' said Fiacha, 'and if I had I would have saved him from death, but I have brought you the head of the man that killed him.'

'Victory and blessing go with you,' said Fionn; 'I am sad and sorry for him. They are good children I have, for small was my share of Erin until they rose around me, and large was my share of it just now, before I fell into this prison; and, Fiacha,' said he, 'go and guard the ford till some company of the Fiann come across you.'

(2). The brother of the Greek Earl then came upon Fiacha with 400 knights, but he 'went under them and through them and over them' till they all fell; then he sat down by the ford wounded and weary. The news of these losses reached Miodhach in the Island Bruighean.

'They have done ill,' he said, 'in going without my knowledge, for if we all went together against so small a company not one of the Fiann would escape alive. I shall go now to the Rowan-tree Bruighean, and take with me food and drink for a hundred men, for there is the man who most loves his allowance in all Erin, to wit, Conan mac Morna, and when he sees me devouring that food before his eyes he will lose his sense and memory out of longing for it; and I shall put to death all that are in the Bruighean on the morrow.'

On his way Miodhach was stopped at the ford by Fiacha, and after a hundred of his knights had fallen in trying to effect a passage, he came forward in person to engage the Fenian hero.

(*b*). Meanwhile Ossian wondered why the two scouts were so long in returning and guessed that something was wrong. Dermid and Fatha canann * volunteered to go in search of them. As they neared the Bruighean, 'Dermid,' said Fatha canann, 'do you hear what I hear,—the crash of shields splitting, the sound of helmets cleaving, and the groans of men fighting?' They hurried down to the ford and found Fiacha almost exhausted. Dermid threw his spear across the water and wounded Miodhach, who, however, cut off Fiacha's head. I[illegible] mid cro[illegible] d and killed him in turn, while Fatha canann sl[illegible] fol-lowers as were left. With the head of

* *al.* Fathcanan or F[illegible]

their way to the Rowan-tree Bruighean, and Dermid announced the death of Fiacha (who was a son of Fionn) in the same way as Fiacha had reported the fall of Innse. Fionn entreated Dermid to guard the ford till sunrise on the morrow.

Dermid was on the point of departing when Conan spoke:

'Are you thinking of going?' said he.

'Certainly,' said Dermid.

'Bad is my share of that,' said Conan, 'for the earth to which we are stuck is colder than icy snow, and worse than that is my hunger and thirst. The best of every food and drink that has been preparing for fourteen years is being consumed in the Island Bruighean just now: bring me food and drink from that.'

'It's a shame for you to be asking that,' said Dermid, 'when the host of the World is seeking to kill you, and no one but myself and Fathacanann to defend you.'

'If it were a woman that asked you, you would try to get it for her,' said Conan; 'you have taken four wives from me since you have been in the Fiann, and would have taken more if I had had them.'

'Shame me no more, Conan,' said Dermid, 'and I will go to get a drink for you however it befall me.'

After this Dermid and Fatha canann went down to the ford.

'Dermid,' said Fatha canann, 'there never was a night when it was easier for you to get food and drink for Conan, for there is the allowance of food and drink for a hundred men lying on the bank of the ford. Give Conan his fill of that.'

'Conan would say that it was dead men's food we gave him,' said Dermid, 'and he would satirize me.* Watch you the ford, and I will go to get food for Conan.'

Dermid entered the Island Bruighean and found the cup-bearer of the King of the World about to serve his master with old mead in a jewelled horn. He promptly cut off his head and took the horn out of his hand. Then he went to the table, kicked the King of the World in the breast, seized the dish that lay before him and went back to the ford. There he found Fatha canann asleep, which he called treason against the king-warrior of Erin, Alban, England, Lewis, and Lochlann, but without wakening him went on to the Bruighean and called on Conan.

'I have food for you here,' he said, 'but I don't know how it is to reach you.'

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* This was a serious matter in ancient Ireland, as satire could produce even physical deformities.

'I know,' said Conan; 'I am straight opposite the door: throw it to me.'

Dermid threw the food and spattered it over his mouth and breast.

'I am afraid I have dirtied you,' he said; 'I have a horn of mead here too, but I don't know how it can get to you.'

'I know,' said Conan, 'spring up on the roof; the soil of the Island of Thule is not on the outside of it: make a hole above my head and pour from the horn down into my mouth.'

After accomplishing this difficult feat, not greatly to Conan's satisfaction, Dermid returned to the ford and waked Fatha canann.

(3). The three kings of Thule now advanced to avenge Miodhach, and another battle took place at the ford, ending in the death of the three kings by the hand of Dermid, who then took their blood to the Bruighean and by this means freed the Fiann. Conan however was so firmly fixed that Dermid and Fatha canann had to pull him up, leaving the skin of his heels, thighs, shoulders, and head sticking to the earth. From this incident came his surname of *maol*, 'bare' or 'bald.'

(4). The Fianna were so weak that Dermid* and Fatha canann had to return to guard the ford where they were presently assailed by Borb, son of the King of the World, along with 2000 warriors.

(*c*). Meanwhile Ossian again grew anxious, and with his party advanced towards the Bruighean in time to join in the battle. There Goll killed Borb, and the 2000 fell with him.

(5). The King of the World then advanced in person, and a great general engagement took place, in which Osgar finally cut off the King's head, and his host, all but a few, were left dead on the field. 'Many were the cries of vultures and ravens battening on the bodies of heroes and warriors; and covered with wounds and blood were the Fiann of Erin after fighting this battle. Thus did Fionn escape from the treachery that the King of Lochlann played upon him.'

There are some good points in the Bruighean Chaorthainn, and the story is on the whole well told. The long-meditated

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* In the 'Pursuit of Dermid and Grainne' all [illegible]
on this occasion are recounted by Der[illegible]
bring him a drink of water, after he h[illegible]
Trans. of the Oss. Soc., Vol. III., pp. [illegible]

revenge of Miodhach, the unsuspecting way in which the Fiann fall into the trap, and the unexpected nature of the treachery itself are good conceptions, while such pieces of dialogue as that between Fiacha and Miodhach, Fiacha and Fionn, or Dermid and Conan are extremely well written. The style is very much the same as in the preceding tale, plain and perspicuous, with nothing to perplex the reader except the ingenious contractions in which all scribes indulge.

The tale of 'Maghach Colgar,' taken down for Campbell, shows changes of the same nature as the oral versions of the 'Bruighean Eochaidh.' Maghach Colgar is sent to Fionn by the King of Lochlann to be taught; the King of Sealg (!) sends his son, named Innsridh Mac Righ nan Sealg, for the same purpose, the latter being the Innse mac Suibhne Sealga of our text. Maghach returns to Lochlann to succeed the King there, and when the chase fails in Ireland he invites the Fiann over to stay with him, the 'bruighean on sea and bruighean on land' being remembered. Some of the Fiann remain in Ireland, among them being Fiachaire, Innsridh, and Cath Conan (=Fatha canann). On entering the bruighean in Lochlann they stick to the chairs and the chairs stick to the earth, while the knives and forks stick to their hands. Fionn however manages to strike the *Ord Fiannta*, and it is heard in Erin; Fiachaire and Innsridh go over to Lochlann. Their fortunes are much as in the text but told in a very different fashion. Dermid and Cath Conan arrive and kill the men of Lochlann, and take the food from their bruighean to Fionn and his companions, letting it down through the roof. Fionn tells Dermid that they can only be released by the blood of the 'three daughters of King Gil' (this is got from the *tri righthe Innse Tile*). Dermid takes these out of a castle and wrings the blood out of them to release the Fiann, but none is left for Conan, and they have to pull him loose. The three girls are found miraculously alive again, and are replaced in their castle, while the Fiann go home to Ireland. There are one or two good touches in the story as told, but it is evidently only an imperfect version of the written tale, with a few misunderstandings and a few new inventions to explain them.

Such are the 'Bruighean' tales, and they must be taken in

the spirit in which they were written,—works for amusement and not for instruction. The serio-comic strain in their composition, which occurs in other tales as well, forms a pleasant contrast to the tragic side of the Fenian legend, as it comes out in the 'Pursuit of Dermid and Grainne,' or the fall of Oscar and the Fiann in the Battle of Gabhra. They have a close parallel in the Icelandic *lygi-sögur* or 'lying sagas,' which were just as little meant to be taken seriously by any one. The authors knew as well as the modern sensational novelist that the whole story was the sheerest fiction, but they aimed at producing pleasurable excitement, and by their aim they ought to be judged. They point the lesson too that the real worth of Irish literature ought to be independent of its value for special studies, and that even for these it must be taken in its entirety. The gap which the specialist is apt to leave between the old and the new contains much that accounts for the later phenomena, and for this reason as well as for their own merits, which are by no means insignificant, the tales of the period to which those here treated of belong are well worth perusal and publication.

W. A. CRAIGIE.

ART. IV.—THE LOGIC OF HISTORY.

History of the Philosophy of History; Historical Philosophy in France and French Belgium and Switzerland. By ROBERT FLINT, Professor in the University of Edinburgh, etc. William Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London. 1893.

VAST as are its ramifications, and puzzling as many of its intricacies are destined yet awhile to remain, the organism of human experience can, nevertheless, be al[illegible] d into comparatively simple elements. The fundam[illegible] c[illegible] tuents, as many incline to think, may be no more [illegible] one pervading principle. They contrive, at t[illegible] present themselves under phases which compel the

of clearly marked differences. The outer world of things must perforce be distinguished from the inner sphere of thoughts, no matter what view of the relationship between the two ultimately prevails. Both, once more, stand separated from ideals, even although the last come to be recognised mainly when expressed in terms of thought, or actually presented in works and deeds. Seeing that they combine to produce a single experience, all three possess some traits in common. But things and thoughts, matter and ideas, are, in one respect, widely diverse from ideals. The former appear to have a finality which the latter lack. No doubt, the everlasting hills, and the common notions that circle through generations seem to remain, and their absolute permanence is largely, if not wholly, an illusion. Be this as it may, no such illusions necessarily attach to ideals. With them, as with nothing else, the feet of those who have buried the earliest are at the door, and will carry the latest out. Chiefly for this reason history is at once a puzzle and a fascination. Compacted of ideals, it tends to bewilder, and when the ideals of one age are employed to interpret those of the past, it often happens that the usual hesitancy is in no wise abated. Professor Flint's remarkable volume inculcates many a lesson of this kind. Thinker after thinker, forgetting the maxim of Marcus Aurelius, injures himself by remaining in his own peculiar species of ignorance and error. From one point of view, this is inevitable; and accordingly two principal causes combine to intensify the difficulty of the subject under consideration. The material is itself of a complex and changing nature, and for the most part it appears to have been approached from a provisional standpoint. The understanding of history in terms of certain fundamental postulates, which are indispensable to the comprehension of the smallest part of experience, is conspicuous by its absence nearly till the advent of the present century. Yet, an attempted synthesis of this sort finds, in turn, new obstacles as accompaniment. The present forms at once its possibility and its end. History culminates now for every thinker, and the combination of influences which condition the thought of the epoch determines the direction, if not the kind, of the doctrines

formulated. 'The historical theories of individual thinkers will always be found largely explicable by the contemporary political condition of the communities to which these thinkers belong.' *

This persistent relativity, while partly due to the need that each successive age feels for a philosophy of its own, is traceable in larger measure to a certain confusion. History itself has too often been confounded with philosophy, and a narrative, more than usually reflective of course, seems to have frequently done duty for a reasoned account of past events. History proper, as one must admit, may be written philosophically, but this work, attractive as it is, does not constitute a philosophy of history. Yet many have habituated themselves to regarding it as if it were such, and many others, no doubt unconsciously, have proceeded as if philosophy demanded nothing further. Voltaire may be taken as a representative of the former, Saint-Simon of the latter. Even during the present century writers are not wanting who confuse themselves mainly by taking a mistaken direction. The rise of the historical method, and the numerous achievements resulting from its adoption, have led not a few to suppose that a philosophy of history might be found in the systematic reading of events backwards, so to speak. To follow up historical phenomena to their first beginnings, to sketch their varying vicissitudes, or to investigate some of their prominent relationships to other occurrences, was for a writer like Quinet—taking perhaps the most conspicuous example—to view history philosophically. Few would deny that a discipline of high value lies here. For, study of this kind implies, always, an analysis ot constituent elements, and, sometimes, a synthesis of them as they have stood connected with one another at different typical periods. Indeed, the worth of such research is inevitably so considerable that it all too easily supplants philosophy of history in the true sense ot the term, and this not without subtle reason.

The peculiarity of history among the other sciences, psycho-

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* *Flint*, p. 53.

logy most conspicuous by exception, is that in it mere delineation cannot but be overpassed. The human mind, as it dwells upon man's experience through the centuries, meets with phenomena, individual, national, racial, that are not foreign to itself in the same sense as the crust of the earth, or chemical combinations, or even living bodies in a manner are. And this familiarity, which results in the more or less ready recognition of order and progress, very naturally tends to obscure, or minimise, the problems that specially connect themselves with philosophy. Here, conspicuously, the fascination and the difficulty of philosophy of history may be said to centre; and here, too, the persistence of effort and the record of failure, to which Dr. Flint is an impartial witness, originate. The familiarity just noted largely accounts for the limitation of the categories employed by many thinkers to explain *all* history. Pagan or Oriental affinities dominate some ; others fall under the spell of watchwords like progress, freedom, humanity; a third group feel most at home in the triumphs of science; while a fourth take deepest interest in the evolution of literature or religion. How naturally any one of these tendencies may predominate Dr. Flint himself shows in passing. 'Christianity by creating the Church enormously enlarged and enriched history. It thereby opened up a central and exhaustless vein in the mine of human nature,—set in movement a main stream in the flow of human affairs. The rise of ecclesiastical history was more to historiography than was the discovery of America to geography. It added immensely to the contents of history, and radically changed men's conceptions of its nature. It at once caused political history to be seen to be only a part of history, and carried even into the popular mind the conviction—of which hardly a trace is to be found in the classic historians—that all history *must* move to some general *human end*, some *divine goal*.' * It may be taken as proved, accordingly, that similar reasons produce at once the fascination and the danger of philosophy of history. History, by its very nature, appeals with pecular force to everyone who can say, *Humani nihil*

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* *Flint*, p. 62. The italics are mine.

alienum. Yet the very strength of this appeal tends to divert attention from the inquiry which can alone be regarded as philosophical.

What, then, is philosophy of history, to which, as Dr. Flint well records, so little success and so much difficulty have clung? Although a reply to this question must depend partly upon the philosophical conclusions from which the thinker sets out, it is probably simpler, for the present purpose, to make answer by way of history itself. Moreover, by accepting Prof. Flint's own definition of history, one can see with comparative ease why a philosophy of history is necessary. The kind of philosophy may, meantime, be left out of consideration. 'History is all that man has suffered, thought, and executed—the entire life of humanity—the whole movement of societies. It is history thus understood which is the subject of the art, and the science, and the philosophy of history,—of the art which recalls and delineates it, of the science which analyses it and traces its laws, and of the philosophy which exhibits it in its relations to the general system of the universe. To attempt further to define it would be worse than useless. It would be unduly to limit, and to distort and pervert, its meaning.' * The philosophical clue here presented is not hard to discover. The phrase, 'the whole movement of societies,' furnishes it. For the moment 'society' is mentioned, we light upon problems to which no explanation can be given except by philosophy. History exists because man is a social being. From the nature of the case he enters into combination with his fellows; and this association is not a mere external connection, but implies a spiritual relation without which man would not be constituted as he shows himself to be, and humanity would remain a bare form without material content. Instances of this association might possibly be selected to which the term 'accidental' could fittingly be applied. But association itself, far from being accidental, is the prime condition under men invariably act when they rise, as individuals or to possession of historical significance. Nay, tl

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* *Flint*, p. 8.

are enmeshed in the network of human relationships, the larger they bulk. In this sense one may admit the truth of Turgot's statement: 'Genius is scattered among the human race much like gold in a mine. The more mineral you take up the more metal you may collect. The more men there are, the more great men, or men capable of becoming great, there will be.' * As numbers increase the intricacy, extend the variety, and deepen the intensity of human relationships, the greater the likelihood of lives in which these new aspects of social growth will be summed up. Unity between men is, then, of the essence of history.

But, what is the nature of this unity; what, too, does it portend? At a stroke these questions bring us into the sphere of philosophy proper. The association between men, which is the nerve of history, illustrates certain principles. The unity is not dead, but works out its own life along definite lines. Further, even although we may be unable to trace their absolute beginnings, principles are always prophetic or, at least, induce us to look towards an end. The problems, then, (1) of the kind of this unity among men—of which history is but the record—and (2) of the perfect expression of unity, which past states and the present condition of association imply, are those whereout philosophy of history arises, and for which it endeavours to find a solution. Thus, as Dr Flint pointedly says, philosophy 'of history is not a something separate from the facts of history, but a something contained in them.'†

These two problems, which together constitute the 'something' in history, cannot be disjoined. They necessarily involve one another. For it is impossible even to formulate the second without appreciating the first; and, this, in its turn, cannot but give rise to the second. Indeed, so intimate is their connection, that, as we shall see, there remains grave reason to suppose that our knowledge of the presuppositions of history still lacks much to the satisfactory statement of the question of ultimate goal. Although the analogy be not exact in every detail, the two enquiries are related somewhat as

* *Flint*, p. 285. † *Ibid.*, p. 40.

physiology and biology. They fall within the same sphere, that is, and their results are mutually suggestive, mutually helpful. At the same time, a single reservation must be definitely made. The *ultimate* problem for philosophy concerns rather the immanent end of history, as one may provisionally call it, than the nature of the processes towards this end. And were it possible to declare conscientiously that the entire framework of human association had been surveyed, it would also be possible to confine philosophy of history to discussion of final cause only. Remembering this limitation, which is indispensable seeing that the kind of the assumed unity is by no means adequately understood, both discussions equally fall within the range of philosophy of history. How is history possible? Having regard to the principles that sway it, to what does history tend?

The former question is one of metaphysical interest. A sharp and fundamental distinction marks it off from historical research as such. There is no attempt to construct a record of events, nor to prepare a scheme into which the complex occurrences of the past may be fitted. The problem, on the contrary, is one of presuppositions. Beyond isolated, or even grouped, phenomena lie laws, principles, or organising forces, which have a sphere of their own. Apart from the historical data these controlling powers are unknowable, that is, they are as good as non-existent. But their presence, on the other hand, *ipso facto* stamps the data as of *historical* import. Just as space and time are preconditions of individual experience, so persons, and those associated personalities known variously as families, clans, tribes, and nations, are presuppositions of history. Just as it is the great achievement of modern general metaphysics 'to have established the doctrine of the perfect coextensiveness and mutuality of existence and consciousness,' so it is the main work of philosophy of history to prove that the relations of men to men, in so far as they are capable of alteration by interaction, express underlying principles incident to the very existence of personality. These are what might be called introductory considerations in philosophy of history proper. But, seeing that the remainder of the inquiry

necessarily depends upon them, it may be well to pause for a moment in order to take stock of the position.

In his Introduction, Prof. Flint trenches upon this metaphsical inquiry incidentally. He there points out that three leading historical ideas may be traced—Progress, Humanity, Freedom. These, at all events, furnish certain aspects of 'the relations of causation and affinity which connect history with the other departments of existence and knowledge.'* The conception of progress is an evolutionary one. In other words, it involves the presence of all the elements which a developing process implies. A series of changing states is under review; a means of comparing these states is indispensable; and, accordingly, a principle of connection is presupposed. This, however, is tantamount to saying that a comparatively complex notion of human inter-relationship has been grasped. And, as our author shows, a competent perception of what progress amounts to cannot be traced even in such historically specialised communities as those of Israel, of Greece, and of Rome. So, once more, the idea of humanity grew slowly. Not until the ancient classical world had exhausted itself, may man 'be regarded as having at length risen to the apprehension of human unity.'† The value of manhood as such now began to receive a tardy recognition. But it was no more than a beginning. All through the middle ages, class distinctions tended to obscure personal worth. Men derived dignity and had a claim upon respect, not from their humanity, but from an accidental connection with some few of their brethren. In the same way, too, the idea of freedom, the third of the presuppositions of history, failed for centuries to strike the imagination. Conscience, as Roger Williams remarked, had belonged too long to the State, not to the individual. Even as late as 'the sixteenth century, theory and practice as to liberty were in all respects and relations most imperfect. The idea of its nature was as vague as the actual realisation of its nature was meagre. So far as the philosophy of history, therefore, depends on insight into the nature of liberty, a condition of its existence was still at that

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* *Flint* p. 21. † *Ibid.*, p. 114.

date wanting.'* If, then, Progress, Humanity, and Freedom, be presuppositions of history, which only philosophy of history can fully explain, and if, as Dr Flint has proved, they were far from being appreciated till within the last two centuries, the time limits within which the metaphysic of history could be fruitfully investigated are somewhat narrow. It will, accordingly, be advisible to notice in the sequel how far this research has actually been pursued with appearance of success.

Now, the ideas of Progress, Humanity, and Freedom are integral portions of the metaphysical presuppositions of history mainly because they are pervasive forms under which men's association with men appears. And, even granted, for the moment, that they together furnish an exhaustive array of the kinds of this association, their analysis and explanation would not be, as we have already tried to see, the entire business of the philosophy of history. Beyond lies another question, conditioned no doubt, and even rendered possible, by the results of this investigation. The nerve of philosophy of history is what may be strictly termed the logic of history. The ultimate problem is, not merely metaphysical, but teleological, in the higher sense. To what do Progress, Humanity, Freedom tend? Why should there be such principles? Apart from a teleological view, no reply can be framed. But, even so, a logic of history, like much else, requires data. The ideal towards which history travels cannot be guessed. An account of it must be based upon a metaphysical analysis of the principles of history; that is, of the presuppositions which are discovered to be involved in the facts as recorded. Only when this work has been thoroughly accomplished can the synthetic process of logic be initiated. The rise, progress, decline, and demise of particular ideals warn us against entering too confidently upon the path of final interpretation. So, very naturally, we find ourselves asking, is it possible in the present state of knowledge to do more than attempt a metaphysic of history? Is a logic of it yet attainable? The answer seems, at first sight, to be decidedly in the negative. The history of philo-

* *Flint*, p. 136.

sophy of history has been such as to show that at present we do not sufficiently understand the presuppositions to be able to perceive, with any decisive clearness, the immanent end to which they make.

A pessimistic conclusion of this kind demands qualification, or at least some less general statement. It is not intended to assert that philosophy of history has been a total stranger to progress and success. It is no part of the thesis to prove that satisfactory results cannot be achieved. The record of its course in the growth of French thought, for example, is witness to substantial advance. With Bodin, mere chronicling gave place to a species of philosophy. Bossuet, in turn, formulated a definite scheme ; while Montesquieu and Turgot elaborated conceptions of a single law which, under changing aspects, is held to pervade the entire course of human destiny. From a critical point of view, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Condorcet add something to previous ideas. But too much destructive scepticism characterised their labours, and the constructive answer of Chateaubriand, De Maistre, and Lammenais rested somewhat exclusively upon operative doctrines drawn from a narrow basis of induction. The intellectual assault was, in short, as so often happens, met by a simple reaction. Comte at length attained a higher platform by attempting, probably in unconsciousness of his office, a new synthesis involving alike the sceptical and ultramontane dogmas. The sweep of his system was such as to include formally the principal problems incident to philosophy of history. Materially, however, he did not specifically address himself to them. His fundamental defect lay in an ineradicable inability to comprehend the relation of metaphysics to the other sciences. He could not understand, what Schopenhauer a little later expressed with his customary laconic force, that everything is as much metaphysical as physical. Consequently, in his effort to be rid of metaphysic, he became too metaphysical, bowing down to an entity of his own creation, instead of applying himself to elucidate the principles immanent in the constitution of society. 'To emancipate physical and psychological science from a theological and metaphysical

condition is no less a service to theology and metaphysics than to physics and psychology. Every science must gain by being kept in its own place. It is wrong to mix up either theological beliefs or metaphysical principles among the laws of the positive sciences. But we by no means do so when we hold that both physics and psychology presuppose metaphysics, and yield conclusions of which theology may avail itself, and that we can still look on the whole earth as made beautiful by the artist hand of the Creator, on science as the unveiling of His wisdom, and on history as the manifestation of His providence.'* To this point, then, the pursuit of philosophy of history had been unsatisfactory enough. But, while it had been productive of few solid conclusions, it had, at all events, provided numerous studies in those general ideas which appear to be inseparable from any consideration of historical phenomena. Thinkers had shown indirectly that, ere a philosophy of history could be framed, a certain platform must of necessity be attained. But, they had, at the same time, failed to indicate what such a philosophy involved. The nineteenth century had passed through its first quarter ere the subject began to be approached in a spirit which gave promise of fair prospect of success.

Further, this comparative failure to perceive wherein philosophy of history consists, and, more especially, the tendency to misunderstand the relation of the inquiry to metaphysics, had been accompanied by considerable uncertainty, hesitation, and absence of continuity in the method pursued. In this respect, indeed, the very name, philosophy of history, proved a snare to some. The historical method naturally suggested itself, and purely empirical investigations and conclusions acquired an importance to which they are now seen to possess no title. Now, the historical method, if aided by no other organon, is apt to deceive. It appears to achieve results of a teleological kind, which cannot be attained by its processes. For, while order may be introduced into confusing events, while serviceable groupings may be constructed by

* *Flint*, p. 288.

showing that a new arrangement throws fresh light upon the facts, nevertheless, it is no part of the work of such rearrangement to explain all that the series implies, nor to justify its very being in any final sense. To follow the course of events, no matter with what accuracy and understanding, is not to comprehend their inmost nature.

Again, if the historical method has been applied in too empirical a manner, the deductive plan has been followed in far too confident a spirit. Condorcet's statement, made by him at a venture, has, for example, been taken as a text for a complete philosophy of history by other writers. 'The progress of society is subject to the same general laws observable in the individual development of our faculties, being the result of that very development considered at once in a great number of individuals.' Saint-Simon, as Prof. Flint acutely remarks, erected this hazardous and ephemeral opinion into a central law, and, with it as basis, built up a huge hypothesis of historical series which, according to the theory, correspond in essentials to the various stages in the development of a single human career. If the historical method had often been empirically employed, and had accordingly failed to illumine the presuppositions of history, this *a priori* plan has, almost as frequently, been thrust upon history to its distortion. 'The greatest error into which Saint-Simon fell in connection with it seems to me to have been his making it the expression of an hypothesis, instead of regarding it simply as a mode of arranging facts in such a way as might be hoped would eventually lead to the scientific proof the theory.' *

It might, thirdly, be shown that Cousin's psychological method is not free from similar dangers. While valuable for the implicit recognition of the importance of objective psychology in preparing the way for an adequate philosophy of history, it abounds in the possibilities of misleading analogy. One pauses for a moment—to adduce an example—struck by the statement that 'what reflection is to the individual history is to the race.' Yet very brief reflection is sufficient to con-

* *Flint*, p. 405.

vince, not only that the doctrine is incapable of justification, but that, as a matter of sober judgment, hardly any definite meaning can be attached to it. And, to take only one other case, a similar criticism applies to the method of Guizot. It may be quite true that the *historian* must consider history from the successive standpoints of the anatomist, the physiologist, and the physiognomist. No doubt, from description of the integral facts, from understanding of their general organisation, and from quick recognition of their external appearance as a living unity, very much may be learned. Notwithstanding, all this may be done without trenching upon the sphere of philosophy of history proper. For, a transcript in any of these three kinds assumes the very materials which it is the purpose of philosophy of history to analyse, and evaluate. A science of history such a method might very well serve to furnish forth, a philosophy it is incapable of providing. As regards method, then, as well as with respect to matter, Prof. Flint's investigation goes to enforce the conclusion that the temper necessary to a philosophy of history had not been evolved until comparatively recent times. 'Theories which represent history as a mechanically necessitated product, or an inevitable dialectic movement, or a simple organic growth, or the natural consequence of a struggle for existence between individuals and societies, or a fundamentally economic evolution,' have been refuted. Fortified by the experiments of the past, which have extended both to matter and to method, thinkers may now go forward more confidently to strike out a new path for themselves.

In the first place, the wreckage—as many heedlessly call it—of former systems is fraught with useful and instructive material. To take a few instances at a venture. A growing conviction now exists that history, like other records of man's life, is to be interpreted, not by what is lowest, but by what is highest in its constitution. The best results of contemporary culture supply an instrument which it would be folly to leave unemployed. In the light of the essential import of man's relations to his fellow man, as this is presently understood, one can easily perceive many new filiations—new in the sense

that, though operative always, their influence had not previously been estimated at its proper worth. Thus, philosophy of history, while increasing in complexity, becomes more adequate to the difficulties with which it must needs wrestle. The hard lesson of learning to distinguish sharply between mere investigation, with its devotion to isolated or empirical considerations, and metaphysical interpretation, with its intuition of inner unity, has to some extent been mastered. And there is great gain in knowing the difference between even one species of preparation for philosophy and philosophising proper. Indeed, one might go so far as to say, without undue temerity, that a philosophy of history can be successfully propounded only on condition that the paradox which varied failures embody be clearly grasped. For, if the record of the subject enforce one truism more than another, it is that history cannot be reflectively envisaged except from a standpoint which itself is unhistorical. History achieves its proper vocation when it accurately recalls all the constituent members of a certain series. But, thereafter, the series as a whole remains. This, in turn, calls for presentation as a unity. Here the historical vantage ground ceases to be advantageous. For the immanent unity, being ubiquitous as respects time, submits to no yoke except that of the present. And the present in the eyes of the speculative thinker is, if not eternity, at least the necessary accompaniment of any knowledge whatsoever of the eternal. History, on the whole, as it presents itself under the form of unity, supplies the subject matter of philosophy of history. Accordingly, principles and ideals are the objects with which this department of speculation is conversant. The many disappointments, and the few partial successes of former essays in the subject combine to show that coincidences, even though controlled by a seeming law, or cyclic movements, even when recurrent with an approach to regularity, furnish but fringes round the true inner problems. 'Nothing can be more important in any attempt at a philosophical delineation of the course of history than the division into periods. That ought of itself to exhibit the plan of development, the line and distance already traversed, and the direction

of future movement. It should be made on a single principle, so that the series of periods may be homogeneous, but on a principle so fundamental and comprehensive as to pervade the history not only as a whole, but in each of its elements, and to be able to furnish guidance to the historian of any special development of human knowledge and life. The discovery and proof of such a principle is one of the chief services which the philosophy of history may be legitimately expected to render to the historian of science, of religion, of morality, and of art.' * To-day, as Prof. Flint's weighty words tell, we at last possess indications of the direction in which to seek genuine philosophical questions respecting history, even if our expectations of an immediate answer be none too hopeful. Consequently, views alike of the matter and of the method of philosophy of history tend to be unhistorical in themselves, because relative to the present, from which they derive both their significance and value.

To attain such a standpoint a special discipline is necessary. It is indispensable, not merely to have acquaintance with history proper, and with philosophy proper, but also to know generally how these two departments have hitherto impinged upon one another. For provision of the requisite training nothing could be more admirable than Dr. Flint's work. Free from prejudice, fair almost to a fault, of marvellous range and remarkable for its compendious information, it is well calculated to render highest service. The record here presented is sometimes far from encouraging, but, taken collectively, it is of the kind to inspire hope. It tends throughout to discourage finality, and to foster that eager yet reserved habit of mind on which philosophical progress so largely depends. It may not be out of place, therefore, before noting some of the characteristics of the book by way of conclusion, to mention very briefly one or two of the reflections regarding the matter and method of philosophy of history which it has suggested.

The presuppositions of that association of men which makes history possible are, speaking generally, not necessarily obscure

* *Flint*, p. 328.

in themselves. The abounding difficulties of the subject arise rather from the very complex, and often unexpected, influences which these factors exercise upon one another. What the integral elements themselves are has already been hinted. Human association presupposes subjective and objective conditions in which all men substantially share alike. It also involves a peculiar experience, growing out of and supplementing the common possessions just noted, but not enjoyed by all equally, in any case so far as regards originating power. Society would be impossible were men incapable of communicating with each other on the basis of diffused knowledge. Language, silently accepted conventions, undisputed conclusions as to the nature of 'external' agencies are among the most familiar contents of such knowledge. That is to say, it involves an inner and an outer side. Men become associated, because they enjoy a similar experience, and so adopt similar views of life and the world. This is the subjective side. On the other hand, these associations are undoubtedly affected by external influences so called. Climate, configuration of country, opportunities of foreign intercourse, supply an objective element which is also of vast effect. In the main, philosophy of history must accept these conditions, or an account of them, on the authority of other sciences, and especially from other departments of philosophical inquiry. Its own special task lies with that peculiar experience which has been already remarked as the third, and great, presupposition of history. Ideals and all that they involve, furnish, as we now perceive, the chief motive forces of human association. Consequently, a philosophy of history, in so far as it is truly metaphysical, must essay to show how ideals operate in this inter-relationship to which the name history is given. It has been said above that ideals are not shared by all alike, at least so far as originating genius goes. And here, probably, the clue to the special problems of a metaphysic of history is to be found. The very possibility of a continuous past lies bound up with the origination of ideals, and with the subsequent effort to effect their realisation. Now, while it is true that the framers of ideals derive the materials out of which they build up their own greatness from

the social medium of their day, from the accumulated stores of past knowledge, and from the external conditions under which they live, it is also true that they superadd something to all these. The central figure in a historical crisis, the pilot who sees a new movement through, as the phrase is, may not be legitimately gifted with all the credit. The crisis, as we are accustomed to be told, called them forth. Yet, on the contrary, they, and they alone, achieve the unique results, and are by this very fact original. Ideals are formulated by them, and so, to all intents and purposes, they are creators. This calls attention to the individual element in history. But these ideals possess a missionary force, and pass over into the general mind which, by the mastering power of co-operation, strives to realise them wholly or in part. The reasons for the association of men which makes history, and the principal conditions or presuppositions under which it exists are, thus, comparatively incomplex. But, the moment one comes to view the operations involved, simplicity vanishes; hence the numerous failures with which philosophy has had to bear. Often, for instance, a conflict of ideals ensues. Some timid souls tend to rest satisfied with what has already been accomplished, and desire nothing better than to enjoy quietly such results as have been realised. Others are ever anxious to adopt new movements, assured that they are big with promise of a heaven upon earth. In the same way, too, one nation or race is open to fresh ideals, while another is impervious, or exhibits strong inclination to remain dormant for a time. Further, ideals are many sided in themselves, and when, having quitted the seclusion of their parent soul, they traverse the medium of many spirits, they are apt to acquire new characteristics. 'The pure religion of Christ, for example, falling on Pagan times, becomes tinged in its ritual with Pagan idolatry, and in its creed with Pagan philosophy. Its simple and homogeneous structure, when stretched on the loom, is swiftly set upon by Greek metaphysicians, Egyptian mystics, Neo-platonists, Jews, and Orientalists generally, who interweave it with their subtleties, and dye or stain it with their peculiar superstitions, sentiments, and habits of thought. Learned Divines are kept busy in Ecumenical Councils and

elsewhere, superintending the selection of fibres and blending of colours; an Emperor occasionally standing by and dictating the particular threads of subtlety which are to be interwoven, while his Empress, perhaps, is indulging her preference by choosing the colour which most strikes her fancy.' The chief task of philosophy of history, on its metaphysical side, is to reduce these complexities to simplicity, to discover a general principle underlying them by the presence of which they *reduce themselves* to some kind of rational order.

Where, then, is the attack of philosophy of history upon this problem most likely to be successful? Is there any point at which, on a survey of the past, it ought evidently to be delivered? Without employing misleading analogies, one may say that ideals move in two directions. Aspiration is the striking note of the originating personality. The tendency is upward, and the more intense the rational faith, the greater is the elevating force. When, on the other hand, the faith has been delivered to the people, the upward movement, though not ceasing, is complicated by the patent fact of distribution, and by the varied interpretations put upon the new declared principle by those who apprehend it more or less clearly. Perhaps it might be shown that 'moments' of elevation, which are necessarily referable to individuals, alternate with 'moments' of diffusion, which are most usually traceable in communities. Be this as it may, the point which philosophy of history must needs attack is that of the relation of these two 'moments' to one another. The problem thus presented is sufficiently complex for even the most fearless thinker. It is also sufficiently promising, because it deals with the presuppositions productive of history and contributory day by day to the continuance of all that most essentially characterizes it.

Space forbids more than a single reference to the complexity of the problem, and one to its hopefulness, both of which Professor Flint supplies by the way. Ideals are difficult of treatment, because their relation to knowledge, strictly so called, is not as yet perfectly understood. 'Any young man with a turn for physical science may easily serve himself heir to the whole of

the intellectual legacy which "a great physicist" bequeathed to the race. The gains of intellect being thus transmitted from person to person, from generation to generation, are constantly accumulating; the intellectual capital of mankind grows steadily vaster; and those who live latest are the heirs of all the ages, are the richest. In a word, intellectual progress is a fact. Moral acquisitions, however, are not transmitted and accumulated. They are entirely personal. Virtue is not heritable. There is no evidence that the force of will necessary for conformity to moral law is increased in the course of ages; or that the men of to-day act up to their standard of duty more faithfully than those of the earliest times.'* Philosophy of history has yet to exhibit the truth and the falsity of this position. And a determination of these would very largely eliminate the obscurity which still clings around the relation between experience (in the philosophical sense) and ideals. On the objective side, Professor Flint, preserving in most admirable fashion the true impartial attitude of the historian, does not permit himself many remarks; but he indicates his agreement with Renouvier. In connection with the suggestion that ideals have a double movement in history, one might derive further assistance from Renouvier's classification of epochs. Here the twofold motion could be viewed, not simply in itself, but also in its results, so far as these happened to be of a specific character. There may very well be '"primary epochs" in which ideals originate; "secondary epochs," those in which beliefs are developed into fully formed dogmas; "tertiary epochs," those in which faith is revolutionised by the progress of science and the commingling of peoples.'† The questions, of the relation of such periods to one another, of the general development of ideals, and of the associations of men in which they are respectively revealed, plainly stand in need of completer elucidation from a new point of view. But whatever researches may be instituted, whatever divisions may be made, it is valuable to know that the inquiry and analysis find their proper material in those intangible forces which individuals

* *Flint*, pp. 512-3. † Ibid, p. 665.

originate under ascertainable social conditions, and which communities elaborate in working out the measure of their contribution to the onward march of the ages.

Further, all this not only throws light upon the nature of the unity in which history consists, but also, by implication, upon the ends towards which it is progressing. A rational metaphysic of history, in other words, naturally tends to a teleological logic. It is evident that an association which is the expression of a double movement of ideals cannot be exhaustively, or even partially, explained by applying the categories peculiar to a mechanical system. The passage of aspiration from one personality to many, seeing it involves loss of primary power, yet with a compensation in scope of distribution, does not suggest an external combination of parts. Neither is it explicable as a combination in which each individual brings his contribution to the whole, and in so doing, drops his own specialised nature, only to appear in a new and almost unrecognisable guise. A more representative analogy would be that of a living organism. But even this is inadequate; and part of the task of philosophy of history is to determine how far the categories incident to organism furnish an acceptable account of history, and how far they fall short of this, so leaving room for the introduction of yet higher notions suitable only to spiritual experience, on which no external analogy can throw complete light. Hence, once more, the logic of history awaits the metaphysic, and a philosophy of history must grapple with the latter ere it can hope to enter legitimately upon the former, its true promised land.

The problem of method, consequently, acquires renewed interest. In this direction, too, the experience of the past proves full of instruction. The course of inquiry which Dr. Flint himself apparently approves, is specifically determined by consideration of former failures. 'In religions are contained nearly all that we know of remote antiquity; they have always been intimately connected with the state of moral sentiment and even intellectual speculation; the only proper method of investigating them is that of comparison, analysis, induction, and all *a priori* philosophies of history have arbitrarily and

excessively simplified their course and succession.' * The most serviceable method, however, is of a complex kind, including as factors induction, in the broadest sense, and deduction. Each of these has its own place, and if kept carefully distinct from the other, its own value. Ultimate reality cannot be reached by either alone, at least not within the sphere of philosophy of history. Only when the independently ascertained results of the two coincide, have we a strong presumption that something essential has been happened upon. Induction may take note of isolated elements, deduction may lead to the recognition of broad primary causes. But neither satisfies. The one tends to emphasize constitution, the other to fix upon development, progress, humanity, or some such general idea. Accordingly, while both require to be employed, true philosophical science comes in time to outgrow them. Philosophy of history must be circumspect in determining this 'psychological moment.' And, looking to the past, the probabilities are that the study is not yet ripe for consideration of that controlling ideal of ideals which it is the business of speculation proper to set forth. Interpretation is the want; but the facts to be interpreted are themselves still desiderata, because they are as yet under dispute. As far as methods can aid, we have knowledge and to spare, but the wisdom which depends upon synthesis still lingers. The knowledge, obtained *a priori* and *a posteriori*, has failed to yield up the elements on which synthesis may be successfully superimposed. Probably this will ever be the defect of philosophy of history, as of all genuine speculation ; it constitutes, nevertheless, not only a stumbling block but an incentive. The knowledge acquired by induction alone, or by deduction alone, is never any man's enemy, except in so far as he permits himself to rest satisfied with it. To arrive at essential reality, he must needs combine. Empirical generalisations philosophy of history cannot help making. But it does not thus attain its proper sphere. The synthesis, of which these generalisations are the basis, is a product, not of the simple knowledge which they attest, but of

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* *Flint*, pp. 663-4.

spiritual insight; and here deductive interpretation holds sway. If philosophy of history can show that the principles which it adopts as the deductive complementaries of its inductive research are not in conflict with the facts of history, nay, rather throw light upon them; and that they establish a species of new reading which transforms history without altering it, then the basis for a statement of the method will have been found. Only then, too, will the teleological inquiry, which is most deeply logical, have come within sight.

In conclusion, one ought to insist that Dr. Flint evinces a wise instinct in according so large a place to modern theories of his subject. They, and only they, as we have tried to notice, grasp the real magnitude of the issues of historical philosophising. Of the many criticisms which might be passed upon his work, few seem to damage, chiefly because the author is so seldom taken at his word. One might object to the absence of the comparative method of treatment, for example. But, plainly, it was no part of the plan to split philosophies of history into nicely balanced groups. One might take exception to the national arrangement adopted. Yet this is just as useful as a wider or narrower division would conceivably have been, and it has the advantage of aiding accuracy. On the other hand, highest praise is due to Dr. Flint, first, for his extraordinary learning and care; and second, for his complete elevation above anything like partizanship—a most refreshing quality in a modern philosophical treatise. No future worker in this department of speculation can afford to neglect his book. The vivid manner in which past systems are set forth, the impartiality that meets out their defects and excellencies, the acuteness displayed in disentangling their methods, cannot but form essential portions of the discipline with which future writers must brace themselves. In this manner mainly Dr. Flint's work will influence new departures. The dangers and difficulties special to the inquiry are everywhere indicated; its past matter and methods may be conveniently learned here; and lessons may be gleaned from consideration of the causes productive of ancient failure or success. As a compendious analysis of all these, the *History of the Philosophy of History*

stands in need of no praise, and cannot be affected by blame. The admiration which the present volume compels ought to be the measure of the anxiety with which all real scholars will await the delivery of future instalments. When completed, the work will rank high among those aids to intellectual discipline, in the absence of which speculation is only too likely to be abstract to permanent futility or shallow to temporary partizan edification.

R. M. WENLEY.

ART. V.—THE MASTER MASONS OF SCOTLAND.

The Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland. By the Rev. R. S. MYLNE, M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A. Scott & Ferguson: Edinburgh. 1893.

ANY satisfactory attempt at a complete survey of the various works of the royal architects in early times was a desideratum in the literary and architectural world before the opportune publication of the *King's Master Masons* in the late autumn of 1893. In the course of the earlier chapters of this bulky work a large amount of original information not hitherto accessible to the general public has been brought together, and will prove of special interest to all those learned persons who make a particular study of the archæology of architecture. The record, indeed, (except as regards the ancient Bridge of Perth) does not commence before the accession of King James III. in the year 1460, but from that comparatively early date very full details are given in illustration of the closing years of the mediæval period of Scottish history. Such minute points are the more valuable, as genuine documents prior to the melancholy death of King James IV. are not readily to be met with by the student of the archæology of North Britain: and are, moreover, full of instruction in reference to the final close of one

great period of modern history, and the marked contrast with which the next period opens.

Thus it is curious to note in the Charter and Statutes of the masons and wrights of Edinburgh, anno 1485, that the official processions of the Guild through the Scottish Capital are to be conducted in the same method and manner as is usual in the town of Bruges, showing some early business connection between Flanders and Scotland. As may be naturally expected at this date, there is an intimate alliance between the Church and the building crafts, who maintain the altar of S. John the Evangelist, in the Collegiate Church of S. Giles, whose members for the first and second offence contribute wax towards the altar lights, and after that are punishable by the Provost and Bailies of the town.

The contract of 1502 for completing the Tolbooth of Edinburgh gives the current rate of wages :—10s. a week to John Marser, the principal mason, and 9s. a week to the other masons employed on this municipal work. Well hewn ashler stone cost 2d. per foot.

Of greater interest is the Precept of 1503, whereby King James IV. grants a pension of £40 per annum to Leonard Logy, his faithful priest and architectural adviser, in consideration of his diligent and great labour upon the palace beside the Abbey of the Holy Cross: because it appears certain from other contemporary records that Logy's work includes the foundations of the present well-known Queen Mary's Tower at Holyrood, the only portion of the present palace that was erected before the Reformation. 'Its stout walls and solid masonry,' as the author of the *King's Master Masons* observes, 'have withstood the dire effects of fire and siege by the enemy, as well as the destructive influence of political change, and internal revolution.'

Another interesting document granted by the same monarch is the license of 1491 to John Dundas of Dundas, to erect a Fortress on the Rock of Inchgarvie, lying in the water of Forth, between the passages of the Queen's Ferry. How startled would the old laird be, if he could now revisit his former haunts, and find a massive iron pier of the mighty

Forth Bridge now resting on the precise spot once occupied by his solid stone castle! No remnants now of his 'moats, and iron gates, drawbridge, tumlars, portcullises, battlements, machicolations, crenelles, skowlares,' and other munitions and defences! But such are the manifold changes wrought by the lapse of time.

Other early writs of the King have been collected by our author with much care and pains, including one to Nichol Crawford, Justice Clerk, containing an important clause dispensing with all future Acts of Parliament! Mr. Mylne draws a brief parallel between this ancient writ of James V., and the well known dispensing power claimed by Charles I., and the later sovereigns of the House of Stuart, which so materially helped to bring about their final downfall.

But we must pass on to the conclusion of the first chapter, which contains the remarkable record of all the principal householders along the High Street of the old town of Edinburgh, immediately before the disastrous battle of Flodden. A list of this kind so early in date is somewhat uncommon, and it is curious to note what a large proportion of the owners were ecclesiastics. Mention is also made of the printing premises of Walter Chepman, a genuine pioneer of all true learning, distinguished as having set up the first printing press in the Scottish Capital.

We imagine that the map of the siege of Edinburgh under the Earl of Hertford in 1544, which is inserted between the first and second chapters of this book, will form a complete novelty to most readers. The original sheet is preserved amongst the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. Apart from its reproduction for the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, it has never before been given to the public: and there is no plan of so early a date existing in the North. The Cowgate would not naturally come into the view of a besieging army approaching from the northern side of the town, but in defiance of the rules of perspective, we are shown these lower houses as well as those situated in the High Street, the object being to give a complete idea of the city.

Chapter II. gives the public career of Alexander, Abbot of

Cambuskenneth—ecclesiastic, statesman, lawyer, historian, architect. Space forbids any attempt at enumerating in full detail the wonderful industry of this energetic and powerful character, who seemed able with equal success to lay his hand upon all the various threads of public life, and was capable of shining as a bright luminary amongst the heads of both Church and State. In the midst of secular occupation he never forgot his high ecclesiastical position. He was, in fact, one of the last of those noble ecclesiastical statesmen who throughout the middle ages were illustrious in the romantic annals of Scotland. Possessed of the confidence of the people as well as the King, and in favour with Pope Leo X., his public position was secure. His zeal for the practical welfare of the nation was shewn in the erection of bridges, the careful preservation of ancient documents, and the undertaking of the laborious duties of first President of the Court of Session, still the supreme legal tribunal of Scotland. No one can study the record of his life without pronouncing him great as well as pious, of wide and statesman-like views, as well as devoted to the Christian Church.

Incorporated in this second chapter is the Dunkeld Bridge Account, a long document which has been translated from the original Latin MS. preserved in the Advocates Library in Edinburgh with great pains and care. Not only on account of its antiquity, but also on account of the thorough light shewn in reference to later mediæval customs and habits of life, this particular document possesses a very special interest. We see plainly both the organisation in detail of a mediæval diocese, and the general system of building bridges in vogue amongst mediæval bishops. When the masons did not dine with the Bishop of Dunkeld, he always sent them an extra penny apiece. The mention of *steel* is remarkable, and there are some curious words without Latin equivalents, as wesps, nops, plancheour, garroun, brandier, croy, hames, and thettis. Noonschanks was afternoon tea, or rather a light supper. If a workman died, they were careful to provide his 'wyndynschet' as in the case of Robert Cawquhyn, who had 3 ells of linen. George Brown, Lord Bishop of Dunkeld, bequeathed

the bulk of his personal property for the completion of the Bridge, charging Alexander Mylne, the Canon of that Cathedral, and James Fentoun, the Precentor, to execute the directions contained in his last will and testament. This they were very careful to do. Nothing, however, now remains of the handsome bridge then erected.

Concerning the family of Franche, whose architectural record is preserved in Chapter III., we may note how Thomas, the most distinguished of this name, commenced his public career under that noble Bishop of Aberdeen, William Elphinstone, in the honourable capacity of builder of the famous old bridge over the river Dee, still used for ordinary traffic, though widened with judgment as well as elegance between the years 1841 and 1844. From the service of the Bishop he passed to that of the King, and left his permanent and enduring mark on the royal palaces of Linlithgow and Falkland. In the year 1535, when James V. was at Kelso, the writ under the Privy Seal of Scotland was issued whereby he became Master Mason to the Crown 'for all the dais of his lif.' Henceforth he was one of the chief architectural advisers of this artistic Stuart sovereign. Thomas Franche's public career, as our author justly observes, 'illustrates the great historic fact that at the beginning (or rather perhaps the middle) of the sixteenth century the Church ceased to be the great builder amongst the nations, and the civil government began to occupy the public position so long held by the Episcopate.' In the same year that Thomas Franche was appointed King's Master Mason, he also received a bounty of £20, and an interesting photograph of the original document will be found opposite to p. 41 of the book we are now considering. The sign manual is appended, a somewhat uncommon occurrence in writs of this class. On the upper portion of the same page is exhibited a facsimile of the last sheet of the royal accounts for building purposes for the year 1529, with the authentic signatures of the Lords Auditors subjoined. First amongst these signatories is Alexander Cambuskenneth.

Franche's influence, however, was soon eclipsed by the French masons, who came to Scotland in the train of James

V.'s French bride, Mary of Lorraine. Nicholas Roy was the chief of this class, and became King's Master Mason under writ of the Privy Seal in 1539. Moyse or Mogin Martyne received custody of the Castle of Dunbar, while Peter the Flemishman carved the figures that yet survive on the southern front of Falkland Palace. Bartrahame Foliot was employed in paving the streets by the corporation of Edinburgh.

After careful examination, it appears easy to trace at the present time the definite results of this French influence at both Stirling Castle and Falkland Palace. The somewhat fantastic figures placed along the battlements, the decorative work superadded to the simpler wall structure, the buttress of Renaissance design in front of mediæval walls, alike point to the blending of foreign and native skill, and the joint labours of French and Scottish workmen. Upon the facts given above Mr. Mylne thus comments :—

> 'All authorities note the remarkably French characteristics of the details—the distinct hint of the Renaissance style superadded to the Gothic after Parisian fashion, or Orleanois type, so different in detail to the later influence of the Renaissance throughout the whole of Europe, and Great Britain in particular. The fantastic decoration, and the peculiar figures that fill the niches, are more in keeping with the quaint phantasy of Gaul than the sterner forms prevalent in the North. The mere exuberance of fancy is permitted to run riot, producing a gorgeous but somewhat extravagant effect. There is great richness, but a lack of purity in this particular style.'

The close connection with France is also shewn by various quotations from contemporary documents. Thus in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer for 1539 the following entry occurs :—

> Item, for the vj. masonis expens quhilk the Duke of Groys sends to the kingis grace x[li].

In the same year Anthoinette de Bourbon, Duchess of Lorraine writes to her daughter, the Queen of Scotland :—

> 'Je esté bien ayse voir vous estes contente des massons, etc.'

Moreover, Nicholas Roy was succeeded in the office of King's Master Mason by another Frenchman, John Roytell.

He was also a burgess of Edinburgh, having been admitted at the special request of the Prior of Holyrood.

'Johannes Ryotell lathomus Gallus effectus est burgensis in judicio et datur eidem gratis ad requestum prioris monasterii Sancte Crucis qui prepositum et ballivos in dicto monasterio predie existentes eosdem bene tractabat.'

At the foot of p. 54 will be found a list of the signed letters of King James V., preserved in the National Library at Paris.

In the month of June, 1567, Mary Queen of Scots left Holyrood for Lochleven Castle, never to return. At once the French influence was swept away, and the leaders of the Reformation in religion obtained the upper hand. There was much confusion in Church and State for more than a decade of years.

Harie Balfour became Master of works in 1561, and Sir Robert Drummond of Carnock in 1579; who executed works at Doune Castle, and elsewhere. His successor, however, William Schaw, was a man of greater distinction. He was a prominent Freemason, and his name is of frequent occurrence in the early records of the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh. He was also a favourite with Queen Anne, and while he carried out some works at most of the Royal Palaces, his name will be always chiefly remembered in connection with the Abbey of Dunfermline. On his sudden death in 1602, an elaborate monument was erected to his memory by his Royal Patroness in this noble Church.

We must now turn to the family of Mylne, first distinguished in the annals of Scotland under James III., in connection with the art of building. At this period, however, John Mylne of Dundee, wins for himself an assured position of prominence, which is continually maintained by his descendants in after generations. He was employed by Lord Somerville to build Drum House, and also erected the old Cross of Dundee, whose original shaft has recently been erected beside the principal church of the town. For putting the whole of the harbour works in a state of efficiency, he was made a Burgess of the town gratis, while in 1589 he undertook to erect a gallery and certain other additions for Thomas Bannatyne, in his house at

the Kirktoun of Newtyle. The original contract is given pp. 66-9, and contains some curious regulations and quaint expressions. Thus 'lummingis' is the chimney shaft, 'kaip' equals cope, and 'doucat' the dovecote.

After executing various other works in the town of Dundee, in the year 1604 or 1605 he removed to Perth, and spent the remainder of his life in building the stone bridge of eleven arches over the water of the Tay, which was swept away by a tremendous flood on October 14, 1621. The builder had died earlier in the same year, and thus avoided seeing the bridge's terrible downfall. Chapter VI. gives a complete sketch of the history of the various attempts to span the water of Tay beside the town of Perth, from the days of King William the Lion to the time of King Charles II. Those who care for such archæological lore would do well to look into this portion of the work with care and attention, and incidentally they will find mention of other matters connected with the old town, as the annual race for the silver bell held at Eastertide, and the strong objection maintained by the Kirk Session to any citizen travelling in Spain or Portugal. Alexander Lowrie, having visited the latter country, was 'admonischit nocht to trawell to thess partiss agane, except that thay wer wthervyss reformit in religione.' Yet he was careful to state that he had never attended high mass. The geographical importance of Perth is fully appreciated by our author, as by all familiar with the neighbourhood. 'Situated at the southern outlet of wild mountain passes in the Grampians, accessible to the North Sea by means of the broad water of Tay, half way between the Western Highlands and the chill East Coast, Perth was well adapted for the royal residence, and the capital of the kingdom. The swift flowing river was a dividing line, and the absolute necessity for easy means of transit was keenly felt with the first dawn of civilisation.'

We must now pass on to other matters. William Wallace became King's Master Mason in 1617, was an active member of the Lodge of Mary's Chapel, and executed much work about the Royal Palaces. In the earlier entries, he is generally called the Carver, and in the midst of his great work at

Heriot's Hospital, he suddenly died. Though the general plan was sent from London by the Dean of Rochester, due credit for the elaboration of detail must be given to this eminent master builder, while all critics agree in the acknowledged beauty of the result.

On Wallace's death John Mylne of Perth became Master Mason to Charles I. Commencing his professional career by assisting his father in the erection of the stone bridge over the water of Tay, he was called to Edinburgh by the Town Council to complete the statue of the King upon the Netherbow Port, as well as to re-erect the Town Cross. His next task was the building of the Parish Church of Falkland, under contract with David Lord Scone; and then the construction of a new steeple for the Tolbooth of the City of Aberdeen. In 1629-30 he made the sun-dial at present in the beautiful gardens of Drummond Castle, and re-built portions of this romantic Perthshire residence. In 1633, together with his two sons, he constructed the famous sun-dial now in the royal gardens of Holyrood, so richly decorated with the initials and appropriate emblems of the noble Princes of the House of Stuart. Afterwards he worked at Heriot's Hospital, of which there are some good engravings in the book. When he had held the office of Master Mason five years, he resigned in favour of his son John, and retired to Perth, where he died Master of the Lodge of Scone and Perth in 1658. The curious lists of masons working on the royal castles and palaces form a special feature of this seventh chapter, as well as the full particulars concerning the foundation of the Bishopric of Edinburgh, the masonic document relating to Perth, and the brief notice of Alexander Mylne, the sculptor, who died at the early age of thirty.

We think, however, that the account of John Mylne of Edinburgh, contained in the next chapter, will prove of greater interest. This remarkable man came into prominence at the early age of twenty-five, when he became Master Mason to Charles I., and in the next year Master Mason to the City of Edinburgh. Amongst his architectural works we may note the Tron Church in the High Street of Edinburgh, Panmure House in the county of Forfar, now the property of the

young Earl of Dalhousie, and the Town Hall of the Royal Burgh of Linlithgow. He also executed repairs on many important buildings, notably the famous Church of S. Giles, and the magnificent Abbey of Jedburgh. The official report on the latter sacred edifice concludes by saying, 'the Master of Works wonders how either the minister dare be bold to pray, or the people to hear.'

Beside making various additions to the College in Edinburgh, John Mylne also became Master Mason to Heriot's Hospital, and executed various minor works in and about the good town, so well known to fame as the capital of Scotland. In other departments, however, beside architecture, John Mylne left distinct traces of his genius and influence, for in the year 1646 he became Captain of Pioneers, and Master Gunner for the Castle of Edinburgh and all Scotland, and in 1652 was sent to London as one of the official Commissioners to arrange a Treaty of Union with the Parliament of England under the authority of the Lord Protector Oliver Comwell. He was at the same time one of the members for Edinburgh in the Scottish Parliament.

On the restoration of King Charles II., he was confirmed in all his offices by that sovereign, and was employed to make plans of Holyrood, one of which has recently been discovered in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Great interest attaches to this document, because it shews alterations and extensions which had been intended to have been carried out by earlier Stuart Princes. According to a learned paper recently read by W. W. Robertson, Esq., Surveyor for Scotland to H. M. Office of Works, it also shews the condition of the palace at the actual date of the Restoration. Of course, the lordly designs of that unfortunate monarch Charles I., altogether failed of realisation. What terrible irony is there in the words of the text with which he crowned such work as he was enabled to execute!

'HE SHALL BUILD AN HOUSE
FOR MY NAME, AND I WILL
STABLISH THE THRONE
OF HIS KINGDOM
FOR EVER.'

John Mylne died in December, 1667, and the Incorporated Trades placed an appropriate inscription to his credit and renown over the entrance door of their hall, S. Mary's Chapel, in Niddry's Wynd, now destroyed, from which we quote a few suitable lines:—

> Rare man he was, who could unite in one
> Highest and lowest occupation.
> To sit with Statesmen, Councillor to Kings,
> To work with tradesmen in mechanick things.
> May all Brethren, Myln's steps strive to trace,
> Till one, withall, this house may fill his place.

The long Latin inscription in the Greyfriars' churchyard, over his actual place of burial, is too well known to require quotation. His nephew, Robert, was appointed his successor as King's Master Mason, and made for himself an enduring name as the builder of the present Palace of Holyrood. Why Charles II. and his administration in Scotland were so anxious to rebuild the ancient Palace of Holyrood is not very clear, considering the great scarcity of money in the royal exchequer. On this point our author writes as follows:—

> 'Perhaps the close association for so many years with the Royal House of Stuart was the principal reason that prompted the large expenditure of ill-spared money that actually took place. The old Tower of Queen Mary was regarded as a visible badge of the real sovereignty of her princely descendants. The ecclesiastical associations of the Chapel Royal recalled the monarchical theory of the divine right of kings. The remains of the Abbey beside the Palace suggested to the mind the valued connection between the authorities of the Church and the State. The same idea was in some sort implied by the very name of Holyrood. More truly than with Linlithgow, or Falkland, or Stirling, the royal residence in Edinburgh seemed bound up with the supreme rights of the House of Stuart. Yet King Charles II. was wedded to Whitehall and Windsor, both by necessity and by choice. He can never have seriously intended to take up his residence in Scotland for any length of time.'

Nevertheless, the new works were proceeded with at such pace as was possible. His Grace the Duke of Lauderdale, his brother, Sir Charles Maitland, commonly known as Lord Hatton, Sir William Bruce, Sir William Sharp, and Robert Mylne all did their best to push the business forward, and held frequent conferences, in the King's name and under his royal

authority, in order to expedite the matter. In the book we are now considering the fullest details will be found, extending from pages 160 to 212. Suffice it to say on the present occasion, that the principal contract, from which the present palace may be fairly dated, was signed in the month of March, 1672, for £57,000 Scots, and there were other subsidiary contracts involving further expense. In the original plans, never before printed, and also the numerous private letters between the King and the Duke of Lauderdale and other eminent persons in Scotland, a very interesting light is thrown on the general circumstances of the times. Those who were fortunate enough to be in the possession of high office seem oftentimes ambitious of further preferment, while those who were out in the cold knew they had chance of none. In the actual building operations the best materials appear to be obtained from the most suitable quarter, as England, France, or Holland, and free use of the harbour of Leith is made for shipment. There is no attempt made at the consumption of exclusively Scottish glass, or wood, or stone, or iron. In each case the best material is sought for under the most favourable circumstances, and the excellent quality of the goods is carefully maintained. Jacob de Wet, the well known Dutch painter, was employed upon the interior decorative work; and David Binning supplied French glass; while English lead-gold was provided by Henry Fraser. The wainscott for the King's own apartment came by sea from Rotterdam, and Jan Vansantvoort carved the chimney-pieces in the royal chambers. Sir James Stansfield received £800 Scots for 60 great trees, and John Halbert, together with George Dunserfield, English plasterers, £252 Scots for plastering the third room of the third story of the inner side of the north quarter of the Palace. But lack of space forbids any attempt to enter upon all the details connected with the building of Holyrood. They may be studied at length in the ninth and tenth chapters of the *King's Master Masons*. Opposite page 166 will be found a *facsimile* of an autograph letter written by Lord Lauderdale in 1671, and above it a view of Holyrood under the Commonwealth. The last of the six original drawings relating to the Palace consists

of a curious map showing the titles in 1670 to the various plots of land immediately adjoining the royal residence. It may not be generally known that some of these (marked 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 28, on the aforesaid map) were obtained by purchase from the Lord Bishop and the Dean of Edinburgh. It is further curious to note how strongly John Evelyn objected to *corner* chimney pieces, noting in his diary that in his opinion the King had in this manner spoilt his new hunting box at Newmarket. The lengthy contract, pp. 176-81, is a good specimen of a contemporary document, and throws a side light on the manners and customs of the building trade in the seventeenth century. On page 187 there is an interesting list of all the materials in hand in December, 1674, for the building of Holyrood. This list was made by Charles Maitland, as also the elaborate account of the various weapons of defence in the Castle of Edinburgh in the year 1679, which will be found, pp. 203-9.

Of the present Palace, the western facade was the last portion completed, owing partly to the necessity of taking down stone-work erected by 'the usurpers,' *i.e.*, the English in the days of Cromwell, and owing also to some difference of opinion amongst the constituted authorities as to the best way of finishing this portion of the whole structure. In the month of July, 1676, the contract for the above mentioned work was signed at Holyrood-house between Sir W. Bruce, Sir W. Sharp, and Robert Mylne, at £4,200 Scots.

Mr. Mylne's concluding remarks on the completion of Holyrood Palace seem worth quoting at this place in our review.

> 'Perhaps the most elegant feature in this palatial structure is the neat blending of the columns of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian order on the three stories of the garden front. If the King had not made objection, there would have been considerably more external decoration. As it is, the whole structure falls far short of the intentions of the earlier kings of Scotland, though sufficient for all actual needs. As the Palace was then finished, it has since remained a noble and enduring memorial of the Sovereign Princes of the ancient House of Stuart.'

From the portrait of the builder, opposite page 217, he seems to have been a genial man, and amongst his other notable works we may mention the Cross of Perth, Wood's

Hospital at Largo, the bridge over the River Clyde at Romell-weill Crags, 29 miles above Lanark, Mylne's Square and Mylne's Court in the High Street of Edinburgh. It was in a 'laigh shop' or cellar on the basement floor of a tenement in the above mentioned square that, according to the old tradition, the famous treaty of Union was signed and sealed in the days of good Queen Anne. The Commissioners had assembled in an ornamental summer-house at Moray House, to affix their signatures; but, driven out of that place by the infuriated mob, they took refuge in the 'laigh shop' already mentioned, and there completed the deed destined to have so beneficial an influence on the fortunes of both countries. Unlike Sir Robert Mylne of Barnton, whose fortunes rose and fell with the House of Stuart, Robert Mylne, the builder of Holyrood, seems to have been on fairly good terms with the administration of King William III., though of course all his preferment was due to Charles II. and the powerful Duke of Lauderdale. Late in life he executed some work at Heriot's Hospital, and fitted up a house in the Writers Court for the due accommodation of the Writers to the Signet, and finally died in his own house at Inveresk, on December 10th, 1710, at the age of seventy-seven. His handsome monument in the Greyfriars is well known to the great majority of the visitors to Edinburgh.

In consequence of the Act of Union, passed after much strenuous opposition in the year 1707, many changes were made in the entire system of the Scottish administration, the office of King's Master Mason became of less importance, and in the end passed into disuse. Here then, in the strict sense, our subject comes to a natural conclusion. The succession of the King's Master Masons has been traced with the greatest care and diligence from the accession of King James III. to the death of Queen Anne. With the commencement of the eighteenth century, we come upon a new order of things; and we are essentially in modern times. The author of *The Master Masons*, however, cannot resist the natural impulse to add a fourth and last section to his great book, in which he traces what befel the direct descendants of the Master Mason to Queen Anne. We can only briefly notice this section. While

chapter xii. gives the public career of Thomas Mylne, Surveyor to the City of Edinburgh, and William Mylne, the architect of the ponderous North Bridge, which is now threatened with demolition, the next chapter is full of interest on account of the remarkable career of Robert Mylne of London, as highly distinguished as any of the earlier members of the family in the past annals of architecture.

When but a youth he had the inestimable advantage of studying art in the great city of Rome. As our author finely observes:—

'Once within the vast walls of the Eternal City, he found countless objects of the greatest interest to study—priceless specimens of antique and mediæval art, huge monuments of architectural skill and daring, constructed by the autocratic order of mighty Emperors and Popes, who seem to have thought the whole race of mankind chiefly formed for the particular purpose of carrying out their imperious will. Like many another visitor from every quarter of the civilised world, the young architect, hitherto accustomed to the grey skies and the bleak lands that border the cold North Sea, was utterly astonished at the warmth of beauty and the haughty magnificence of the whole scene. He lingered in the mighty old-world city, and entered upon a serious course of study, enduring for the space of nigh four years.'

And his study was not without fruit, for in 1758 he obtained the Papal silver medal of the Academy of S. Luke, as a first prize in architecture: a fact which Andrew Lumisden, Secretary to the Stuart Princes then exiled in Rome, was careful to note in his private correspondence with Lord George Murray.

Returning to London the following year with a high reputation, Robert Mylne was fortunate enough to be chosen architect of Blackfriars Bridge by the Lord Mayor and Corporation out of sixty-nine competitors, amongst whom was Sir William Chambers. The foundation stone was laid with much official display and ceremony, on November 30th, 1760, and this noble bridge took near ten years in building. The great arch of 100 feet span was formally opened on October 1st, 1764, when the Lord Mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen were rowed underneath in the gorgeous city barge. As Andrew Lumisden, in the kindness of his heart had prophesied, the new bridge,

built of Portland stone, was a decided success, and 'honour and fortune were the consequence of the undertaking.' A long and useful professional career at once opened out for the young architect. Indefatigable in work, patient in business, with inexhaustible energy he seized the opportunities of life, and when he had passed the three score years and ten deemed to be the alloted span of humanity, there was hardly any district of Great Britain which had not received the benefit of his engineering skill or architectural advice. It were tedious to enter upon details in these matters, but in Scotland alone he left his permanent mark on Inverary Castle, to which he made extensive additions for the Duke of Argyll, the old bridge of Glasgow, upon which he was consulted by the Corporation, from whom he received a handsome silver salver, the Heriot's Park Reservoir in Edinburgh, S. Cecilia's Hall, and the reservoir on the Pentland Hills. The noble head of the Argyllshire clans also consulted him in reference to Rosneath Castle, and his country farm-steads in Glenshire. Yet London was the centre of his professional activity, and as Engineer to the New River Company, he resided above forty years at the New River Head in the parish of Clerkenwell. In this important capacity he was charged with the onerous duty of maintaining the purity and efficiency of the water supply for the chief portion of the rapidly growing metropolis of the British Empire. There is grace and elegance in the monumental inscription which he placed upon one of the islands in the stream to the memory of the brave Sir Hugh Myddelton, founder of the New River in the days of James I. :—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
SIR HUGH MYDELTON, BARONET,
WHOSE SUCCESSFUL CARE
ASSISTED BY THE PATRONAGE OF HIS KING
CONVEYED THIS STREAM TO LONDON.
AN IMMORTAL WORK
SINCE MAN CANNOT MORE NEARLY
IMITATE THE DEITY
THAN IN BESTOWING HEALTH.

If, moreover, we should judge of the practical success of a commercial company by the high value of its original shares, every one will agree that at the present time the New River occupies a perfectly unique position in the financial world. In this special department, he was succeeded by his son, who held office for exactly 50 years; and executed many important improvements in the water system. For further particulars we must refer the reader to the elaborate details contained in the book at present under consideration.

As surveyor to the Stationers' Company, Robert Mylne designed and erected the east front of their Hall on Ludgate Hill during the first year of the present century.

As surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's he had charge of the noble fabric of their magnificent Cathedral from 1766 to 1811, and upon his death in the latter year was buried according to his own desire in the crypt of that great church beside the remains of Sir Christopher Wren, the great stone of whose well known monument he had himself duly set the previous year, as he was careful to note in his own diary. As may be seen from the two beautiful engraved portraits, he was a man of dignity and determination, not easily swayed from any purpose which he might have in hand. The artistic excellence of these two engravings is indeed a marked feature of the book, especially perhaps that delicate plate executed in Paris in the last century, which could hardly be surpassed by any modern work. True lovers of art, apart from the general contents, will prize the volume for these superb illustrations.

Another example of this kind is the highly finished plate of Blackfriars Bridge by Piranesi, the distinguished engraver to the Pontifical Court towards the close of the eighteenth century. We also think highly from the artistic point of view of the two Papal medals shown as an illustration opposite to page 266. We believe that Freebairn, the Scotchman who executed this fine work, is now dead, while the portraits of the two Popes, Clement XIII. and Clement XIV., will well repay the free use of the magnifying glass. But throughout the entire volume the standard of illustration is decidedly high, and to some minds will doubtless form the most attractive feature

in this elegant publication. At the end of all, after the close of the last chapter, which records the public career of William Chadwell Mylne, F.R.S., Engineer to the New River, and Surveyor to the Stationers' Company, and of Robert W. Mylne, F.R.S., Surveyor to the Stationers' Company, we must draw attention to the spirited reproductions of the Four Crown Steeples of the northern parts of Britain. Perhaps, however, we ought only to speak of three, as the Crown Steeple of Linlithgow was taken down in 1820, to avoid the necessary cost of repair, and has never been replaced. In their way these Crowns are unique in Gothic architecture, coming as they do half-way between a spire and a tower. Have they any connection with the monarchical form of government that prevailed in Scotland, or the close union between Church and State existing in the Middle Ages?

Another remarkable picture is the general view of the Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh engaged in their several crafts in front of the royal Palace of Holyrood. Painted by Roderick Chalmers in 1721 for the Lodge of Mary's Chapel, the original production has since been destroyed in the various changes that have taken place in Edinburgh. It illustrates the practical difference between early and modern work, in as much as we here see the various trades at work in harmony, doing their respective portions side by side, the Master Mason putting his hand to it with the rest of the labourers.

Some of the earlier illustrations are also highly creditable, particularly the engravings of Stirling and Linlithgow, and opposite page 48 will be found an interesting example of French workmanship of a decorative character, superadded to earlier Scottish masonry. The small human figures over against the old battlements are certainly suggestive of the age to which they belong, and form an effective picture. Opposite page 41 are photographs of original MSS., which show the great trouble incurred by the author in compilation, and one of these exhibits the sign manual of King James V. It may be noted that the original of the portrait of John Mylne, opposite page 104, is now in the National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh. Altogether, we have but one complaint to make

of this book, and that is its excessive weight, amounting to 10 pounds: yet, perchance, we will pardon this little fault for the excellence of the quality and material. This is the right way to write family and professional history, and to make permanent record of an important office under the Crown.

Art. VI.—JERUSALEM.

THE present renewal of excavations at Jerusalem lends interest to the question of its ancient topography, and of the general results of previous explorations on the site. These results have been published in a large quarto volume called the 'Jerusalem' Volume of the Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine, written jointly by Sir Charles Warren and by the present writer in 1884; and since that time the only important addition to the literature has been an article by Sir C. W. Wilson on 'Jerusalem' in the new volume of *Smith's Bible Dictionary*, 1893.

Substantially the results of these various considerations of the topography are in accord, and there are indeed only two questions which remain subject to controversy, one of which is of very minor importance, namely, (1) the situation in which the names Akra or 'Lower City' and 'City of David' or 'Zion' should be written, and (2) the extent that should be embraced within the area of Herod's Temple. As regards the site of the Upper City, the general direction of the 'Second Wall,' the position of the later quarter of Bezetha, the position of En Rogel or Gihon—the only natural water supply of the original city—and as regards many minor points, all the explorers are in accord, and they all agree in rejecting the theory put forward by Dr. Robertson Smith and Prof. Sayce, which restricts the Jerusalem of the Bible to the narrow spur South of the Temple—a theory which cannot be reconciled with the accounts given by Josephus, and which would make the capital of Israel occupy an area of only 10 or even 5 acres, which is evidently impossible, since the ancient cities of Pales-

tine—such as Tyre, Cæsarea, etc., all cover at least 100 acres, and since the population of the smaller area would not have exceeded 500 souls.

The controversies, which have been carried on for the last half century on this subject, are due to the very brief and vague character of the literary accounts, and to the imperfect nature of our actual information due to exploration. The city being still inhabited, and the modern buildings extending over the great part of the ancient site, it has always been impossible to lay bare the foundations except in parts where there are now no buildings standing. The city and the Temple were razed to the ground by Titus, and no ruins are left above the surface, except the western towers and the walls of the Temple enclosure which were too massive to be overthrown. Huge mounds of rubbish, often 100 feet in depth, cover the rock and obscure the ancient conformation of the hills; and within the modern city it has only been possible to ascertain the old levels in cases where foundations have been dug for houses, or where excavations have been made for other purposes. Yet even under these difficulties great advance has been made in the actual study of the site, and the question now rests on a very different basis from that on which it was perforce considered before the memorable excavations by Sir Charles Warren. The rock levels are known at 50 points within the area of the Haram or Temple enclosure, and in some parts the rock is on the surface over a large area. More than 230 observations—sometimes extending over 100 yards distance—have been made of the rock surface in other parts of the ancient city. It must also be remembered that the rock is known wherever it appears on the surface, and that in all other cases its level cannot be higher than that of the present streets. From such observations it is clearly possible to attain to a fairly exact idea of the original features of the ground.

The modern city may be said roughly to be a mile square within the walls, representing a town not larger than ancient Winchester, and about two-thirds of the area of Jerusalem in the time of Titus. The population can never have exceeded some 30,000 to 40,000 persons; but even when thinly

inhabited in the time of Nehemiah it appears (Neh. vii. 4-66; xi. 1,) to have amounted to 5000 at least.* The general features of the site are too well known to need much description, excepting in cases where the ancient hill features have been obscured by the filling up of the valleys. The South-western quarter stands on a square flat-topped hill which, since the 4th century at least, has always been called Sion, and which in the opinion of all writers of authority represents the Upper City. This is bounded on the west and south by the great ravine, which is now called Wâdy Rabâbeh, and which in the general opinion represents the ancient Valley of Hinnom. The plateau has a level of about 2,500 feet above the sea, and the ground to the west of the town is at about the same level.

The Upper City is bounded on the north by a broad deep valley, now much filled in with debris, but still perceptible, running eastwards towards the Temple hill. The hill of the Upper City appears originally to have had an almost precipitous cliff on its North side, forming the South bank of this broad deep ravine. The levels of the rock, especially towards the East, prove the existence of a scarp, or of a very steep slope, and on the East of the hill this scarp is plainly seen, under the houses which face the Haram enclosure. The modern South wall runs over the middle of the flat hill-top, but South of this the ancient South-west corner of the city is represented by a rock scarp of great height, with projecting foundations for towers, under the Protestant School and Cemetery, which were thoroughly examined during excavations conducted by Mr. H. Maudslay in 1874. This corner forms a starting point, from which future excavations may be carried eastwards along the South wall of the ancient Upper City.

The width and depth of the Northern Valley, which underlies the centre of the modern city, were ascertained by excavations conducted by order of the Emperor William of Germany in 1872-3, on the site of the ancient Hospital of the Knights of

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* If the women are not counted the [illegible] be 10,000.

St. John, given by the Sultan to Germany. In the great cisterns and vaults under this Hospital the rock floor was examined over a considerable distance; and instead of a narrow and shallow gulley, formerly supposed here to exist, a very large ravine was thus discovered, dividing the ancient site into two great quarters North and South. The spur or knoll North of this valley, in the vicinity of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, runs out of the plateau West of the city, but has been proved by numerous observations to be lower and much smaller than that of the Upper City South of the dividing valley. The highest point on this Northern knoll was ascertained in 1882 to be the floor of what is now called the Chapel of Calvary. The rock is here found in a sort of a cliff, reached by steps from the floor of the church, 10 feet above the general level. The knoll slopes gradually eastwards, and is bounded by a deep narrow ravine which runs from the well known Damascus Gate (in the North wall of the modern city) to Siloam, East of the upper city; and into this ravine the broader dividing valley from the West, already noticed, debouches near the Temple. The rock in this part of the city under the West wall of the Haram or Temple is at a considerable depth beneath the surface, and the streets, though gradually leading down from West to East, are based on a great accumulation of rubbish. This filling in of the narrow valley may be very ancient, according to the account given by Josephus of the Hasmonean engineering works which levelled the city in this quarter.

The Temple Hill is a long spur, running between the site of the city and the gorge of the Kedron, which divides it from Olivet. The spur originally joined the plateau North of the city, but at an early date it was cut off by a rocky trench, cut East and West across the hill; and the crest of the spur South of this ditch was then scarped on all sides, leaving an oblong block of rock which (by common accord) is regarded as the site of the Citadel of Antonia, overlooking the Temple Courts at the North-west angle of the enclosure. South of this scarped block there is a small plateau, which rises into a knoll formed by the Sakhrah or sacred 'rock,' now covered by the

famous 'Dome of the Rock'; and South of this the spur narrows gradually, having very steep slopes to East and West, and falling southwards along the crest, so that a small tongue of hill with very steep sides projects, beyond the Haram, towards the junction of the Kedron and of the city valleys at Siloam. This spur is called 'Ophel' in the Bible, a word which signifies a 'swelling' or 'tumour' of the ground.

The Northern part of this Eastern hill joining the plateau of the Judean watershed is naturally higher than the level of the Sakhrah, and it is generally agreed that this represents the quarter called Bezetha by Josephus. The small ravine which runs South-east to the Kedron, North of the Haram, partially divides the Bezetha Hill, and its bed cuts across the N.E. angle of the Haram.

This is the natural site of Jerusalem as now ascertained by excavation, and by levels. It is the site described by Josephus (5 Wars, iv. 1) and there is only one detail in his account concerning which differences of opinion exist, namely as to the precise situation of what he calls Akra or the Lower City. This difference does not materially affect the general understanding of the topography in the time of Christ, or in the earlier days of the Kings of Judah, and it has little importance except in the eyes of specialists. Josephus says that the city stood on two hills, of which the larger supported the Upper City. The site of this quarter is universally placed, as above noticed, where the present South-west quarter of Jerusalem exists. The second hill, divided from the Upper City by the Tyropœon Valley, supported Akra or the Lower City; and the rows of houses climbed the two slopes of this valley. Josephus proceeds to describe a third hill, 'over against' the other two, and divided from them by a valley, which hill apparently he does not include within the city itself, which he states to have occupied only two. The Akra hill he describes as 'gibbous' in form, so that it can neither have been a square plateau like that of the Upper City, nor a long ridge like the Temple Hill.

In the opinion of Robinson, De Vogüè, Sir Charles Warren, and of the present writer, the only site which can be supposed to represent Akra or the Lower City is the smaller knoll near

the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the existence of which has been proved by the actual examination of the rock. Sir Charles Warren supposes that the eastern part of this spur, close to the Temple, was once much higher than now, and that it was cut down by the Hasmoneans as Josephus states. It is evident that the term Lower City must have applied to that part of Jerusalem which lay in the central valleys, lower than the surrounding hills; but, on the other hand, the term Akra signifies a 'hill-top' or 'citadel,' and this Akra is said to have been originally higher than the Temple. Josephus uses the term ἐπέκειτο, in describing the relation of the Akra to the Temple, which Whiston translates 'adjoined'; but the strict sense of the term is 'to extend opposite' to some other object, so that the actual contiguity to the Temple Hill is not proved by the term.*

Sir Charles Wilson contends that the Akra was the site of the later Antonia, north of the Temple, basing his conclusion partly on this Greek expression, and partly on other passages which may be interpreted in favour of such a view. The Akra was destroyed by Simon the Hasmonean at a time when the hill itself was cut down and the valley inside the city partly filled in. In this case the 'third hill' must be placed, as he supposes, where other authorities agree in placing Akra. The question is thus one of nomenclature, rather than of any dispute as to the extent of the ancient city, The objections to this view which seem to be suggested by other incidental notices of Jerusalem are, 1st, that there were no houses on the eastern hill where the Temple stood, such as Josephus describes rising from the Tyropœon Valley, and 2nd, that Jonathan the Hasmonean built a wall (1 Macc., xii., 31. 13 Antiq., v., 11) to separate the Akra from the market of Jerusalem, which wall is described as being 'in the midst of the city.' It is well known that, in the times which followed, there was a wall in the middle of Jerusalem on the north side of the Upper City, running east to the Temple, and this probably was Jonathan's wall; but such a wall could hardly be described

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* See Antiq., XII., 9, 2.

as dividing the market (which was in the Upper City, as it still is) from the Akra, if the latter was north of the Temple. If, on the other hand, the Akra was where it is usually placed the description is easily understood. There was no city market in the Temple, nor would a wall on the eastern side be described as in the middle of the city. John Hyrcanus, rather later than Simon, built the Citadel of Baris, which stood on the site of the later Antonia,* and it is curious—if Akra was on this site—that the Hasmoneans should so soon restore a citadel which they had destroyed by lowering its site, and filling in the valley. For which reasons the nomenclature which is to be found on nearly all maps of Jerusalem since the time of Robinson, and which is repeated on the most recent ones published by scholars both in Oxford and in Cambridge, appears likely to be generally accepted as final. But controversy on this subject would not have arisen had not the ancient descriptions been loosely worded, and capable of more than one plausible explanation.

We may now consider the general growth of Jerusalem, from the earliest times down to its capture by Saladin, and the points on which it is expected that further excavations might throw light. The only points on which any considerable

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* Antonia still remains dominating the Temple, but of the Akra Josephus says, (13 Ant., vi., 7), 'So they all set themselves to the work and levelled the mountain, and in that work spent both day and night without intermission, which cost them three whole years before it was removed, and brought to an entire level with the rest of the city. After which the Temple was the highest of all the buildings, now the Citadel, as well as the mountain on which it stood, were demolished. And these actions were thus performed under Simon.' He says again that there was 'a third hill, but naturally lower than Akra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in these times when the Hasmoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the Temple. They then took off part of the height of Akra, and reduced it to be of less elevation than it was before, that the Temple might be superior to it.' (5 Wars, iv., 1). All this agrees with Sir C. Warren's view. A great change was obviously effected in the site, and Akra became lower than the Temple, whereas Antonia was always higher, even in the time of Josephus, and still is so.

difference of opinion exists concern the 'City of David' and the site of the Temple. The discoveries already made have set at rest many points which were previously often in dispute; and the theory that the Jerusalem of Pre-Exilic times was merely a small village south of the Temple, with perhaps a citadel north of the Temple, is contradicted both by the description of Josephus, and by the carefully ascertained levels of the rock. It is certain that the Upper City lay south-west of the Temple hill, and Josephus definitely states that this was the 'fort of Sion' captured by David (7 Ant., viii., 1. 5 Wars, iv., 1). It is also certain that a valley divided the Upper and Lower City, both of which quarters, according to the historian, existed in David's time. No such valley divides into two the eastern Temple hill; and the south part of that hill is the lowest and not the highest part of the ridge. Dr. Sayce, indeed, has drawn such a valley on a small sketch plan which he published in 1883, and which bears no scale; but the rock is here visible in places on the surface, and its level was also determined in 20 places where it is hidden—during the excavations of Sir Charles Warren. It has thus been made quite certain that there is no depression in the ridge, where this theoretical valley has been supposed to have existed.

The earliest known notices of Jerusalem occur in the Tell Amarna tablets, about 1480-50 B.C., when the name is spelt *Uru-sa-lim*, and *U-ru-sa-lim*, 'the City of Peace,' agreeing with the usual explanation of the name as meaning 'abode' (*Jeru*) 'of peace' (*salem*). The King of Jerusalem who writes to Egypt speaks also of the *Bitu Amilu* in the city, which may represent the *Millo* of the Old Testament, a term which Josephus connects with the Lower City. In the topographical chapters of the Book of Joshua the name Jebus stands for Jerusalem (Joshua, xv., 8), as also in Judges (xix., 10). The name Jerusalem is also found in the Book of Joshua (x., 1) in enumerating the Amorite Kings. The boundary line of Judah ran from Enrogel (now called the Virgin's fountain) westwards up the valley of Hinnom (Joshua, xv., 8) on the south side of Jebus, and this again appears clearly to indicate that Jebus stood on the South-western hill of the Upper City,

which is bounded by the Valley of Hinnom as already explained.

There is, however, a later passage which is often quoted as proving that the 'City of David' stood on the spur South of the Temple (2 Chron. xxx. 32), for Hezekiah's aqueduct from Enrogel or Gihon to Siloam (which still exists, bearing a Hebrew inscription of Hezekiah's time), is said to have been brought 'to the West side of the City of David.' It was, however, long since seen by Keil that this is a mistranslation. The Hebrew words, *marabah al*, signify strictly 'westwards to;' for the particle *al* signifies movement towards, and cannot be rendered 'on.' The passage properly rendered thus indicates that the 'City of David' was West of the end of the aqueduct at Siloam. The term is stated by Josephus to mean nothing more than Jerusalem generally, as the capital and royal home of David, not including such suburbs as grew up later. In the Bible (1 Kings, viii. 1) we also learn that the Temple was not in the City of David, nor was Solomon's palace (1 Kings, ix. 24; 2 Chron. viii. 11) which adjoined the Temple (2 Kings, xi. 16; Neh. iii. 25), while the wall built on Ophel, South of the Temple, by King Manasseh (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14) was equally 'outside' the City of David. The term Sion, which seems in some cases to be equivalent to the City of David (2 Sam. v. 9), and which is never found in Josephus, appears to be a poetical name for Jerusalem; and although it is of very frequent use, there does not appear to be a single passage in which it is definitely fixed as applying to any particular quarter of the town. It is only in the fourth century A.D. that this term begins to be restricted to the 'Castle of Sion,' or Upper City on the South-west, and since that period it has never had any other signification.

In the time of David and Solomon the Upper City or Castle and the Lower City or Millo (2 Sam. v. 9; 1 Kings ix. 24) appear both to have existed; and outside Jerusalem was the threshing floor of Araunah, to which the Ark was borne up out of the City of David (1 Kings viii. 1) when the Temple was built. It is natural that a suburb should have grown up on Ophel after the building of the Temple, and that it should

have been inhabited by the Nethenim (Neh. iii. 26) or Temple servants. This suburb was walled in by later Kings, who connected the City and Temple by walls (2 Chron. xxvi. 9; xxvii. 3; xxxiii. 14), and the Ophel spur became the Royal quarter, where was the 'Field of Burial of the Kings,' the 'Royal Garden' (2 Chron. xxvi. 23; Neh. iii. 15; 2 Kings xxi. 26; Jer. xxxix. 4), and the Royal Palace near the Temple (2 Kings, xi. 16). Whether all the Kings were here buried in the 'City of David,' or only the later ones not thought worthy to be laid with David and Solomon, is still a disputed point. The 'Sepulchres of David' (Neh. iii. 16) seem certainly to have been to the East on Ophel, but this statement occurs only in a later book, and may refer to the royal family generally, and David lived in the Upper City. It is certain that a very ancient Jewish tomb exists close to the modern site of the Holy Sepulchre, inside Jerusalem, which agrees in a remarkable manner with the description (7 Ant. xv. 3; 16 Ant. vii. 1) of David's Sepulchre, which could be entered without the grave itself being discovered; for in this tomb the actual graves are sunk beneath the floor. It is also stated in the Talmud (Tosiphta Baba Bathra, i.) that there was only one tomb inside Jerusalem besides that of the Kings, and no other ancient sepulchre is known within the modern city. If, however, the 'Field of Burial' of the Kings, which must have been not far from Siloam, could be discovered by excavation, this question might be set at rest; and it is even possible that very important discoveries may await us in such sepulchres; but it is known that David's sepulchre was robbed of treasure according to tradition (13 Ant. viii. 4), and a second violation attempted later (16 Ant. vii. 1), and the site was well known as late as 30 A.D. (Acts ii. 29), so that it could not then have been lost or covered over, whatever may have happened later. The tradition of the Middle Ages placed this tomb on Sion, where however no such monument has been found though the rock is everywhere close on the surface.

Before quitting this period it should be noticed that one argument in favour of the Ophel spur having been the earliest quarter of Jerusalem, or Jebus, has been drawn from its proxi-

mity to the only natural water supply in the Kedron gorge—the spring of Gihon or Enrogel. The former term signifies a fountain 'bursting forth,' as the water still does burst out from an underground cave with a narrow opening acting as a natural syphon.* The latter name may mean 'Spring of the Water Channel,' and refer to the Siloam aqueduct. The only objection to this view lies in the term En Rogel being used in a topographical chapter of the Book of Joshua, whereas the Siloam aqueduct was made by Hezekiah. Critical writers have supposed that the topographical chapters in the Book of Joshua are later additions to the narrative—a contention supported by the very meagre account of the Samaritan topography. En Rogel is however usually translated 'Spring of the Fuller.'

That this fountain was the only natural spring of Jerusalem is fairly certain, but it does not seem to have ever been sufficient to supply the city, which depended on aqueducts and large rock hewn tanks for its water. Such a tank exists immediately North of the Upper City. It is now called the Patriarch's Pool, and is generally regarded as being the Pool Amygdalon (*i.e.*, 'of the great tower,') noticed by Josephus, and fed by an aqueduct from the West. It is quite possible that this site is noticed in the Bible (Isaiah xxxvi. 2) as the 'conduit of the Upper Pool,' where the Assyrians sat down before Jerusalem; for the site of the Assyrian Camp was shewn in later times (5 Wars, xii. 2) not far to the North of

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* The site of Bethesda (John v. 2) is uncertain. In the fourth century it was shewn at the 'Twin Pools' north of Antonia: in the twelfth at the Piscina Interior, further to the north-east and west of St. Anne: since which it has been placed at the Birket Israil east of the first site. The name probably means 'House of the Stream,' and the place was by the Sheep Market, or gate, or place (*Probatike*). The gathering place where the flocks drank may be understood, which is now the Virgin's Spring. The 'troubling of the waters' may be compared with the sudden rush which occurs at intervals in the Virgin's Spring. The phrase as to the angel troubling the waters (verse 4) is absent from the four oldest MSS. of the Gospel, and a natural troubling may therefore be understood. The Jews still bathe in the Virgin's Pool to cure rheumatism, and wait till the troubling of the water occurs before they plunge in.

this reservoir. It is possible that this tank existed from the earliest times, and supplied the Jebusites with water. It is inconceivable that the 'Castle of Sion' could have stood on the small spur, commanded by higher ground on all sides, and if we suppose that the citadel was on the site of the later Antonia, the difficulty arises that a considerable space, not in the City of David, and occupied by Araunah's threshing floor, separated the Ophel suburb from the 'Castle.'*

In the account of the building of Solomon's Temple we do not hear that any Jebusite town or village was cleared to make room for the sanctuary. We gather that there was an open space, outside the City of David, occupied as a threshing floor such as are found, outside and never within, the Palestine villages. The military and historical objections to the theory that the Eastern hill was the first to be occupied appear to be very strong; and the argument from water-supply is weak: for ancient sites, such as those of Shiloh, Keilah, etc., are often at a considerable distance from the nearest spring, while the artificial supply from reservoirs inside the walls was more certain in times of siege. A shaft from the surface of the Ophel hill was cut to the back of the cave in which the Gihon spring welled up, evidently to obtain access from within the walls; but it is not known when this was done, and it may be part of the water-works of King Hezekiah. There is, however, no part of Jerusalem on which it is more desirable that excavations should be extensively carried out than that now only occupied by terraces and fig gardens on the Ophel spur South of the Temple.

Of the extent of the Courts which surrounded Solomon's Temple nothing is known. Herod greatly enlarged the area, and took away the ancient foundations (15 Ant. xi. 3.) and no masonry that can be regarded as being as old as Solomon's time is now known to exist. The Holy House itself occupied

* The Baris or Antonia was built by Hyrcanus (18 Ant. iv. 3; 1 Wars, iii. 3.) It was divided from Bezetha by a deep ditch (5 Wars, iv. 2), and Bezetha was the 'New City,' so that this quarter of Jerusalem seems to be later rather than very early.

the same site in all ages, but it is only of Herod's enclosure that any remains are now found.

Nehemiah's restoration of the city walls was nothing more than a rebuilding on the old foundations, and there was apparently no change in the line of fortifications. Jerusalem had only one wall at this time, and there is very little difference of opinion as to the general position of these ramparts. They ran Westwards from the Temple along the line afterwards called the 'Second Wall,' to the North-west corner of the Upper City: the tower Hananeel (Neh. iii. 1,) appears to have occupied the site of the later Antonia, and is noticed (Zech. xiv. 10,) as the North-eastern angle of Jerusalem. The South-west angle has been determined by excavation, but the exact line by which the ravine above Siloam was crossed is at present unknown. Sir Charles Warren unearthed the mighty rampart on Ophel, which though now entirely covered with debris is standing to the great height of 74 feet, from the rock to the top course of large masonry of which it is built. He also found a great projecting tower, answering to that described (Neh. iii. 27,) as the 'Tower that lieth out;' and he traced the wall to its junction with the Haram at the present South-east angle. This discovery is the most important that has been made in elucidation of the topography, and the earlier theoretic plans, which drew the rampart further West, have consequently been abandoned. Josephus states (5 Wars, iv. 2,) that this rampart joined the Eastern cloister of the Temple, and this definite statement cannot be explained away, and naturally leads to the conclusion that the Eastern cloister must have coincided with the present East wall of the Haram. The discovery also shews us that very ancient remains may still lie hidden under the debris in other parts of the Ophel quarter.

The condition of Jerusalem at the time of the Great Siege, the area of Herod's Temple, and the site of Calvary, and of the Holy Sepulchre, are the next questions of importance to consider. In this examination we should now ascertain what is known of the existing remains, and should read the ancient accounts by the light of such discovery, rather than construct plans from these descriptions, and attempt to bend the facts to

the theories. Much that might have been otherwise understood, without the aid of exploration, has become untenable in consequence of the excavations.

Josephus describes three walls on the North side of Jerusalem, of which two were standing at the time of the Crucifixion, and the third was begun within thirty years later to enclose suburbs, which were then already in existence, and which may have spread beyond the old walls as early as the time of Herod the Great, or of his immediate successors. He also describes the three great towers at the N.W. corner of the Upper City, two of which are still standing. The 'Second Wall' was the old rampart, which appears to have been built by Solomon, and continued by later Kings, and restored by Nehemiah. The North wall of the Upper City, which ran through Jerusalem to the Temple, and divided the Southern and Northern quarters, seems probably to be that already noticed as built by Jonathan the Hasmonean. It is not described in the time of Nehemiah, and it became necessary when the Macedonian garrison was still in the Akra or Citadel within the town. Through its existence the Temple and the Upper City became two redoubts, which conquerors like Pompey and Titus were obliged to besiege in form, after the Lower City had been captured. There is no difference of opinion as to the line of this rampart, on its rocky scarps facing the deep broad valley to the North usually called the Tyropœon.

The knoll which culminates near the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre is joined to the hill of the Upper City by a narrow neck of high land, between the heads of the valleys. On this saddle the great Amygdalon pool is cut in the rock which is visible in its sides, and it is clear that the second wall must have run along this saddle, and could not have been built in the valley to the east, because commanding ground would then have existed immediately outside, which would be contrary to the practice of fortress builders in any age. West of the pool Amygdalon a line of wall was discovered, running north, which was partially excavated in 1886, and found to consist of the same large masonry discovered on Ophel, and visible in the foundations of the Temple and of the great tower

now called David's tower. It is the style of masonry which the Jews used in the time of the Hasmoneans and of Herod, ornamented with a shallow drafting in the Greek style, such as exists in the dated example at Tyrus in Gilead, where the priest Hyrcanus built his palace in 175 B.C. The wall so discovered, and which ought if possible to be further traced, occupies exactly the line laid down by Robinson for the 'second wall,' near its junction with the first; and it stands in the natural position for a rampart, on the highest part of the saddle. The pool Amygdalon appears to have been within the second wall, for it was not approached by the Romans until after they had taken and destroyed that rampart (5 Wars, xi. 4); and it is natural that so important a source of water supply should have been included within the fortifications of the ancient city. The wall discovered in 1886 may therefore be taken as a safe starting point in tracing the course of the second wall.

The second wall 'ran in a circle' (κυκλούμενον) enclosing the northern quarter and joining Antonia. The great trench which cut off the site of that fortress from the hill of Bezetha was outside the wall, and there is no dispute as to the point of junction. From a military point of view it is impossible to suppose that the high knoll of rock at the traditional site of Calvary can have been left outside the rampart to command the city. It must have been the site of a fortress or tower, either on or close to the wall, and the discovery made in 1886 thus seems to be fatal to the identity of the traditional site. But unfortunately this spot is in one of the most thickly built parts of the modern city, and our information as to the details of the older site is consequently imperfect. Until some fortunate chance allows of extensive excavation north of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, it will remain possible for those who retain a firm belief in the traditional site, to maintain that the second wall passed south of the church, although the rock pools shew clearly that the ground here falls away very rapidly into the valley, while north of the church there is a small plateau about 2480 feet above sea-level, the extent of which is determined at ten separate points.

This rounded knoll answers very well to the description of Akra by Josephus, who calls it 'gibbous,' in shape. Sir Charles Wilson draws the line of the second wall at this point so as to include the knoll in question, and in this respect his plan is in accord with all others recently published; but nothing short of excavation will lay the question at rest to the satisfaction of all.

There is no dispute as to the line of the eastern part of the third wall—that of Agrippa—on Bezetha, for all writers agree that it followed the same line now occupied by the north wall of the city, and that the present north-east angle coincides with that existing in the time of Titus. Some writers suppose that the whole course of the third wall coincided with that of the present north rampart, but there appear to be two objections to accepting such a line west of the Damascus gate. The first is its too great proximity to the second wall, and the second is the fact that Helena's tomb is described (20 Ant., iv. 3) as only three stadia from the city.* The site of this tomb by general agreement is fixed at the monument popularly called the 'Tombs of the Kings,' but this is four stadia from the modern wall. The 'Women's Towers' (5 Wars, ii., 3) were an important point on this rampart, opposite the Tomb of Helena, near the great north road; and there exists still—a stadium outside the Damascus gate to the north-west—a sort of platform of rock with artificial scarps, west of the great north road. Quite recently remains of what appear to have been the foundations of a tower have been noticed at this spot, and there is some reason therefore to regard this site as representing the Women's Towers. When Dr. Robinson visited Jerusalem in 1838 it seems that the remains of the third wall were clearly visible (*Biblical Researches*, Vol. I., p. 315) at various points along the line running south-east

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* The words used by Josephus (5 Wars, iv., 2), *και δια σπηλαίων βασιλικων μηκυνόμενον εκάμπτετο μὲν γωναίῳ πύργῳ*, may be rendered 'and across the caves of the Kings being extended it bent also at the corner tower,' which may be taken to shew that there were two bends in the wall, one being that which brought it south-east from the corner at the Women's Towers to the Royal Caves, which lie under the present wall.

from the present Russian Cathedral towards the first wall. These foundations of towers have now entirely disappeared in the progress of building outside Jerusalem, but Dr. Robinson gives measurements and angles to shew where they used to exist, extending north-north-west for a distance of 1400 feet from the present north-west corner of the city. Many ancient cisterns and marble tesseræ were here found, which shew that this part of the site was formerly occupied by buildings of some kind. It is very desirable that excavations should be carried out west of the great north road, outside the Damascus gate, where various traces of ancient occupation have already been found, and where there is a considerable accumulation of soil above the rock.

As regards the site of Calvary it has now been very generally agreed, by those who feel that the traditional site stands in too central a position to answer to the New Testament requirements, that the most probable situation is the knoll outside the Damascus Gate, which the Jews point out as the ancient place of execution. Christ suffered 'without the gate' (Heb. xiii. 12) and 'nigh to the city' (John xix. 20), where was a garden (verse 41) such as Josephus describes North of Jerusalem (5 Wars, ii. 2) having in it a new tomb. The site of crucifixion was conspicuous from some distance (Mark xv. 40; Luke xxiii. 49) and there is no doubt that the traditional site of execution, on its high knoll with a natural amphitheatre of flat slopes to the West, is one peculiarly suited for a public spectacle. Since this view was advocated in 1879 (*Tent Work in Palestine*) on account of the tradition which was then for the first time published, and compared with the account in the Mishnah (Sanhedrim vi. 1-4) on which it is founded, and since the discovery was subsequently accepted by General Gordon, it has become widely popular in England and in America; and it has been pointed out that the same site was advocated by Otto Thenius in 1849, and Felix Howe in 1871; but these earlier writers knew nothing of the Jewish tradition connected with the spot, and their suggestions were therefore purely conjectural. It is always the case that any generally accepted discovery is afterwards found to have occurred to the minds

of writers who did not succeed in impressing their views on the public, and this is natural because, if a suggestion is acceptable to the general mind, it is certain to present itself independently to various minds, as has happened in so many cases of important contemporary discoveries by independent students.

But while there is general accord among critical writers on this subject, there is equal accord in the belief that the position of the Holy Sepulchre itself remains a matter of conjecture only. The 'Garden Tomb,' as it is called, which is cut in the cliff under the knoll of Calvary, is not a Jewish tomb. It was found in 1873 to be full of human bones to the roof, and when cleared out two Latin Patriarch's crosses, painted in red, were discovered on the East wall. The arrangements of the interior resemble those of the tombs in the Valley of Hinnom, which were the burial places of monks and nuns belonging to the Church of Sion. One of these bears the name of Thecla Augusta, in an inscription not earlier than 867 A.D. There is no reason to suppose that, in Palestine, the Byzantine or Norman Christians ever buried their dead in ancient disused tombs; and there are many cases in which rock cut tombs were certainly prepared especially for Christian burial. Inscriptions belonging to Byzantine tombs, not older than the 4th century A.D., have been discovered near the knoll now supposed to be that of Calvary, in one of which there is a distinct allusion to Constantine's Marturion of the Anastasis. There was also in the 12th century an important Hospice of the Templars, called the Asnerie, immediately South of the cliff, of which the mangers and walls were discovered, and recognised by the present writer, in 1873. It is fairly certain that this 'garden tomb,' with its Latin crosses and innumerable remains of bones, was used for the interment of pilgrims or others staying at the Hospice, and it has not the character of a Jewish tomb about the Christian era.

There are several well-known examples of Jewish tombs about the time of Christ at Jerusalem itself, and some of them bear inscriptions in the Hebrew character of the age. One of them, to the east of the Kedron, is now called the 'Tomb of

St. James,' but is inscribed over the portico with the names of Jewish priests of the Bene Hazir family. It has within tunnels or *Kokim* for the corpses, after the Jewish fashion. But the most famous example is the great cemetery of the Kings of Adiabene, who were converted to Judaism in the first century A.D., and buried at Jerusalem. In this sepulchre, which has several chambers, the Aramaic inscription of the sarcophagus of Queen Sarah (apparently Helena) was discovered by De Saulcy, with various remains including Roman coins of the period. This monument, popularly called the 'Tomb of the Kings,' adorned with a semi-Jewish, semi-Greek frieze over the porch, and fitted with a rolling stone before the door (as in the case of the Holy Sepulchre), is familiar to all travellers, and may be taken as an example of a Jewish tomb at the time of Christ. The chambers have *Kokim* or longitudinal tunnels, after the Jewish fashion, although it was constructed about 48 A.D. at earliest. The inmost chamber, which must have been latest, has, however, *loculi* at two sides, after the Greek fashion, which prevailed in Palestine from the second to the ninth centuries A.D. This marks the transition from the Jewish to the Greek style about the time of Christ.

The Holy Sepulchre itself seems to have been a 'new tomb' in the Greek fashion, otherwise it would have been impossible to describe the angels as seated at the head and foot of the grave (John xx. 12). It is remarkable that immediately west of the place of execution there is a Jewish rock-cut tomb, the only one yet found in this vicinity which presents the Jewish arrangement of *Kokim*, and that this has a second chamber in which there is a single loculus in the Greek style (see *Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine*, Jerusalem volume, p. 433, for the plan and sections). There can be no doubt that in this case a Jewish tomb, hewn about the time of Christ, has been discovered, and that it is the only one found in the locality. It was accordingly suggested by the present writer in 1881 that this might possibly be the real Holy Sepulchre. The tomb is now in possession of the Dominicans, and the suggestion was abandoned by those who agreed with General Gordon in pointing to the so-called 'Garden Tomb,' and who imagined

that a Latin Patriarch's cross might have been painted with the letters *Alpha* and *Omega* beneath and the monogram I C—X P above, as early as the Christian era. These crosses, commonly found with such inscriptions in the mediæval monasteries of Palestine, could not have been painted before the twelfth century, for the Greek cross is exclusively used before the Latin conquest of the Crusaders. Moreover, the cross is never used at all on monuments in the East before the establishment of Christianity by Constantine. The early Christian texts of the catacombs, and in Syria, have no crosses at all; but the advocates of the 'Garden Tomb' appear to have had little acquaintance with Christian Archæology, and to have known nothing of Byzantine epigraphy, since they attributed to the Christian era inscriptions written in a much later character.

Turning to the question of the site of the Temple, it is to be noted that the conditions under which the subject is studied have been revolutionised by the discoveries of Sir Charles Warren, so that arguments which had some weight when the site was less carefully examined must now be abandoned. The levels of the rock have been determined at 50 points within the present Haram or Sanctuary, and the sections drawn by Sir Charles Warren, and published in 1884, are reproduced by Sir Charles Wilson in his recent article. It is not disputed that the ridge gradually narrows towards the south, and that only in the central part of the Haram is there any rocky plateau near the surface. The surrounding walls rise on the slopes of steep valleys to east and west, and the interior consists of made earth, or is supported on extensive vaults. The largest of these, in the South-east angle, are reconstructions of the Byzantine period, but a few remains of much heavier and more ancient vaulting, capable of supporting the weight of the Temple cloisters, are found in existence, and the double and triple gateways, on the south wall, present their original lintels; and, in the case of the double gate, the original domes erected by Herod are standing supported by mighty pillars. It is also certain that the south wall of the Haram runs unbroken to the two present angles, and that the foundations belong to the

ancient Temple. It is undisputed that the west wall coincides with that of the time of Herod, and that the great bridge excavated by Sir Charles Warren is that described by Josephus as leading (from the Upper City) to the Royal Cloister. The position of Antonia is also settled, coinciding with the North-west corner of the Haram, where the present writer in 1874 found the remains of the buttressed walls of the Temple rising above the level of the interior.

There are various statements in Josephus which seem to shew that the Temple stood on the top of the plateau, and that the cloister walls coincided with those now standing. In one passage (8 Ant., iii., 9) he says that the ground was artificially made up 'to be on a level with the top of the mountain on which the Temple was built, and by this means the outmost Temple, which was exposed to the air, was even with the Temple itself.' In another passage (5 Wars, v., 1) we learn that 'at first the plain at the top was hardly sufficient for the Holy House and the Altar, for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice.' These statements naturally point to the situation of the Holy House itself on the highest part of the plateau south of Antonia, which is now occupied by the Dome of the Rock; and placed in such a position the ascending levels of the various courts naturally fit the rock, and agree with the present arrangement of a central platform reached by steps: in any other position the outer courts must be placed at least as high as the present rock surface, and the disappearance of substructures reaching up more than 20 feet at least above the present surface must be supposed, while the heavy walls of the Temple must have stood, either on made earth, or on foundations 30 to 90 feet in depth, of which we have no indications. The known levels make it impossible to escape from such conclusions, for the rock is visible over large areas all through the central and north-west part of the Haram, and under the Dome of the Rock, while near the west wall, and on the South-east and East, the rock is also proved to exist only at the base of the walls of the outer enclosure. It has thus come to be generally recognised, in France and in Germany, that the results of Sir Charles Warren's excavations

shew generally that Herod's Enclosure was co-extensive with the present Haram (except perhaps on the North East) and that the Temple itself must have occupied a position at or close to the present Dome of the Rock. So placed it also becomes possible to identify the Bath House, and the secret passage mentioned in the *Talmud* (Middoth i., 8) North of the Temple with existing rock cut souterrains, and to account for the four Western and two Southern gates of the outer enclosure, all of which still remain visible.

As regards the position of the cloisters, there is no dispute concerning the S.W. Angle or the West wall. Josephus states that the North and East cloisters joined at the Kedron Valley (20 Ant., ix., 7) and he says that the Ophel wall joined the East cloister (5 Wars, iv., 2) which stood in a deep valley (6 Wars, iii., 2). This description exactly applies to the present East wall of the enclosure, and Sir Charles Warren discovered the Ophel wall joining the East wall of the Haram, so that if the account by Josephus is at all to be trusted an argument is provided, by means of exploration, which is unanswerable, and which no one has attempted to answer.

The objection to this view, raised by the late Mr. Fergusson, whose theory has been adopted by various later writers in England, was one very admissible before excavations had been made. It is purely literary in character, and depends on the accuracy of Josephus in stating measurements, which cannot be considered a strong basis when we consider the unreliability of his statements of area in the cases of Cæsarea and Samaria, and his contradictory estimates of distances and values. His text has been much corrupted by copyists, and however honest he may have been he cannot be regarded as other than a very loose writer, generally given to exaggeration, not only in his estimates of height, which are absurd, but also in his measurements of lengths, which (in the case of the walls of the city) are irreconcilable either with the facts or with other statements of his own. Josephus says that the Temple area was a furlong square, which is taken to mean about 600 feet either way, (15 Ant., xi., 3-5; 20 Ant., ix., 7), whereas the real area appears, even from his own account, to

have been roughly, 1000 feet square. It cannot be matter of surprise that, writing in Italy, his estimate should be incorrect. It is irreconcilable with the more exact and detailed account in the Mishnah (Middoth, ii., 1*), written perhaps only half a century later, and written in Palestine while the ruins of the Temple were still visible.

Critical writers in the present century are not wont to attach much importance to Oriental statements regarding numbers, distances, heights, or areas; and rightly so, because the ordinary Oriental in all ages has been notoriously inexact. Their buildings are very rarely accurately squared, and this is the case also in the Haram which has only one right angle. While admitting the honesty and, generally, the trustworthiness of Josephus, we can place no reliance on his figures, which are inexact and contradictory; and it is perhaps not too much to say that in estimating the area of the Temple he has been shewn by the explorers to have been wrong.

In the year 70 A.D. Jerusalem was levelled to the ground. Only the foundations of the Temple ramparts, and of the great towers in the Upper City, were left, with a pinnacle of masonry at the South-east angle of the Haram. About 135 A.D. the city was rebuilt by Hadrian, but the area of its walls is not certainly known, since no description exists. There are remains on the Ophel ridge which may be ascribed to this period, to which also probably belongs the triumphal arch now called the Ecce Homo. An inscription by Hadrian is built upside down into the South wall of the Haram, and the

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* The passage in Middoth (ii., 1) is as follows :—'The mountain of the House was 500 cubits (*i.e.*, about 700 feet) square. The largest space was on the South, the second on the East, the third on the North, and the last Westwards.' The Courts, within which no Gentile might approach, occupied 135 cubits North and South, by 332 East and West, according to this account, of which space only 11 cubits was behind the sanctuary, which must consequently have been nearer the West than the East cloister. The whole description is worked out in detail in Conder's *Handbook to the Bible* (part ii., chapter 8), and the actual levels compared with those given in the Mishnah, and shewn to correspond. These levels are taken from the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, from the plans of Sir C. Warren and from additional observations by the author.

head of his statue (erected on the site of the Temple and still standing in 332 A.D.) was found by a peasant among the stones of the highroad North of Jerusalem. In the fourth century the South wall of the city seems, like the modern wall, to have excluded a part of the hill of the Upper City, and it is conjectured that this was the line of Hadrian's wall, but until further excavations have been made on the South nothing definite can be said on the subject. It was not till after the establishment of Christianity that Jerusalem again became a sacred city, and a centre where active building operations, of which remains still exist, were undertaken.

Constantine erected a splendid basilica on the supposed sites of the Holy Sepulchre and of Calvary. It is generally agreed that the sites in question were the same which have ever since been shewn, but the question remains whether they were correctly, or even honestly, determined. No one who is acquainted with the Byzantine history of this age is likely to doubt that credulity, fanaticism, and fraud, are its distinguishing characteristics. We have the testimony of Gregory, Jerome, and Chrysostom, who were all alike disgusted by the intrigues, the venality, and the unscrupulous mendacity of the Greek bishops, whom they denounce. Constantine himself was a politician rather than a devout believer: his cruelty is well known; and his indifference to disputes on religious matters which were regarded by the bishops as of fundamental importance. The chronicler states that a temple of Venus was destroyed by Constantine's orders (*Vita Constant*, iii. 25-8), and that the Holy Tomb was most unexpectedly found by the Patriarch underneath the mound; but Eusebius does not tell us by what means it was recognised, and the discovery of the Cross is not noticed until twenty years later. It is not very probable that the subject was examined by the Patriarch with the critical coldness of a modern antiquary, and it is conceivable that the site sacred to the Pagans was reconsecrated, just as Pagan sites were reconsecrated to Christian worship by the missionaries of Gregory the Great. It is at least certain, from what Jerome tells us, that the cave manger at Bethlehem was found by Helena to be a chapel in which the mysteries of

Adonis were celebrated, before it was reconsecrated as the site of the Nativity, over which Constantine erected the earliest known orthodox church. There is no pretence on the part of contemporary writers that any ancient Christian tradition pointed out the lost site of the Holy Sepulchre, over which as they tell us a mound had been heaped up, supporting a Pagan temple. It is more probable that they relied on visions and miracles, such as the later chroniclers record to have guided the pious Helena in the discovery of the sacred sites.

The new basilica became the centre of worship, and the Temple site remained in ruins as described by the earlier pilgrims. The statues of Hadrian still stood on the site of the Temple, where the Jews came annually to anoint the 'Pierced Stone' on the Temple hill. This, in the opinion of most modern writers, was the Sakhrah or sacred rock, marking the site of the Holy House, and pierced by a curious shaft leading through the roof of the cave beneath. It was not until the sixth century that building operations on the Temple site were recommenced by Justinian, for Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple failed disastrously. Justinian erected a great Basilica of St. Mary in the Haram, and a Church of St. Sophia on the supposed site of the Prætorium, which all Christian writers of the age agree in placing at Antonia. The remains of a small church still exist here, within the precincts of the Turkish barracks. Professor Sepp has proposed to attribute to Justinian the first erection of a building over the Sakhrah—on account of the Byzantine character of the pillars, which however are evidently taken from other buildings, hardly two being alike—but the view that this was the St. Sophia of the Prætorium is untenable, since the site of the Prætorium was always—and correctly—shewn at Antonia. As regards the great Basilica of Mary there is dispute about the exact site, but it is certain that the pillars of the present Aksa mosque are Byzantine in character, and belong to about the sixth century A.D. The view taken by De Vogüé and Professor Hayter Lewis identifies this building with the Mary Church, and the passage beneath seems to correspond to the vaults described by Procopius.

After Omar's Conquest a mosque was erected by that Khalif on the Temple Hill. Arculph describes it as a large square building, rudely constructed of wood on ancient ruins. According to Hishâm ibn 'Ammân (as quoted in an Arab work of the 15th century by Jemâl ed Dîn) this mosque was erected East of the Sakhrah, and no remains of this temporary building exist. Moslem tradition now places it in a chamber leading Eastwards out of the Aksa mosque on the South Wall, but a careful examination of this building, and of its ornate pillars, shews that it is the work of the Templars in the 12th century. Popularly the Dome of the Rock is called the 'Mosque of Omar,' but this is doubly wrong, because it is not a mosque at all, and because it was not erected by Omar.

Arab historians all agree in attributing the Dome of the Rock to the Damascus Khalif, 'Abd el Melek, in 688 A.D. The great Kufic inscription on the arcade gives the date 72 A.H., or 688 A.D. for the building, within the reign of the Khalif in question; but the outer gates and the roof of the outer wall bear dates corresponding to 831 A.D., and 913 A.D., in the reign of El Mamûn, and later. The Dome of the Chain is said to have been the model for the Dome of the Rock, which would apply if the outer octagonal wall be regarded as added in the 9th century. The style of the building generally resembles that of the early Arabs, who employed Greek and Persian architects. There is nothing classic in its structure or in its details, with exception of the pillars, which have been torn from some earlier Christian building or buildings, and fitted to their present places by supplying caps and pedestals of varying heights. The general effect of the architecture resembles that of the Sassanian period in Persia, and the wooden beams between the pillars resemble those of the old mosque of Amru in Cairo. There is therefore no reason to dispute the statements contained in the inscriptions and in Arab accounts of the building.

The next great building period in Jerusalem was that of the Crusades, when some twenty churches were erected within the walls. The chapels on the traditional sites of Calvary and of the Holy Sepulchre were included in a splendid Norman

Cathedral, which remains almost unchanged to the present time. To its South the Hospital of the Knights of St. John spreads over a large area of the city. The Dome of the Rock became the Templum Domini, and the Aksa mosque was the Palatium Salomonis given to the Templars. The detailed account of Jerusalem, written about 1187 after Saladin's conquest, gives us so minute a description as to leave no doubt about the situation of the public buildings, or of the streets and gates. This account has been translated with notes by the present writer, for the Palestine Pilgrim Texts Society, and it is perhaps the most important of all the topographical tracts which describe Jerusalem in the twelfth century. So complete is our information that no controversial questions have arisen in connection with mediæval Jerusalem, and the majority of the buildings then erected remain indeed, almost unchanged in character, at the present time.

The Crusaders, however, and Marino Sanuto in the fourteenth century, in his great work on Palestine topography, wrought havoc with the traditional sites, sometimes through ignorance, and yet oftener in order to discredit their enemies the Greek clergy, with whom they were constantly at feud. They transported the site of the Martyrdom of St. Stephen from its old locality north of Jerusalem—near the knoll of execution—to the gate on the East, now called Gate of St. Stephen by Christians. They invented the Templum Domini as distinct from the Templum Salomonis. They first shewed the Tomb of David South of the city, and are responsible for supposed sites of the Mount of Offence (more correctly 'of unctions') and the Hill of Evil Counsel. They placed Gihon at a pool which was built by the Germans, West of the city, in the latter half of the twelfth century, and supposed two Gihons, Upper and Lower, to have been noticed in the Bible. They transported En Rogel from its true site to the Well of Joab further south. They added a new site for Gethsemane to that already shewn, and they built new churches at sacred spots, which had not previously been known. The influence of their traditions survived until Robinson began to study Jerusalem critically, and it still colours the views and beliefs of many writers, who

are not always aware of the late and conflicting character of these traditions, or of the steady growth of sacred places since the fourth century. When the Bordeau Pilgrim visited Jerusalem in 332 A.D. he was not shown the Holy Cross, which pilgrims begin to notice a quarter of a century later. The Dome of the Rock, which William of Tyre attributes to Omar, was believed later to be the actual Temple in which Christ was presented. The Stone of Jacob from Bethel was supposed to be the Sakhrah itself, transported to Jerusalem. The Bordeau Pilgrim is ill informed as to Scripture, and supposed that the transfiguration occurred on Olivet instead of in Galilee. The ignorance of the pilgrims and of the priests, their superstition and scandalous conduct, were sources of grief to Gregory of Nazianzen. In the 4th century the rock struck by Moses in Horeb was shewn in Moab, and the country of Job was transported from near Petra (where Jerome correctly p'aces it) to Bashan. It is impossible therefore to feel any great confidence even in the earlier Byzantine traditions, and still less in those of the age of the crusaders.

In conclusion, we may inquire briefly into the future of exploration at Jerusalem, now that the excavations have been resumed. It is satisfactory to see that the controversial points remaining are few, and often of very secondary importance; but it is probable that many important remains still exist beneath the debris, which would be of the highest historical interest.

Within the area of the Temple enclosure it is hopeless to expect that leave to excavate can be obtained from the Sultan. We should resent excavations in our cathedrals quite as much as do Moslems in their mosques. If it were possible to remove the flagging of the platform on which the Dome of the Rock now stands, or to open the archway in its eastern retaining wall, over which a mound of earth was heaped in 1881, when the present writer attempted to get leave for this exploration, we might very probably find the foundations of the Temple courts and steps beneath. The 'Well of Souls' under the Sakhrah is a cave which has never been seen by any one now living, and which is described by no ancient

writer. It may perhaps be of little importance, but the mystery excites curiosity.

Within the city excavation is only possible immediately west of Antonia, where there is an unoccupied area, or in the western part of the Hospital of St. John, which still lies beneath an accumulation of rubbish twenty feet deep. In all other parts houses and monasteries cover the ground. Outside, on the north, further examination of the ground west of the Damascus gate is desirable, but on the south there is greater possibility of work. The slopes of Zion are covered with terraced orchards, which certainly overlie the remains of the ancient city, and the walls should be traced along the south brow of this hill. On Ophel we know that a mighty rampart 75 feet high lies completely buried, and here we may expect many valuable discoveries in the future. It is impossible to conjecture what is here concealed, and inscriptions of the early times of Solomon and Hezekiah might very probably be recovered, with perhaps archives of the early palace, and the 'Field of Burial of the Kings.' Such discoveries would be more valuable than any settlement of such questions as the exact place at which the words 'Lower City' or 'City of David' should be written on the map. Controversies of this nature are never likely to be settled, and generally are forgotten when there is no means of reaching a definite conclusion. The most important of such controversies—because it divides the Christian Churches—is that of the site of the Holy Sepulchre, but even the discovery of the whole course of the second wall would probably not convince those who believe in the traditional site, any more than the recovery of the Ophel rampart has convinced those few writers who prefer one particular statement of Josephus to others by the same author which conflict with it, and to the results of painful excavation round the walls of the Temple. It is only the student who stands uncommitted to theory who can in the future be expected to receive as final the verdict of the spade.

C. R. Conder.

ART. VII.—THE ORIGIN OF OUR CIVILISATION.

1. *Der babylonische Ursprung die ägyptischen Kultur.* Von Dr. FRITZ HOMMEL. Munchen: 1892.
2. *The Dawn of Astronomy.* By J. NORMAN LOCKYER, F.R.S. London: 1894.
3. *The Western Origin of Chinese Civilisation.* By TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE. London: 1894.
4. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.* London: 1892, etc.
5. *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists.* London: 1893.
6. *The 'Higher Criticism' and the Verdict of the Monuments.* By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. London (S. P. C. K.): 1894.

NO one, I suppose, is inclined to dispute that our civilisation is derived through the Roman Empire, and, at only one remove, from Greece. 'We are all Greeks,' said Shelley, 'our laws, our literature, our religion, our art, have their roots in Greece.' If we ask from whom the Greeks received their civilisation, we are told that it came to them from the Phœnicians and the Egyptians. Pushing our enquiries still further, we find that the Phœnicians got theirs certainly from Mesopotamia,* and, if language be any guide, from the northern region of it called Assyria. On the other side of Asia, again, in the 'Middle Kingdom,' which is just now exciting a good deal of attention,

* To save confusing changes of name, I have used the word Mesopotamia throughout to denote not only the Roman province of that name, but also the kingdoms on either side of the Tigris and Euphrates formerly known as Assyria and Babylonia. Of these, Babylonia is supposed to have been first inhabited by a race sometimes called the Accadian, although it is now more properly styled the Sumerian, from the name of its chief province, Sumer (the Biblical Shinar). But with this was mingled, at a very early date, a large admixture of Semitic blood. Assyria, originally a colony from Babylonia, contained an even larger Semitic population than the mother kingdom.

we find an apparently indigenous civilisation perfectly unknown to any of the nations just mentioned, and extending back in an unbroken line to the third millenium before Christ. But beyond this, we have not until now been able to go. Only a few years back, Dr. Sayce in his excellent *Introduction to Herodotus*, summed up the question thus:—'The civilisations of the ancient world—of Egypt, of China, and of Babylonia—were all the creations of great rivers. Every attempt hitherto made to discover a primitive connection between them has failed.'

This view, however, can hardly be longer maintained. The decipherment of the celebrated Telel-Amarna tablets (an early notice of which by Major Conder appeared in this Review*) helped to convince most Orientalists that the importance of the Mesopotamian kingdoms in the world's history had long been greatly underrated. Since then, some of the best equipped students of the cuneiform texts have devoted themselves almost exclusively to the relationship of the Mesopotamian civilisation with that of Egypt and China, until at length success appears to have crowned their efforts. The volumes before us show that a great step has been made towards the solution of the problem —whence came our civilisation? Even though we are still unable to say where the Mesopotamian culture found its roots, we can safely pronounce it 'the mother of all the cultures of antiquity.'

To take first the case of Egypt:—The mode by which Professor Hommel proceeds to prove his contention that its culture was derived from Mesopotamia is, I suppose, the only one possible. The civilisations of the ancient world all resemble each other in one particular. Unlike those of modern times, they were the property not of the multitude, but of a class, and in both Mesopotamia and Egypt this class was the priesthood. The invention of writing, the power of taking observations of the heavenly bodies, the fixing of the calendar, and the principles which underlie the construction of buildings, were all in the hands of the priests. As a consequence, the whole of the sciences were so mixed up with the national religion that their

* The *Scottish Review* for April, 1891.

separation from it was impossible. If, therefore, we succeed in proving that any great part of the religious system of one country was derived from the other, we are justified in concluding that the borrowers received with it a large measure of the priestly sciences as well.

Now, the teaching of the Mesopotamian priests as to the origin of the gods and the world was as follows:—In the beginning, said they, was one dark expanse of waters from which by some imperfectly explained means,* the earth and the abodes of the gods gradually emerged. The upper or celestial part of this encircling water was personified by them under the names of *Nun*, *Anum*, or *Anna*, the father of the gods, to whom the Semites when admitted to share in the civilisation of their predecessors gave the name of Anu. From him either alone or (as Dr. Hommel thinks) with the aid of a consort, *Anunit*, sprang *Gun-lilla*, *Mul-lilla*, or *En-lilla*,† the god of the atmosphere, whose realm occupied the space lying between the Celestial Ocean or 'Heaven of Anu' and the earth. He in his turn produced with the aid of a goddess called *Ba'u*, who was but another feminine personification of the primordial ocean, *Gun-ki*, *En-ki*, or *Ea*, the lord of the earth and of the waters under the earth, who presided over the remaining realm of the universe. In Anna and Ea, the first and third persons of this triad, we may see the 'Spirit of Heaven' and the 'Spirit of Earth' so frequently invoked in the magical texts of which I gave some account in a former article,‡ and which offer perhaps the oldest specimens of literature extant; while En-lilla was probably a later importa-

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* T. G. Pinches' *New Version of the Creation Story*, J.R.A.S., n.s., XXIII., (1891), p. 395. The world is there said to have been created 'when within the sea there was a stream.' In one of the numerous Orphic cosmogonies, this 'stream' is further described as a whirlpool, by which the component parts of the world before dispersed through the primordial ocean, were brought together.

† Called by the Semites *Bel*, or as Dr. Sayce distinguishes him, *Bel of Nipur*. He was a god earlier than, and distinct from, the *Bel-Merodach* mentioned later. The alternative names given in the text correspond to the varying dialects of the inscriptions.

‡ The *Scottish Review* for January, 1893.

tion, and perhaps not of Sumerian origin. Yet all three gods seem to have early faded away from the memory of the common people, and to have been supplanted by deities known, in accordance with the invariable rule of polytheism, as their descendants. Notwithstanding this, an exact parallel to the first triad of the Mesopotamians occurs in the Egyptian Pantheon, wherein *Nun* represents the watery chaos whence sprang all the gods, *Shu*, his son, the god of the atmosphere, and *Seb*, the son of *Shu*, the god of the earth. Few pictorial 'documents' of Egyptian mythology are so plainly intelligible as the group wherein *Nut*, or *Nu'it* (cf. Anunit) the feminine counterpart of Nun, stretches her star-spangled body in the form of an arch over the god of the atmosphere, who in his turn bestrides the recumbent form of the earth-god.* But if the parallel were close in the case of the metaphorical abstractions which such gods eventually became, how much more strict was it with those more real and visible divinities, who received in Mesopotamia as in Egypt the daily adoration of the multitude. In Mesopotamia, *Girri-Dugga* or *Mirri-Dugga*, better known to us perhaps under his later Semitic name of Merodach, was the son of the earth-god Ea,† as, in Egypt, Osiris was the son of the earth-god Seb. But Merodach had a double personality: in one character he was *Silik-Mulu-dug*, 'the hero who does good to man,' the Bel or Baal of Scripture, and the slayer of the dragon Tiamat; in the other, he was Samas, the visible sun, the creator and ruler of our universe. In both characters the Egyptian divinity was his exact counterpart:—Osiris was called *Unnefer*, 'the Good One,' the slayer of the serpent Apep, while in another aspect he was Râ, the creator and preserver of the world, of whom the *Ritual* says that, 'Osiris findeth the soul of Râ and embraceth it, and the two become one.'‡ Both Merodach and Osiris have the bull as their symbol, and each has as his spouse a sister called Istar in Mesopotamia, and Isit, Is't, or Isis in Egypt.

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* The best delineation of this group that I have yet seen is in M. Amelineau's *Resumé de l'Histoire de l'Egypte*, (Paris, 1894) p. 46.

† The wife of Ea and mother of Merodach was *Damgal-nunna* or *Damkina*.

‡ *Book of the Dead*, c. XVII.

Now it may be said with some show of reason, that the myths relating to these cosmic deities are tolerably obvious, and might occur independently to many peoples on their emerging from the stage of religion known as Fetichism. But how can we account on this hypothesis for an absolute identity of names? Not only does Dr. Hommel, as has been said, find in the names Anunit and Nut, Istar and Isis, a complete literal (or rather syllabic) correspondence, but he shows with much skill that the Egyptian Seb finds its equivalent in *Sibba*, a late Sumerian form of one of the names of Ea, while *'Inpo* (called by the Greeks Anubis) the Egyptian Hermes, is but a transposed form of the Mesopotamian *Nabu* or *Nebo*, and *Chonsu* the Egyptian moon-god represents with hardly any change of name, *Gun-zu* or *En-zu*, the corresponding deity in the Mesopotamian pantheon. As to Merodach and Osiris not only representing the same idea, but being absolutely the same god, our English savant, Mr. Ball, put this beyond doubt (as Dr. Hommel generously acknowledges) some years before the publication of Dr. Hommel's discoveries. For in 1890 he drew attention to the fact that while the name of Osiris is meaningless in Egyptian, *Asaru* or *Asari* is itself a title of Merodach, and the ideogram by which the latter was indicated before the cuneiform script became cursive, was composed of precisely the same signs as the Egyptian hieroglyph for Osiris, namely, a *stool* and an *eye.** After this, I think most unprejudiced people will be content to admit the essential identity of the divine constitutions of Mesopotamia and Egypt, and will not need to follow the illustrious Munich professor through his identifications (sometimes more ingenious than convincing) of the name of Ea's holy city Eridu with that of the Egyptian On, of the *Aralu* or Sumerian realm of the dead with the *Ialu* or fields wherein the Egyptians hoped to labour beyond the tomb, and of the Sumerian prototype of Kronos—who really seem to have been invented to be the plague of mythologists—with an equally Protean divinity from the banks of the Nile.

The mention of ideograms, however, brings us naturally to the art of writing. Some years ago, it would have been considered

* *The New Accadian*, Proc. S.B.A. XII. (1890), p. 401 sq.

absurd to suggest that any connection was possible between the cuneiform characters in which all the then known Mesopotamian texts were written and the Egyptian hieroglyphs. But now the negative is by no means so clear. The excavations of M. de Sarzec at Tel-Loh have given to the world inscriptions of a dynasty of priest-kings which go back to an earlier date than 4000 B.C. Among them we find some in a script not yet cuneiform, but composed of characters having a more or less obvious connection with the ideas that they are intended to represent. We are therefore enabled to say that there was a date when the Sumerian writing was, like the Egyptian, hieroglyphic, or to use a better phrase, pictorial. And from among the ideographic characters of the Tel-Loh inscriptions—necessarily few in number from the scanty extent of the inscriptions themselves—Dr. Hommel has been able to pick out a list of upwards of thirty that bear a more or less convincing likeness to well-known hieroglyphs in common use in Egypt. It may therefore be possible at some future day to show by unanswerable arguments that the Egyptians got their writing as well as their gods from Mesopotamia. For, that the converse could occur, is negatived by the evidence of the Sumerian ideograms themselves. In the words of a scholar who has studied them with great thoroughness, they show that they were invented by a people living in 'a more northern and mountainous country than' Mesopotamia. 'The signs for mountain and country are synonymous . . . . . the lion, tiger, and the jackal were unknown, but the bear and the wolf were common animals . . . . . . the ideogram for camel denotes an animal with two humps, i.e., the species of Upper Asia, as distinct from the Arabian species. In the *flora* we find the pine, but not the palm or the vine, while the house or dwelling was a cave."* Not one of these signs could have been invented in Egypt; on the other hand, they all agree perfectly with the theory that they were first used in the mountains of Elam or Susiana to the east of the Tigris, from which country the non-Semitic inhabitants of Sumer are said to have come.

With regard to Egyptian astronomy, again, we might quote

* W. St. C. Boscawen, *British Museum Lectures* (London, 1886), p. 8.

the evidence of Bêrôssos* (a writer who flourished in the age of Alexander the Great), that the Egyptians themselves admitted it to be derived from the Mesopotamian. This is, indeed, *primâ facie* probable, because the Sumerian calendar can be shown to have been founded not later than 6000 B.C.,† while Egyptian civilisation is claimed to have begun with the reign of Menes, a date which fluctuates between the 5702 B.C. of Boeckh and the 3623 B.C. of Bunsen.‡ Moreover, we find the Egyptians dividing like the Mesopotamians their year into 360 days, and their Zodiac into 36 Planetary Stations or Decans of 10 degrees each—a mode of reckoning obvious enough when connected with the sexagesimal system of the Mesopotamians, but ill-adapted to the Egyptian method of computation. The order, also, in which the planets were set, viz: the Sun, the Moon, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Saturn, and Venus is the same in a cuneiform text supposed to have been inscribed in the reign of Sargon of Accad (*circa* 3800 B.C.), and in an Egyptian monument of the XIXth Dynasty (1500-1300 B.C.) But the greatest proof of all hangs on a discovery obtained through a science a good deal more exact and a good deal less subject to fluctuations of opinion than archæology is like to be for some time.

The discovery to which I allude is the result of investigations which Professor Norman Lockyer has carried on during the last three years into the orientation of temple-sites in Mesopotamia and Egypt. The idea with which he began them, as he tells us in his newly published work, originated with Professor Nissen, whose labours he has continued and extended. The conclusions to which they have brought him can be given almost in his own words:—There came (he thinks) into Egypt about the year 5400 B.C., 'A swarm or swarms from the N.E. One certainly comes by the Red Sea, and founds Temples at Redisieh and Denderah; another may have come over the Isthmus and founded Anum. They bring the worship of Anu. . . . . These people might have come either from North Babylonia, or

* Josephus Ant. I., VIII. 2.

† Miss Plunket, *The Accadian Calendar*, Proc. *cit.*, XIV. (1892), p. 117.

‡ 5000 B.C. is the date suggested by Mariette and most generally adopted.

other swarms of the same race may have invaded North Babylonia at the same time.' And in the age of the Pyramids (*circa* 4200-3700 B.C.) he thinks these invaders were followed by 'Another swarm from the N.E., certainly from Babylonia this time, and apparently by the Isthmus only . . . . they no longer bring Anu alone. There is a Spring Equinox Sun-god.'

Now it is plain that we have here a theory which, if it is borne out by the evidence, gets rid of an obstacle which every one must feel in dealing with Dr. Hommel's very skilfully constructed argument. Dr. Hommel expressly states that his sheet-anchor is the practical identity of the Mesopotamian and Egyptian pantheons, and although it seems to me that he has abundantly established that point, I am by no means so sure that his facts taken by themselves are strong enough to prove that the Egyptians borrowed their religious system from Mesopotamia rather than the Mesopotamians theirs from Egypt. It is quite true that the points brought out as to the similarity of scripts and calendars all go in this direction, but they yet seem to me to amount to less than what the Canonists would call a 'full' proof. If, then, Mr. Lockyer can establish an absolute importation of worships from Babylonia into Egypt within historic times, he will have supplied a very important link missing from the chain of Dr. Hommel's evidence. We must therefore examine with some closeness the facts brought out by Mr. Lockyer's investigations.

The net result of these appears to be that all the Egyptian temples raised in honour of the sun or of any particular star were so built that the light from the object of their veneration would at one particular moment in the year (and at that time only) flash through a narrowing series of pylons or doors until it illuminated the *adytum* or innermost sanctuary. That this was done partly for the purpose of ritual, and even of imposture, Mr. Lockyer offers some proofs. But he considers that its principal reason was the accurate observation of the sun or star on the horizon. This would enable the priests to ascertain the exact length of the solar year, and thus to correct the errors in the vague year in use among the common people. In other words the temple was not only a telescope directed at one particular point of the heavens, but also a sun-dial on a gigantic scale, which afforded a true

measure of long periods of time. By calculations made on this hypothesis, Professor Lockyer arrives at the conclusion that the moment whereat the desired phenomenon would have taken place in the majority of Egyptian temples to the sun-god, was sunrise at the summer solstice. This is intimately connected with the most important event in the national life of Egypt, for it corresponds with the beginning of the inundation on which the fertility of the land depends. But among these solstitial temples, there are many others scattered about the north-east corner of Egypt, in which the wished-for illumination could never have taken place *at the solstice.* Owing to their east and west orientation, and for reasons which Mr. Lockyer gives at great length, but with a most liberal avoidance of technical language, the sun's light would strike into the sanctuaries of these last-named temples only at sunrise on the day of the spring equinox. This is a date of no particular importance for Egypt; but corresponds closely to the rise of the Tigris and Euphrates, whose waters, conducted through a series of canals, played in Mesopotamian agriculture the predominant part assigned in Egypt to the Nile. It is difficult therefore to resist the conclusion that the construction of these equinoctial temples was due to Mesopotamian builders, for whom alone their peculiar orientation would have any significance.

Mr. Lockyer's researches, however, take us further than this. By calculations based on the theory described, he is able to get approximately at the date when these temples were erected. For the change in the obliquity of the ecliptic causes the position of the sun at rising to vary to the extent of about a degree in 6000 years. At the end of a very long period of time, therefore, the temple would be useless for the purpose for which it was built. Moreover, the imperfect sphericity of the earth causes the apparent position of the stars to vary to a much greater extent. A temple oriented to a particular star—and many of the Egyptian temples were so oriented—would, in fact, become useless for the observation of that star after a period of 300 years.* By com-

* Unless the orientation was changed by rebuilding. Mr. Lockyer has found some that were rebuilt with changed orientation, which confirms his theory.

bining the data thus obtained, Mr. Lockyer is able to announce the dates of 5400 B.C. and 4200-3100 B.C. respectively as the periods at which Babylonian astronomy came into Egypt. Both these dates are noteworthy. The first falls before the mean date ascribed to Menes, and at a time when a mysterious race or caste, known to Egyptian tradition as the 'Companions of Horus' (which might perhaps be construed to mean 'worshippers of the rising sun') were ruling the country. The other date corresponds with fair closeness to the time when the power must have been passing from the Sumerian kings of Mesopotamia, and the fusion between Sumerian and Semite was in progress which culminated in the glorious reign of Sargon of Accad. Is there not ground for supposing that some of the elder Mesopotamian nation, disgusted it may be at the accession to power of an inferior race, then pushed across the frontier into a weak and disunited Egypt, and succeeded in imposing the worship of their own fatherland upon their unwilling hosts?

However this may be, Mr. Lockyer's discovery seems to me quite conclusive on the main issue. It is of course possible, though hardly likely, that an equally well-equipped astronomer might be able to point out some destructive fallacy in Mr. Lockyer's calculations. But unless this can be done—and Mr. Lockyer exposes the whole of his method of working with great frankness and clearness—the result appears to prove Dr. Hommel's case up to the hilt. We know that the Egyptian pantheon corresponded in its most important particulars, and, in especial, in its names, with the Mesopotamian. We know that the early script of both countries contained many characters in common. And we now know that in the quarter of Egypt where immigrants from Western Asia would be most likely to settle, temples were built at a date long subsequent to the institution of the Mesopotamian calendar,* these temples being closely connected with the most important date in that calendar. Can we any longer doubt that the religion, arts, and sciences—in a word, the civilisation—of Egypt, were wholly or in part borrowed from Mesopotamia?

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* V. Note, *supra.*

It is rather appalling to turn from Dr. Hommel's concise and scholarly memoir, and Mr. Lockyer's clear book to the higgledy-piggledy that Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie has put forth. The author seems to have studied his subject, if not deeply, yet at any rate fully and discursively; but he has unfortunately failed to put his views upon it in a shape to be understanded of the people. In his introduction, he recommends us to read the last 25 pages of his book 'before proceeding with any other part,' but even this inversion of the ordinary mode of perusal will hardly lead to any satisfactory result, unless the reader happens to have at his fingers' ends the 150 different pnblications by the same author of which the present volume professes to be a *resumé.* It is possible, however, to discern from this and other sources what Dr. de Lacouperie's theory on the civilisation of China is. According to him, about 2330 B.C., certain dwellers in Susiana, whom he calls the Bak tribes, travelled across the whole breadth of Central Asia to the north-west provinces of China, carrying with them the elements of writing, 'astronomy, institutions, and religion,' together with certain historical or *quasi*-historical traditions. Historical tradition is seldom without some assured basis, and the author's identification of the Chinese *Shen-nung* with Sargon of Accad, rests, I have been told, upon tolerably solid proof. The same may be the case with the name of the leader of the Baks which Dr. de Lacouperie declares to be *Nai Hwang-ti.* This is not very far from the *Kudur Nakhunte* who appears in some cuneiform texts as an Elamite conqueror of Mesopotamia. But there is no hint in the present volume of the source from which the author derives the names of Shen-nung and Nai Hwang-ti, of what the Chinese traditions are concerning them, or of the process by which the one pair of names evolved into the other. Such omissions, as I have already said, does not proceed from any want of acquaintance between the author and his subject, but from the incurable vice of his mode of writing. To give only one instance. On p. 9 he tells us that 'the remains and loans of Chaldean culture, which we can still now (!) discover in the early Chinese civilisation are so numerous . . . that we cannot summarise them with clearness.' He then promises to 'enumerate them in relation to' (among other

things) 'Institutions, Government and Religion.' Turning to the sub-title thus headed, we find no enumeration of any remains of Chaldean culture, but the bare statement that the 'ancient religion of the Chinese exhibits various traces of importation from South-west Asia by their civilisers.' Then follows this extraordinary paragraph:—'The singular dualism of supreme divinities which differentiates so entirely this religion from those of the other Mongoloid races of High Asia is most worthy of attention. Besides the worship of *T'ien* the Sky-Heaven so general among these other races, we find in China the cult of a supreme and personal god *Shang-ti* specially reserved to the rulers themselves. *I have not yet published the monograph I have written on the subject to demonstrate this fact*' (the italics are mine) '*and explain how the worship of the supreme god for the time being when the Bak tribes migrated from the North of Elam developed among them into the worship of Shang-ti.*' Evidently, to derive any solid benefit from Dr. de Lacouperie's labours in this instance, we must begin a good deal further back than even the end of the voluminous work under review, and read that which he has not yet published. When I add that the present volume does not contain a single cuneiform or Chinese character, that the reader is referred throughout to other works by the author and other writers for the evidence of the assertions contained in it, and that it has apparently been left to correct itself for the press, it is difficult to see what object Dr. de Lacouperie can have had in its publication other than the convenience of getting some of the contents of his commonplace book into print.*

Yet we are not wholly dependent on Dr. de Lacouperie for proofs of the derivation of the Chinese culture from Mesopotamia. Mr. Ball of Lincoln's Inn has studied for some time past the relationship between the Sumerian language and the Chinese, and has published the fruits of his studies in the *Proceedings* and *Transactions* which appear on our list. From them we learn that

* It is only fair, however, to state that Prof. Douglas and other writers of great authority on Chinese archæology consider that Dr. de Lacouperie has proved his case in other ways, and that his labours have been most valuable to science.

both the Sumerian and the Chinese grammars enjoy the distinction —I fancy it is the unique distinction—of possessing no indication of gender or number. The genitive case, also, in both languages precedes the governing term, and is sometimes marked by a particle which is the same in both; while the subject in Sumerian as in Chinese precedes instead of following the verb. If we add to this that the vocabularies of Sumerian—so far as the study of that extinct tongue has proceeded—and of Chinese are, in the words of Mr. Ball, 'substantially identical,' and that there are considerable signs of borrowing in the correspondence of their different ideograms, we have pretty fair grounds for inferring a close relationship between the two tongues. But identity of language, we are told on high authority, is not a test of race but of social contact, and it is extremely difficult to see how, save on some such hypothesis as Dr. de Lacouperie's, any contact between the Mesopotamian nations and the Chinese can have been brought about. For the Chinese, who have lied to Europeans about the antiquity of their history as about nearly everything else, were by no means the people until late historic times to make foreign conquests or to travel far in search of trade. 'The Chinese,' says Dr. de Lacouperie—I am pleased to owe him the quotation—'formed for long only a small and comparatively poor State, or agglomeration of States, struggling to establish their sway over the native population of the country of their adoption. They were too far away to be entangled in any of the wars and political movements which occurred in Western Asia.' We know, too that their clumsy junks, originally built for river traffic, were unfitted for anything but coasting voyages. On the other hand, the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia were bold and expert sailors, who, as early as 4000 B.C,, must have sailed across the Indian Ocean and up the whole length of the Red Sea. It is therefore extremely probable that their ships may at some time or another have landed them at a point from which it was easy to penetrate into what is now the Chinese Empire. Without then entirely accepting Professor Douglas's *dictum* that Dr. de Lacouperie and Mr. Ball 'have proved beyond cavil that the Chinese were immigrants from a centre of civili-

sation in Western Asia,' * they have certainly given us very good grounds for supposing the Chinese to have drawn the elements of culture from the Mesopotamian nations.

To sum up, therefore, the results already obtained from the works under review, we find that of the three civilisations formerly supposed to be independent of each other, that of Egypt was certainly, and that of China was most probably derived from the Mesopotamian. But can we go further than this? Was the civilisation of the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia native to the soil, or was it imported from abroad?

To these questions, I think no prudent person can at present return any but a doubtful answer. All the investigations hitherto made seem to prove that the Sumerians—if, indeed, the Mesopotamian civilisation is exclusively attributable to them—owed nothing, though they may have lent much, to other nations. But it may be noted before we quit this branch of the subject that they did not themselves consider their civilisation indigenous. Their tradition concerning it has been preserved by Bêrôssos, and runs thus:—'In the first year (of the world) there appeared, rising up from the Persian Gulf, a being endowed with reason whose name was Oannês. The body of this monster was that of a fish, but below the fish's was a second head which was that of a man, together with the feet of a man which issued from his tail, and with the voice of a man; an image of him is preserved to this day. This being passed the day among men, but without taking any food, teaching them letters, sciences, and the first principles of every art, how to found cities, to construct temples, to measure and assign limits to land, how to sow and reap; in short, *everything that can soften manners and constitute civilisation, so that from that time forward no one has invented anything new.*† Then at sunset this monster Oannês descended again into the sea and spent the night among the waves, for he was amphibious. Afterwards there appeared several other similar creatures. . . .' The authority of Bêrôssos stands

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* *Social and Religious Ideas of the Chinese*, Jour. Anth. Inst., XXII., (1393) pp. 159, sqq.

† The italics are mine.

much higher than it did since the discovery of many of the legends he records among the cuneiform texts, and the actual representation of the legendary monster Oannês can now be seen in the British Museum.‡ The story is generally supposed to mean that the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia received their civilisation from a few members of a superior race who visited them in ships. If this be true, we have here a clue to a stage further back in the history of civilisation than has yet been travelled by any one. But no satisfactory guess has yet been made at the land from whence the mysterious visitants must have come, and I do not propose to offer here any opinion on the subject. The suggestion thrown out by Prof. Sayce that the name Oannês might mean either the prophet Jonah or *Yavanu*, 'the Greek,' does not seem to have been seriously intended.

But, it may be said, what is the use of these speculations about the origin of civilisation? They may, indeed, serve to amuse scholars, but what practical interest can such academic questions have for the man of the 19th century? I venture to think that their interest even for the most *fin de siècle* reader, is very real indeed, and for a twofold reason.

In the first place, it must be noted that in the presence of the scheme of education now in vogue, nothing that can throw light upon the Greek culture can be safely neglected. And the borrowings of Greece from Mesopotamia whether direct or through the Phœnicians, were neither unimportant nor few. It was on this point that Mr. Gladstone dwelt in his Inaugural Address to the Congress of Orientalists, and he submitted in proof of his statements a list of some 15 points of connection between the Homeric civilisation and that of Mesopotamia. The progress of cuneiform study during the last twenty years has been so rapid, that it would have been a wonder greater than any to which he alluded had the venerable statesman been able to keep himself abreast of it amid the cares of state. Hence, it is not surprising that his general conclusion was better than the facts on which he supposed it to rest, and that of his 15 points of resem-

‡ Nimroud Gallery. It is described in the Catalogue as 'Image of Fish Deity.'

blance, many were not resemblances at all, while others were due to other causes than those which he assigned to them. Thus, he was clearly wrong when he stated, 'The Babylonian Triad of Anu, Bel, and Hea,' to be 'the possible or probable source of the Homeric Triad of Zeus, Poseidôn, and Aïdoneus.' For, although the Greek Poseidôn may have resembled the Sumerian Ea in that they were both gods of waters, he is neither like Ea the god of the earth, nor the father of the Sun-god. As for Zeus, the father of gods and men, there is hardly a point beyond his title in which he resembles the older Anu. He is not like Anu, the eldest of the gods, for he has a father, Kronos. Poseidôn is not his grandchild as Ea was Anu's, but his brother. And, instead of retiring like Anu to awful and abysmal heights, and leaving the government of this sublunary universe to Ea and his son Merodach, the Zeus of Homer is represented as taking so deep an interest in the affairs of mankind as to indulge in intrigues with mortal women. As for Aïdoneus, there is no point in which he can be compared to Bel of Nipur; for the latter is the god not of the underworld, but of the atmosphere, his Sumerian name of En-lilla, which was formerly translated 'Lord of Ghosts' being now shown by Dr. Hommel to mean 'Lord of the air.' And yet, had Mr. Gladstone carried his researches into the Greek religion a little further than the poems which he has done so much to illustrate, he might have met with striking proofs enough of its indebtedness to Mesopotamia. In the *Theogonia* of Hesiod, we find the Mesopotamian Triad with hardly any alteration occupying the highest place in the Greek Pantheon. 'First of all,' says the poet, 'Chaos came into being.' Then follow Ouranos, 'the airy expanse,' and Gaia, the earth. And, if Ouranos, who is described by Hesiod in exact accordance with the Mesopotamian myth as stretching over the earth like a shield, is fabled to be the first-born, instead of the father of the earth, it is only because the Greeks like all Aryan peoples refused to picture the earth save as a goddess. Further than this, the poet dared not go. For the idea of the supreme Zeus were too firmly fixed in the Greek mind to be uprooted, and it was not until the popular religion had been corrupted by successive importations of Oriental ideas that

could be openly identified with the Sun. Quite as significant is the strange repetition of the same goddess under different names as the wife of each male personification in succession; and, although it is the earth instead of the chaos of waters who here takes female form, the Greek Gaia, Rhea, and Demeter correspond pretty closely to the Anunit, Ba'u, and Damkina of the Mesopotamian story. But when some two centuries after Hesio Dionysos, 'the youngest of the gods,' came to join the older Olympians, the resemblance between the two systems became nearly complete. For Dionysos, a name inexplicable in Greek, but which has been traced to the Assyrian *Dian-nisi* 'Judge of men,' is hardly distinguishable from Merodach and Osiris. Like Merodach, he is the mediator between God and man, fulfilling towards the latter all the functions of his father; like him, too, he fights against the Giants, as Merodach overthrows the monsters of Chaos; and like him he is called ταυρόμορφος, 'of bull's form.' It was hardly necessary for the mystical school which sprang up in Greece about Pindar's time, and which is known to us as the Orphic, to make him, in order to complete his resemblance to Merodach, at once the creator and the soul of the world. And this was only one side of his character; as the divine Sun he was the benefactor of man, the giver of the harvest, and the overseer of the earth, on which nothing passes without his cognizance.* Finally, his identification with Osiris was so complete that no Greek ever thought of disputing it. The Mysteries, as they passed more and more under the Orphic teaching, appear to have taught this doctrine formally, and, soon after the foundation of Alexandria, the Greek and Egyptian god became one under the form of the Ptolemaic deity Sarapis.

Of the Greek myths, again, it would be hard to find one which has not been traced to a Mesopotamian source. 'It is clear,' says Dr. Sayce, 'that the Tammuz and Istar of the Babylonian legend are the Adônis and Aphroditê of Greek mythology.' And the same has been said with regard to the Labours of Heraklês, the myths of Danae, Prometheus, Circe, Chiron, and many more which space will not allow us to dwell upon. Mr. Brown,

* Abel's *Orphica* (Lipsiae, 1885) *passim*.

indeed, who is responsible for many of these identifications, declares that 'whenever Greek art* or mythology shows us something apparently meaningless . . . . . and incapable of explanation from internal sources, such representations . . . . are to be patiently investigated in the remains of earlier civilisations,' by which phrase it is clear from the context he means the monuments of Western Asia. And with these myths, the Greek astronomy was inextricably mingled. On every celestial globe, we still read names which the Greeks borrowed direct from the astronomers of Babylon without always taking the trouble to understand their signification. The names of the constellations called the Ram, the Bull, Capricorn, Ophiuchus, Orion, and Eridanus cannot be explained save by reference to Mesopotamian legends.† But we need hardly go further than the evidence of the Greek writers for the Asiatic origin of the Greek star-lore. Herodotus tells us that the use of the sun-dial and the division of the day into 12 hours 'were received by the Greeks from the Babylonians,' and they were hardly likely to borrow such important astronomical matters without taking the names of the stars as well. It may be noted also that Pythagoras, Democritus, and other philosophers are reported on more or less credible testimony to have studied astronomy in Mesopotamia, while Thales, who introduced the science into Greece and laid the foundation of the splendid edifice of Greek philosophy, was of Asiatic, or at all events, of Phoenician extraction.

Professor Sayce's oddly-named book reminds us, however, that there was a nation of antiquity whose beliefs have even a greater interest for the majority of our countrymen than those of the Greeks. The close correspondence between the Biblical account of antediluvian times and the Mesopotamian legends have long been known to scholars, and to put them into a shape intelligible to the general public seems to be one of the aims of the present work. Although in its title it is a protest against the somewhat

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* Even Greek Art is supposed to have borrowed from Mesopotamian, V. *Perrot and Chipiez' Art in Chaldaea and Assyria* (London, 1884), I., p. 75, II., p. 393.

† *Euphratean Stellar Researches*, Proc. cit. XIV. (1892), p. 304.

destructive theories of exegesis which have arrogated to themselves the name of 'the Higher Criticism,' nearly half its pages are devoted to translations from the cuneiform texts and their comparison with Scripture. To this task, Dr. Sayce brings—as he reminds us in the preface—'the prepossessions of an Anglican priest,' combined with an acquaintance with an cuneiform literature to which few English scholars can lay claim. The result is that, after a clear and impartial enquiry into the Mesopotamian legends concerning the creation of the world, the institution of the Sabbath, the garden of Eden, and the Flood, he pronounces the resemblance between them and the Biblical account to be 'too great to be purely accidental.' With regard to the two first-named, he thinks that the Biblical writer was 'acquainted either directly or indirectly with the Assyrian and Babylonian tradition,' that 'the (Biblical) narrative is ultimately of Babylonian origin,' and that with regard to all four points, 'the language of the Babylonian poet' must have been known 'to the Biblical writer.' As to other matters, such as the creation of man, the Tree of Life, and the Tower of Babel, he hesitates to declare the same correspondence, although it is plain that he expects the decipherment of further texts to complete the evidence in its favour. He also goes at great length into the genealogical table of Gen. x., which he decides to be purely geographical, and he succeeds in identifying most of the names therein with those of the various tribes and nations surrounding Mesopotamia. But all or nearly all of these borrowings (if borrowings they be) are, according to Dr. Sayce, long previous to the Babylonian Exile, the original tradition having passed into and having been preserved in Palestine before the Exodus. The general accuracy of the older Historical Books of the Old Testament, he holds to have been fairly established by the monuments, although he considers that the chronology of the Biblical scribes must be corrected in accordance with the better evidence of the inscriptions. To quote his own words: 'The historical records of the Old Testament do not differ from other historical records whose claim to confidence has been accepted by the verdict of posterity. The facts contained in them are trustworthy, and have been honestly copied from older and in many cases contemporaneous documents; it is only their setting

and framework, the order in which they are arranged, and the links of connection by which they are bound together, that belong to the later compiler. We can question his chronology while admitting to the fullest the correctness of his facts.'

Dr. Sayce does not extend the same toleration to the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, or Daniel. Of the two first, it is sufficient to say that he considers them, when all allowance has been made for interpolations, to contain chronological inconsistencies which 'no amount of ingenuity can explain away,' and that he prefers the narrative of the (Apocryphal) First Book of Esdras to either. But it is on the Book of Daniel that the weight of his indictment falls. According to the inscriptions which Dr. Sayce gives at length, Nabonidos and not Belshazzar was the last King of Babylon; Cyrus and not 'Darius the Mede' was his conqueror and successor; nor was he slain at the taking of Babylon, which was peacefully given up to Gobryas, the Persian general. In all these matters, he declares that the monumental evidence pronounces against 'the historical accuracy of the Scriptural narrative,' and he accordingly relegates the Book of Daniel to 'a period not later than that of Alexander the Great.'

These are grave matters, and I feel that the end of a long article is not the place to discuss them. I would rather devote the little space that remains to me to the reason why Mesopotamia became, as we have seen, the fount of civilisation to the ancient world. Fortunately we have not far to seek. The history of Mesopotamia up to the rise of the Persian power, was, as we now know, the history of the East. Thanks partly to her unassailable geographical position, partly to the wealth which her natural fertility gave her, and most of all, perhaps, to the mixture of races within her borders, the power that was supreme in Mesopotamia was able to send forth armies so large as to bear down all opposition. Even before the days of Sargon of Accad, whose date can be put with great confidence at 3800 B.C., the kings of Sumer had pushed their conquests as far as the Sinaitic peninsula, from whence they drew the hard blocks of diorite on which their inscriptions are engraved. As for Sargon, the fi and perhaps the greatest of the Semitic kings, he boasts in] inscriptions that his conquests extended from Elam in the

to Cyprus in the West, that he had subdued 'the four quarters of the world,' and that he had 'neither equal nor rival.'* Sargon's successors well kept up his policy, and beneath their feet all the lesser powers of the Syrians, the Hittites, the Phœnicians, and the Hebrews were crushed like glass as soon as they showed signs of becoming formidable. Only Egypt could stand before them, but although in a moment of division in Mesopotamia she might invade Asia under a Thothmes or a Rameses, the invaders were sooner or later driven back to their own country, which had more than once to receive an Assyrian governor. At length both Mesopotamia and Egypt fell under the yoke of those Aryan races against which Semite, Turanian, and African, have never dashed themselves save in vain. But during the 3000 years that elapsed between Sargon of Accad and Cyrus of Anzan, how profound must have been the influence which Mesopotamia exercised over the faith, arts, sciences, and literature of her neighbours and subjects! The volumes before us have given us some idea of this, and we cannot doubt that further discoveries are now in progress which will all make in the same direction. Assyriologists have often been accused of making 'sensational' discoveries, but none that they can now make can take away from the importance of Mesopotamia in the history of the world. In the words of an author who has studied more deeply perhaps than anyone living the material side of civilisation: 'Among those distant ancestors of whom we are the direct heirs, those ancestors who have left us that heritage of civilisation which grows with every year that passes, there are none, perhaps, to whom our respect and our filial gratitude are more justly due than to the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia.' †

F. LEGGE.

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* Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures for 1887*, p. 30.

† Perrot, *op. cit.*, p. 399, sq.

ART. VIII.—COREA.

1. *Problems of the Far East.* By the Hon. GEORGE N. CURZON, M.P. Japan—Korea—China. London: 1894.
2. *Report of a Journey in North Corea.* By Mr. C. W. CAMPBELL. China. No. 2, 1891. Presented to both Houses of Parliament.
3. *Corea, the Hermit Nation.* By WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS. London: 1882.

THROUGH the rivalries of its friends or enemies Corea, Chosen, or the Land of the Morning Calm has, during the last few months, been thrown into a state of wild confusion, and become the scene of war and carnage. Whatever may be the result of the struggle which its two neighbours are now waging along its shores and within its borders—whether China or Japan proves the victor, and whether Corea be declared free and independent, or, instead of being the almost nominal subject of the Middle Kingdom, becomes the real vassal of the Land of the Rising Sun—there can be no doubt that the lot of its inhabitants is at the present moment far from enviable. Helpless between their two powerful and jealous neighbours, they are compelled to undergo the untold horrors of a war they have not provoked, in order that the domestic troubles of a young and blustering nation may be staved off for a little, and its jealousies and ambitions satisfied. How long this state of affairs will last, or how long it may be allowed to continue, it is difficult to tell. Before these pages see the light it may be that China, or even Japan, though at present that seems far from likely, may have sued for peace and a hollow truce may have been patched up; or the Western Powers, either in the cause of humanity or in their own interest, may have intervened, and compelled the combatants to lay down their arms or to shift the scene of their operations elsewhere. To all appearance things are rapidly approaching a crisis, and there is no knowing what to-morrow's telegrams may have to tell. One thing, however, seems to be certain; and that is, a new era is opening up in the history of Corea.

The last of the 'hermit' nations, though the existence of the peninsula was known in Europe as far back as the sixteenth century, and notwithstanding the descriptions given of it by the Arabian geographers of the Middle Ages, very little was known about Corea and its inhabitants, at least in the West, until comparatively recent times. Within the last fifty years something like a considerable literature has grown up about them. Most of it, however, is second-hand; travellers in Corea have been few, and the amount of reliable information about it cannot by any means be called great. A good deal of interesting information may be gathered from the narrative of the unfortunate Dutchman, Hendrik Hamel,* who spent the years between 1653 and 1667 as a prisoner in Corea, and from Father Dallet's *Historie de l'Eglise de Corée*,† as also from *Life in Corea* by Mr. Carles, sometime H. B. M. Vice-Consul in Corea; but the works we have indicated above contain most of what is at present really known. Mr. Griffis's work is for the most part a compilation, not pre-eminently well arranged, yet of the scholarly and, in the main, reliable kind. The sources from which he has drawn are numerous. It is rich in historical traditions and gives a good account of the manners, customs, folk-lore, superstitions and government of the country, the history of which is brought down to the time of writing. Mr. Campbell's Report is interesting on other grounds. Its value and accuracy is borne witness to by no less competent a judge than Mr. Curzon, who says that, within a narrow space, it contains the most vivid and accurate account of Corean life and character he has seen.‡ Mr. Curzon's own work is part of the outcome of two journeys made round the world in 1887-88 and in 1892-93. It deals with Japan, Corea, and China, and is to be followed by another volume treating of the other countries lying beyond India in the Far East. Though in a measure dependent upon the works already mentioned, it is written for the most part from personal observation. The statesman and politician is evident on every page. There is little of the descriptive in it, Mr. Curzon's aim being rather to present the reader

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* Printed in Astley and Pinkerton's Voyages.

† 2 Vols. Paris, 1874.

‡ *Problems*, p. 87.

with a distinct account of the present political condition of the three countries about which he writes, and to state his views as to t! eir probable future. Its publication at the present juncture is exceedingly opportune, and will, there can be little doubt, have considerable influence in shaping public opinion.

'Corea,' it was said some time ago, 'suggests no more than a sea-shell.' At the present moment, though it certainly suggests much more than it did, say, some twenty years ago, it is still one of the least known countries of the globe. In the following pages, therefore, we propose to give some account of its geography, products, people, government and history.

On the north, Corea is bounded for a short distance by the Tiumen, beyond which lies Siberia; for the rest of its boundary on the Asiatic Continent it has the Chinese province of Manchuria. The peninsula, which may also be called an island, of which it for the most part consists, hangs down between the Middle Kindgom and the Land of the Sunrise, separating the Sea of Japan from the Yellow Sea, between the 34th and 43rd parallels of North Latitude. Its estimated area together with that of its outlying islands makes it almost equal to that of Great Britain, being 82,000 square miles. Its coast line measures 1,740 miles. As pointed out by Mr. Griffis, in general shape and relative position the peninsula of Corea resembles that of Florida. Legend and geology alike suggest that it was at one time connected with the Chinese promontory and province of Shantung, and that what is now the Gulf of Pechili and the Yellow Sea was formerly dry land; their waters are shallow, and the elevation of their bottoms but a few feet would suffice to restore their area to the land surface of the globe. On the other side of the peninsula the sea of Japan is also shallow, while at their greatest depth the Straits of Corea, separating Corea from the Japanese island of Kiushiu, give but 83 feet. The eastern and western coasts of Corea are very different. The former is comparatively destitute of harbours, its shores are high and monotonous, but slightly indented, and with few islands; the western coast, on the other hand, is frequently indented, possesses good harbours and landing places, has a number of navigable rivers, and is fringed with innumerable islands. The fertility and beauty, and

the fantastic outlines which these assume have attracted the attention of travellers. Mr. Adams, who visited the country previous to 1870, writes :—

'As you approach them you look from the deck of the vessel and see them dotting the wide, blue, boundless plain of the sea—groups and clusters of islands stretching away into the far distance. Far as the eye can reach, these dark masses can faintly be discerned, and as we close, one after another, the bold outlines of their mountain peaks stand out clearly against the cloudless sky. The water from which they seem to arise is so deep around them that a ship can almost range up alongside them. The rough, gray granite and basaltic cliffs, of which they are composed, show them to be only the rugged peaks of submerged mountain masses which have been rent, in some great convulsion of nature, from the peninsula which stretches into the sea from the mainland. You gaze upward and see the weird, fantastic outline which some of their torn and riven peaks present. In fact, they have assumed such peculiar forms as to have suggested to navigators characteristic names. Here, for example, stands out the fretted crumbling tower of one called Windsor Castle, there frowns a noble rock-ruin, the Monastery, and here again, mounting to the skies, the Abbey Peak. Some of the islands of the Archipelago are very lofty, and one was ascertained to boast of a naked granite peak more than 2000 feet above the level of the sea. Many of the summits are crowned with a dense forest of conifers, dark trees, very similar to Scotch firs.'*

On the mainland the most striking feature is a chain of mountains which traverses the peninsula from North to South, throwing out many off-shoots, and winding in and out, as the Coreans say, ninety-nine times. To a very large extent it determines the configuration, climate, river system, and political divisions of the country. Lying to the eastern side of the peninsula, the provinces of Eastern Corea, are for the most part mountainous, and through seven parallels of latitude present a living wall of verdure to the traveller who approaches the country from the Sea of Japan. With the exception of Yung-hing, or Broughton Bay, they are almost entirely destitute of harbours; and the only river of importance they possess is the Nak-tong, which drains the valley between the interior and the sea coast range. The five western provinces of the country are spread

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* *Travels of a Naturalist in Japan and Manchuria*, quoted by Mr. Griffis, p. 4.

over the western slopes of the mountain range, the fertile valleys of which are drained by broad streams. With two exceptions the political divisions of the peninsula are determined by the river systems, the rainfall in nearly every province finding an outlet in its own sea-border. The exceptions are the two North-Eastern provinces, where part of their waters is discharged into streams emptying themselves beyond their boundaries. The Yalu, recently become so famous, and the Han, near to which is Söul, the capital, are the only streams whose sources lie beyond their own provinces. After a custom, not unknown in other parts of the world, but frequently annoying, it is extremely rare that a river retains the same name throughout the whole or even the greater part of its course.*

The climate is extremely varied. Great differences also occur in the same latitude on the opposite sides of the mountain range. Its general characteristics, however, are said to be excellent, bracing in the North and tempered in the South by the ocean breezes of summer. As compared with European countries in the same latitude, Corea is on the whole much colder in winter and hotter in summer. In the North the Tiumen is usually frozen during five months in the year, and at Söul the Han may be crossed on ice during two or three months. Snow is not unknown in the Southern provinces, though the plains are usually free. When it does occur it generally disappears within twenty-four hours. The lowest point to which the mercury fell in the observations of the French missionaries was at the 35th parallel of latitude 8°, and at the 37th parallel 15° (F.) The best seasons are spring and autumn. In summer the heat is great and the rain often falls in torrents, rendering transport and travelling impossible. Towards the end of September a period of tempests and variable winds occurs.† Here and there malaria prevails.

Game, both large and small, is said to be abundant. Tigers of the largest and fiercest kind abound in the forests, more especially in those of the two northern provinces. When food fails them, they attack the villages, and the annual list of victims is very

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* *Corea*, pp. 5-7. † *Ibid*, pp. 5-7.

large.* Leopards, bears, deer, and the wild hog are numerous, as also are pheasants, wild ducks, geese, and swans; the falcon, which is protected by stringent laws, the eagle, crane, and stork are common, and the beautiful pink ibis is frequently met with both singly and in flocks. Corea, however, is not a happy hunting ground for the sportsman, even after he has managed to get access to the country. Hotels are unknown, the rest-houses, and even the best lodgings procurable by means of a letter from the Corean Foreign Office are abominably filthy; the natives as a rule are not hunters, and are too timid to render assistance in hunting the larger game. The professional hunters, however, are said to be both bold and expert.

Of domesticated animals, horses, which are mostly of a short and stunted breed, are numerous. 'The ox,' as Mr. Campbell observes, 'is the farmer's great assistant,' ploughing, drawing, and carrying for him. Goats are rare. Sheep are imported from China for sacrificial purposes. The dog serves for food as well as for companionship. The Corean pig is black, hairy, wily and gaunt.

All round the peninsula there is an abundant supply of fish. Year by year its waters are frequented by immense shoals of herrings, which during the months of April, May, and June, attract fleets of junks and thousands of fishermen from the northern coast provinces of China. Off the eastern shores the Japanese hunt the whale, which follows the herring shoals in

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* 'The number of human lives lost, and the value of property destroyed by these ravages, is so great,' says Mr. Griffis, 'as to depopulate certain districts. A hungry tiger will often penetrate a village in which the houses are well secured, and will prowl around a hovel or ill-secured dwelling, during several entire nights. If hunger presses, he will not raise the siege until he leaps upon the thatched roof. Through the hole thus made by tearing through, he bounds upon the terrified household. In this case a hand-to-claw fight ensues, in which the tiger is killed or comes off victorious after glutting himself upon one or more human victims. Rarely, however, need this King of Corean beasts resort to this expedient, for such is the carelessness of the villagers that in spite of the man-eater's presence in the neighbourhood, they habitually sleep during the summer with the doors of their houses wide open, and oftentimes even in the sheds in the open fields without dreaming of taking the precaution to light a fire.' P. 324.

large schools, and the fishing is said to yield considerable profit. The pearl fisheries are now utterly neglected, though formerly the pearls of Corea were famous both for their size and brilliancy, and were said to outrival those derived from the fisheries of Tonquin. The industry only needs to be properly worked to prove lucrative. The best pearls are found off the coast of the Yellow Sea province, in the archipelago to the south and at the island of Quelpart. Sponges of several varieties are met with in abundance on the western coast, and among many of the islands.

The mineral wealth of Corea, especially in the province of Ping-yang, is said to be very great, though latterly some have been disposed to suspect the estimates which have been formed of it as more or less fanciful.

'It is known,' writes Mr. Curzon, 'that gold, lead, and silver (galena), copper and iron ores are found in some abundance, although hitherto worked in the most spasmodic and clumsy fashions. Some years ago the most roseate anticipations were indulged in of impending mineral productions; and a financial authority has been found to assert that the problem of the currency of the world would be solved by the phenomenal output of the precious metals from Korea. Latterly there has been a corresponding recoil of opinion, which has led people to declare that the Korean mines are a fraud, and that the wealth-producing capacity of the peninsula will never be demonstrated in this direction. Those, however, who have the most intimate knowledge of the interior agree in thinking that the minerals are there, and are capable of being worked by European hands at an assured profit. Should the government consent to a concession on an at all liberal scale, and personally assist instead of obstructing its operations, the money would be forthcoming to-morrow from more than one quarter, and it is inconceivable, vain though the Koreans are about treasures of which they know nothing, but which, because a few foreigners are running after them, they conceive must be unique in the world, that many more years must elapse before a serious attempt is made to open them up. Excellent coal, a soft anthracite, burning brightly and leaving little ash, is already procured by the most primitive methods from a mine near Pyong-yang, which is said to contain unlimited quantities. Nearly all the iron that is used in the country for agricultural and domestic purposes is also of native production, the ore being scratched out of shallow holes in the ground and smelted in charcoal furnaces. The Koreans have no conception either of ventilation, drainage, blasting * or lighting. There

* At Chang-yin the owner of the silver mines there told Mr. Carles that he had came across a piece of hard rock on which his tools had no effect, and that he had tried gunpowder, but to no purpose. *Life in Corea*, p. 252.

is now a Mining Board among the Government Departments at Söul; but of its activity no evidence is as yet forthcoming.*

Gold, of which the lion's share has always gone to Japan, is obtained mostly in placer diggings, and is a Government monopoly. The output of the Imperial mines in the year 1891 is given at 36,265 ounces troy, but this is supposed to be only about twenty per cent. of the annual export. Indiscriminate gold-seeking is forbidden, but large quantities are yearly smuggled out of the country by the Chinamen who frequent the herring fishery, and by those engaged in the overland and Japanese trade. Five years ago the Government, Mr. Curzon informs us, 'purchased foreign machinery and engaged foreign miners to work the gold mines in the Pyong-yang district, but the enterprise was abandoned before it had a fair trial.' Copper, which, notwithstanding the native supply, was imported in 1890 to the value of £40,000, is worked up into various kinds of utensils of which there is a slight export trade with China.

In the north the chief crops are barley, millet and oats; in the south, rice, wheat, beans and grain of all kinds are grown, besides tobacco, for which the Coreans have an especial fondness. The famous ginseng is a Government monopoly. The most precious drug in the Chinese pharmacopœia, though considered worthless by Europeans, it has been known to realise its weight in gold and several times its weight in silver at Pekin. An inferior kind is now, and has been for many years, supplied to the China market by the United States of America. The Corean root, however, is still greatly esteemed, though the price it fetches is nothing like what it used to be before the monopoly was broken. The annual value of the export is about £40,000.

The principal ports of the country are the three Treaty ports of Fusan, Gensan, and Chemulpo. Fusan is upon the south-east coast, opposite to and within sight of the island of Tsushima, and was for long in possession of the Japanese, with whom a considerable trade was done. Gensan is upon the east coast, about half-way between Fusan and Vladivostok. Chemulpo is upon the west coast, and is the port of the capital, Söul. Mr. Curzon, who has visited them, describes them as follows:—

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* Pp. 189-90.

'The harbours of Fusan and Gensan are alike in being situated at the bottom of deep and sheltered bays, which could provide anchorage for immense armadas, which are visited by a yearly increasing mercantile marine, flying the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Russian flags. Fusan as the port nearest to Japan, has retained for centuries a more than nominal connection with the neighbouring Power, having been from early times a fief of the daimio or lord of Tsushima, until, in 1876, it became a trading-port constituted between the two Powers. . . . Gensan is situated in the southern bottom of the remarkable inlet in the Eastern Coast, called, from the British navigator who first surveyed it in 1797, Broughton Bay. A deeper, and even finer indentation of the same bay, sheltered by the Nakimoff peninsula, in the well-known port of Lazareff, first surveyed and named by the Russians in 1854, and ever since regarded by that people, from their ice-bound quarters at Vladivostok, with a more than envious eye. The entire bay is fourteen miles in length, from two to six in width, and has a depth of from six to twelve fathoms. Seawards its entrance is masked by an archipelago of islets. . . . A less vigorous trade is here conducted by both Japanese and Chinese (the latter having only recently entered the field) with the northern provinces, the populous towns in which are more easily reached from the western coast, and will ultimately be more naturally served from the river-port of Pyong-yang (or Ping-yeng), as soon as the latter is opened to foreign commerce, or as the Korean coasting marine becomes equal to its supply. . . . Chemulfo has few natural aptitudes as a port beyond its situation on the estuary of the southern branch of the river Han, or Han-kiang, upon which stands the Korean capital, and its consequent proximity to the main centre of population. The river journey is fifty-four miles in length to Mapu, the landing-place of Söul, which lies three miles farther on. The land march to Söul is an uninviting stretch of twenty-six miles. In 1883, when Chemulfo was first opened to foreign trade, there was only a fishing hamlet with fifteen Korean huts on the site, where now may be seen a prosperous town, containing over 3,000 foreigners, of whom 2,500 are Japanese, 600 Chinamen, and over twenty Europeans, as well as a native population of equal numbers. There are a European club, several billiard saloons and restaurants, and some excellent Chinese stores. The outer anchorage is some two or three miles from the shore, for the tide runs out here for miles (with a rise and fall of 25 to 30 feet), leaving an exposed waste of mud-flats and a narrow channel, in which steamers of light draught rest upon the ooze. The busy streets and harbour are indications of a rapidly advancing trade, which promises further expansion in the near future.' *

The value of the export trade passing through these ports fell

* *Problems*, pp. 88-93.

in 1891 from 3,366,344 dollars to 2,443,739 dollars in 1892, and that of the imports from 5,256,468 to 4,598,485 dollars in the same period. The imports were chiefly cotton and woollen goods, the former consisting chiefly of shirtings, lawns and muslins. The chief exports were beans, hides, and rice. The returns for last year show a further decline in the volume of trade. The value of it was not more than £1,500,000. This refers, however, to the Treaty ports. The actual trade of the country is much greater. A large trade is done at the non-treaty ports and with China and Russia overland. The shipping is almost entirely in the hands of the Japanese. Last year not a single British steamer appeared off the coast. A remarkable feature pointed out by Mr. O'Conor, H.B.M. Minister at Pekin, in his Report for 1893, is the large increase of vessels sailing under the Corean flag. In eight years they have risen from seven steamers and three sailing ships to 141 steamers and 149 sailing ships. British goods find their way to Corea chiefly through China. The most formidable competitor which Britain has to fear in her markets is Japan. The cheapness of labour enables the Japanese manufacturers, whose machinery is said to be equal to the best here, to produce the same articles at less cost, and consequently to undersell.*

The Coreans, of whom there are said to be some 11,000,000 or 12,000,000, the males exceeding the females, belong to the Mongolian stock, and occupy, as Mr. Curzon points out, a sort of intermediate stage between the Mongolian Tartar and the Japanese. Their history they boast goes back for four thousand years, and certainly the origin of their kingdom is lost in obscurity. For centuries they have, until quite recently, successfully carried out a policy of isolation. Foreigners of all sorts were rigidly excluded, and so intent was the Government on barring their ingress that the shores were laid waste lest the mariner should be tempted to land, and a stretch of country twenty leagues in width was some three centuries ago laid waste all

* 'The wages of a cotton operative in Japan are from 10 cents to 20 cents (i.e 3d to 6d) a day. Japanese coal is delivered at the mills for 2½ (i.e. 6s. 3d.) a ton.' *Problems*, p. 51.

along the Chinese border, in order to prevent intrusions from the Asian Continent.*

The language spoken by this curious people belongs to the Turanian family. Many Chinese words have been introduced into it, and two syllabaries or alphabets are in use—the Nido or Corean, which gives a phonetic value to some 250 Chinese ideographs in common use, and is said to have been invented over a thousand years ago by Syel Chong, a famous scholar and priest; and the Corean alphabet or script which was first adopted in 1447 A.D., and is still in use among the lower orders. Communication, however, is always possible with them by means of the Chinese symbols, which are equally in use. Among the upper or official classes the usual language both of speech and correspondence is Chinese, though all are acquainted with Corean. Chinese is also the official language, and as such is used by the Government in its publications, examinations and decrees.

Though belonging to the Mongolian race and speaking an agglutinative language the Coreans are easily distinguished from their neighbours both on the Continent of Asia and the adjacent islands of Japan. Physically they are tall, broad-shouldered and well made. Their dress, as is well known, is peculiar, and would serve to make them conspicuous anywhere. Mr. Curzon gives the following graphic account of their appearance:

'The first sight of its white-robed people, whose figures if stationary, might be mistaken at a distance for white mile-posts or tombstones, if

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* 'Of late years,' observes Mr. Griffis (p. 8), 'the Chinese Government has respected the neutrality of this barrier less and less. One of those recurring historical phenomena peculiar to Manchuria—the increase and pressure of population—has within a generation caused the occupation of large portions of this neutral strip. Parts of it have been surveyed and staked out by Chinese surveyors, and the Corean Government has been too feeble to prevent the occupation. Though no towns or villages are marked on the map of this "No man's land," yet already (*i.e.* in 1882), a considerable number of small settlements exist upon it. As this once neutral territory is being gradually obliterated, so the former lines of palisades and stone walls on the northern border which, two centuries and more ago, were strong, high, guarded, and kept in repair, have year by year, during a long period of peace, been suffered to fall into decay. They exist no longer, and should be erased from the maps.'

moving, for a colony of swans, acquaints us with a national type and dress that are quite unique. A dirty people who insist upon dressing in white is a first peculiarity; a people inhabiting a northern, and in winter a very rigorous latitude, who yet insist upon wearing cotton (even though it be wadded in winter) all the year round, is a second; a people who always wear hats, and have a headpiece accommodated to every situation and almost every incident in life, is a third. But all these combine to make the wearers picturesque; while as to Kcrean standards of comfort we have nothing to do but to wonder. As to their physique the men are stalwart, well-built, and bear themselves with a manly air, though of docile and sometimes timid expression. The hair is worn long, but is twisted into a topknot, protected by the crown of the aforementioned hat. The women, of whom those belonging to the upper class are not visible, but the poorer among whom may be seen by hundreds engaged in manual labour, cannot be described as beautiful. They have a peculiar arrangement of dress by which a short white bodice covers the shoulders, but leaves the breasts entirely exposed; while the voluminous petticoats, very full at the hips, depend from a waist, just below the armpits, and all but conceal coarse white or brown pantaloons below. Their hair is black, and is wound in a big coil round the temples, supplying a welcome contrast to the greasy though fascinating coiffure of the females of Japan. Indeed, if the men of the two nations are unlike—the tall, robust, good-looking, idle Korean, and the diminutive, ugly, nimble, indomitable Japanese—still more so are the women—the hard visaged, strong-limbed, masterful housewife of Korea, and the shuffling, knock-kneed, laughing, betwitching Japanese damsel. The Korean boy, indeed, might more easily be taken to represent the gentler sex, since, until he is engaged to be married, he wears his hair parted in the middle and hanging in a long plait down his back.' *

The Coreans marry early, are prone to have large families, and are naturally long-lived. According to law each man can have but one wife, but concubinage is widely practiced. Notwithstanding the invigorating character of the climate, the habits of life and morals of the Coreans have made them subject to many forms of disease. The mortality amongst children is enormous, and the death-rate is still further increased by the epidemics which every third or fourth year sweep over the country, and against the recurrence of which no precautions whatever are taken. Among the lower classes there is neither cleanliness nor decency. Poverty in the sense of destitution, Mr. Curzon tells

* Pp. 93-96.

us, does not exist, but poverty in the sense of having no surplus beyond the bare means of livelihood is almost universal. In the neighbourhood of the silver mines of Chang-jin, in the north, Mr. Carles met with the signs of a destitution almost absolute. Though usually uncomplaining, the people there complained that they were very poor, and besought him to tell them how they might improve their condition. 'Nowhere else in Corea,' he writes, 'had I seen such universal symptoms of poverty, and the anxious expression on the faces of the crowd as they waited for my answer, confirmed the story.' Enterprise is entirely wanting. Servitude to a form of government which has never either encouraged or so much as permitted it, and centuries of isolation from the rest of the world have made the people apathetic, listless, and indolent. As individuals, however, Mr. Curzon informs us, they are not without attractive characteristics—the upper classes being polite, cultivated, friendly to foreigners, and priding themselves on correct deportment; while the lower orders are good tempered, though excitable, cheerful, and talkative. All classes are fond of sight-seeing, and there is nothing the Corean loves better than a *Kukyeng*, or pleasure trip into the country, where he shirks all business, and dawdles away his time in amusements, more or less innocent. Excessive eating is a national failing. The Corean never knows when he has eaten enough. Nor is he in any way fastidious as to what he eats or as to how it is prepared. His usual food is rice, but like the Japanese he is fond of raw fish. He is not averse to a dish of dog's flesh, but can obtain beef only when permitted by the Government officials. As might be expected from his physique the Corean has a great reserve of physical strength. It is seldom, however, that he uses it. Mr. Carles reports that he has seen seven men digging with a single spade between them, and doing among them the work of one man; and Mr. Curzon writes: 'I have seen a Korean coolie carrying a weight that would make the strongest ox stagger, and yet I have seen three Koreans lazily employed in turning up the soil with a shovel by an arrangement of ropes that wasted the labours of three men without augmenting the strength of one.' An idiosyncracy of a different kind is mentioned by Mr. Griffis. As soldiers, he remarks, they are timid to a degree in

the open, but behind their fortifications they display an invincible courage and fight with the utmost determination.*

The Coreans are, for the most part, Buddhists, and numerous Buddhist monasteries are scattered up and down the country. Most of them are placed in the midst of lovely scenery, and have long been places of great resort. The internal arrangements of these monasteries are usually the same. Mr. Curzon, who visited the chief or metropolitan monastery of Sak Wang Sa, about twenty miles from Gensan, gives the following description of them :—

'Adjoining, sometimes over, the entrance, is a roofed platform or terrace, the pillars and sides of which are thickly hung with the votive or subscription tablets of former pilgrims. Here is usually placed a gigantic drum, reposing upon the back of a painted wooden monster. Hard by a big bronze bell hangs behind a grill. The central court, into which one first enters, contains the principal shrine or temple, usually at the upper end, and subsidiary shrines or guest-chambers on either side. All are of the same pattern—low detached buildings, with heavy tiled roofs and overhanging eaves, closed by screens or shutters, or doors along the front. Inside is a single gloomy chamber or hall, the richly carved and painted ceiling of which is sustained by large red pillars. Opposite the entrance is the main altar, a green or pink gauze veil hanging in front, of which but half conceals the gilded figures of seated or standing Buddhas behind, while all around the sides are ranged grotesque and grinning images, usually in painted clay, of other demigods, saints, or heroes. A low stool

* 'Chinese, Japanese, French, and Americans,' he says, 'have experienced the fact, and marvelled thereat. . . . The Coreans are poor soldiers in the open field, and exhibit slight proof of personal valour. They cannot face a dashing foe nor endure stubborn fighting. But put the same men behind walls, bring them to bay, and the timid stag amazes the hounds. Their whole nature seems reinforced. They are more than brave. Their courage is sublime. They fight to the last man, and fling themselves on the bare steel when the foe clears the ramparts. The Japanese of 1592 looked on the Coreans in the field as a kitten, but in the castle as a tiger. The French, in 1866, never found a force that could face rifles, though behind walls the same men were invincible. The American handful of tars kept at harmless distance thousands of black heads in the open, but inside the fort they met giants in bravery. No nobler foe ever met American steel. Even when disarmed they fought their enemies with dust and stones until slain to the last man. The sailors found that the sheep in the field were lions in the fort.' Pp. 42-3.

stands in front of the main altar, and supports a copy of the liturgy and a small brass bell. Thereat, when the hour strikes for morning or evening prayer, a monk, hastily pulling a grey robe and red hood over his white dress, kneels down on a mat, intones a prayer in a language which he does not understand, touches the ground with his forehead, and strikes the brass bell with a small deer's horn. Similar replicas of the same sanctuary, dedicated to different deities, stand in the neighbouring courts' (Pp. 107-8. See also Mr. Campbell's *Report*).

Many of the monasteries are built on the summits or slopes of high mountains and are difficult of access. Not a few of them are further protected by a high enclosing wall, behind which royal and other fugitives have often found refuge when in distress. Some of these mountain monasteries are said to be rich in old books, manuscripts, and liturgical furniture. The great monastery of Tong-to-sa, between Kiung-sang and Chulla is noted for its library, and is said to possess the entire sacred canon. The monks are divided into three classes, students, mendicants, and soldiers. The mendicants, when not on duty in the monasteries, travel far and wide in quest of alms. The soldier-monks act as garrisons and make and keep in order the weapons to the use of which they are trained. 'This clerical militia,' Mr. Curzon remarks, 'is a legacy from the days when the Buddha hierarchy was a great power in the land, and produced statesmen as well as devotees and students.' There are also several nunneries.

In spite of Buddhism, however, the more ancient Shamanism still prevails, and is probably the basis of whatever faith the Corean has. Good and evil spirits are believed to be everywhere and to control everything, and nothing of importance is done without consulting or trying to propitiate them. Ancestor-worship is also sedulously cultivated. Public celebrations are held at stated times in honour of the dead, and in most well to do houses may be seen the gilt and black tablets inscribed with the names of the departed. Before these tablets the smoke of incense rises daily. Mourning for the dead may be said to form a part of the national religion, and is regulated as to time and place and dress by the rules laid down in an official treatise called the 'Guide to Mourners,' published by the Government. The colour for mourning is pure, or nearly pure, white, as a contrast

to red, the colour of rejoicing. The hat worn during the period of mourning is high peaked and covers the face as well as the head. Those wearing it are lost to the world; they are not to be spoken to, nor molested, nor even arrested. Missionaries have often found it a safe disguise, and have been able to move about the country unharmed, even when the secret police, of whom there are numbers, were on their track watching to secure them.

At the head of the Government is the King, or Hap-mun, whose power is absolute. He seldom appears in public, but close communication is kept up between the palace and populace by means of pages employed about the Court, or through officers who are sent out as the King's spies all over the country, to ascertain the state of popular feeling, or to report on the conduct of certain officials. They are known as the 'Messengers on the Dark Path,' and are themselves shadowed and reported on by another set known as 'Night Messengers.' Next in authority to the King is the Chief of the three Chong, or high ministers. After the King and the three chief ministers come the Boards of Government, of which there are eight, including a Home Department and a Foreign Department, which have recently been added. The heads of these Boards report daily of all affairs coming under their jurisdiction, and refer matters of importance to the Supreme Council, or three principal Ministers of State. A gazette called the Chō-po is issued daily, containing information on official matters. The provinces, of which there are eight, are each under the direction of a governor, and every district has its magistrate.

Corean society is theoretically divided into three broad classes; the 'sang,' or upper, the 'chung,' or middle, and the 'ha,' or lower. The official class, which is known as the Nyang-pan or Two Orders—civil and military—'constitutes the aristocracy of birth, descending from an aristocracy of office.' Their number is enormous and in a measure explains the poverty of the people. Etiquette, as well as disposition, forbids them to work, and they can only hang on to their superiors and pick up what they can. In his Report for 1885, Mr. Carles mentions that in one province alone, Pyong-an-do, there were forty-four magistracies, with

an average of four hundred official hangers-on in each, or in all 17,600 men who had nothing to do but to police the district and collect the taxes. The best account of them is given by Mr. Campbell in his Report.

'The *nyang-pan*,' he says, 'enjoys many of the usual privileges of nobility. He is exempt from arrest, except by command of the King or the Governor of the province in which he resides, and then he is not liable to personal punishment, except for the gravest crimes, such as treason or extortion. He wields an autocratic sway over the inmates of his house, and has full licence to resent any real or fancied insult levelled at him by the *ha-in*, *i.e.*, 'low men,' the proletariat, just as he pleases. At the same time the *nyang-pan* lies under one great obligation, *noblesse oblige*; he cannot perform any menial work or engage in any trade or industrial occupation. Outside the public service, teaching is the only form of employment open to him. If he seeks any other, he sinks irrevocably to the level of his occupation. There is no law laid down on the point. The penalty is enforced socially, and is part of the unwritten code of *nyang-pan* etiquette. These privileges and obligations have naturally influenced the character of the class, so that the officeless *nyang-pan*, no matter how poor, is proud and punctilious as a Spanish hidalgo, nor above negotiating a loan with the most shameless effrontery, yet keen to resent the slightest shade of disrespect from an inferior' (Pp. 33-4).

The magistrates surronnd themselves after their fashion with great pomp and state, and lay great stress on etiquette. Unjust magistrates are sometimes punished with exile; it is only on rare occasions that they are put to death. Good and upright magistrates are often commemorated by *mok-pi*, *i.e.*, inscribed columns erected to their memory along the public roads by those whose gratitude they have earned. Civil matters are decided by the ordinary civil magistrates; criminal cases are tried by the military commandants. Important cases are referred to the governor of the province. Cases of treason and rebellion, and charges against high officials are tried before a special tribunal appointed by the King, in the capital, where is also the highest Court of Appeal. The system of making every five houses a unit is universal, and facilitates the discovery of criminals. The present criminal code is, in the main, that which was promulgated in 1785, and appears to be much less severe than the one in force in Hamel's time. Every subject of the Sovereign, except nobles of rank, is required to possess a passport testifying to his personality and the

group of houses to which he belongs, and must be ready at any time to produce it on demand. Foreigners travelling in the country do well to arm themselves with a letter or passport from the Corean Foreign Office.

The civilisation of Corea is in its origin Chinese. That of Japan, on the other hand, was, according to all accounts and by the admission of its own writers, derived from Corea. The connection of Corea with the Middle Kingdom goes back into the centuries before the Christian Era, and is apparently as old as the Chinese Empire itself. Various Emperors attempted the subjugation of the peninsula, and invaded it with vast armies and fleets. The Japanese also attempted to establish themselves upon its shores, and were long in the habit of regarding it as a vassal state.

The first Japanese invasion of the country dates as far back as the year 202 A.D., when the Empress-regent, who rejoiced in the name of Jingu, or Jingo, made a levy of all the available forces in her kingdom, and landed them on the coast of the province, or Kingdom, of Shintra. Terrified by the appearance of her army the King of Shintra at once submitted. The Empress-regent caused her bow to be suspended over the gate of his palace as a sign of his submission, and is even said to have written upon the gate, 'The King of Shintra is the dog of Japan.' Preparations were then made by Jingu to subdue the neighbouring province of Hiaksai, but before they were well completed she was surprised to receive the voluntary submission of its rulers and offers of tribute. The expedition only lasted about a couple of months, but it led to important results.

It was not, however, till towards the close of the fourteenth century that either China or Japan could claim to be the acknowledged suzerain of the country. The Ming dynasty having fairly established itself upon the throne of China, the reigning Emperor sent to Corea demanding pledges of vassalage. The pledges were refused, and he prepared to invade the country. Whereupon a revolution took place in Corea, the King and his family were put to death, and Ny Taijo, the founder of the present Corean dynasty, who had instigated the revolution,

ascended the throne.* He at once sent an envoy to the Nanking to notify to the Ming Emperor what had happened, to tender his loyal vassalage, and to beg his investiture as sovereign. The embassy was favourably received, friendship was fully established between China and Corea, and a number of Corean youths were sent to study in the Imperial College at Nanking. For some reason or other an embassy and presents were at the same time sent to the Shogun's Court at Kamakura, but no move was made by Japan. Her rulers were weak or fighting among themselves, and for the next two hundred years China enjoyed the suzerainty of Corea in peace.

In 1585, however, the Regent Hideyoshi revived the claim of Japan to the suzerainty, and sent to demand tribute. His claims were resisted, and in 1592 a Japanese force landed on the Corean coast near Fushan. China was as much the object of Hideyoshi as Corea. China was aware of this, and came to the aid of the Coreans, who were thoroughly unprepared. At first the Japanese were successful, they overran the peninsula, and the Chinese were hard pressed. The war dragged out its slow length till towards the close of 1598, when the Japanese, who in the meantime had been completely worsted, were compelled to withdraw, and China remained in undisputed possession. One effect of the invasion was to leave, as Mr. Curzon remarks, 'a heritage of wounded pride and national antipathy in the breast of Coreans, which three centuries have not availed to erase.'

For some time after their retreat the Japanese were too busy with their own internal affairs to pay much attention to Corea.

* Mr. Griffis tells the following not uninteresting story about him :—'One day while in the woods, his favourite bird, in pursuing its quarry, flew so far ahead that it was lost to the sight of its master. Hastening after it the young man espied a shrine at the roadside into which he saw his hawk fly. Entering, he found within a hermit priest. Awed and abashed at the weird presence of the white-bearded sage, the lad for a moment was speechless; but the old man, addressing him, said: "What benefit is it for a youth of your abilities to be seeking a stray falcon? A throne is a richer prize. Betake yourself to the capital."' Taijo, of course, took the hint, went to the capital, became general of the Corean army and son-in-law to the King, and accomplished the revolution. He was the founder of Söul, and is said to have instituted many reforms.

But in 1618 Iyemitsu summoned the Coreans to renew tributary relations and to pay homage to him at Yedo. Five years later he addressed a letter to the Corean King, styling himself Tai-kun, or Great Prince. Söul, China notwithstanding, responded to his call, and sent an embassy with congratulations and presents. The embassy continued to be sent year by year, but at the expense of Japan. At last, in the year 1790, owing to the enormous expense of the barren compliment, the Corean envoys, to whom the mission had become a pleasant excursion, were invited to proceed no further on their journey than the island of Tsushima, situated about half-way between the two countries. There they were entertained by the So family of daimios, who were allowed a stipend in gold kobans for the purpose out of the Imperial Treasury. The last of these missions, which were almost purely complimentary, and implied little or nothing in the way of political subordination, was despatched in 1832.

The ascendancy which China obtained by the submission of Ni Taijo, she continued to retain. When on their way to China the Manchu conquerors turned aside to Corea, and after devastating the country exacted a much more humiliating submission—a submission which has never since been surrendered, and down to the present has always been more or less enforced. The facts in support of this are so well put by Mr. Curzon that we cannot do better than transcribe his words. Going back to the middle of the seventeenth century, less than sixty years after the Japanese forces were expelled from Corea, he says:—

'While Hamel was in Korea, 1653-1666, he testifies to the constant visits of the representative of the "Great Cham," and to the complete humility of the Korean Government. Annually a Tribute Mission wended its way by land from Söul to Peking, conveying the specified tribute, and receiving in return the Calendar, which it is the Imperial prerogative to prepare, and the mark of vassalage to receive. In the succeeding century the tribute was gradually reduced, and the embassy appeared at times to dwindle into a ceremonial function, carrying presents in return for the permission to trade at the frontier, rather than tokens of political submission. Nevertheless, during this epoch a violent disturbance took place if there was the slightest omission of prescribed deference; and one Korean monarch was smartly fined for his omission of some punctilio. From the time of the Manchu's invasion to the present day every King and Queen of Korea have received their patent of royalty from the Court at Peking;

and the historical tutelary position of China continues to be vindicated in the following manner.

'In addition to the Imperial investiture, and to the annual despatch of the Tribute Mission from Söul, which is still maintained—although a practical mercantile aspect is now lent to the proceeding by its being utilised for the export to China by the Chung In of the King's red *ginseng*—the name of the reigning monarch of Korea is also given to him by China, and the era specified in Korean Treaties is that of the accession, not of the King, but of his Suzerain, the Emperor. The King of Korea is now allowed to wear the Imperial yellow. When the Imperial Commissioners arrive from Peking, he is required to proceed outside of his capital in order to receive them, the Chief Commissioner being of higher rank in the Chinese official hierarchy than himself: and I have previously spoken of the ornamental archway outside the west gate of Söul, at which the vassal prince receives the convoys of his Suzerain. When any notable events occur in the Court at Peking, they are communicated to the vassal Court, and are the cause of respectful message either of condolence or of congratulation from the latter. Similarly, if any death occurs among the leading members of the Royal Family at Söul, an official intimation of the fact must be sent to Peking.

'When the late Queen Dowager of Korea died in 1890, the King deputed a mission at once to report the fact to the Emperor; and, in petitioning the latter to dispense with the ordinary ceremonial of a return mission to convey the condolences of the Suzerain, because of the difficulty that would be experienced by Korea in consequence of her financial embarrassment in carrying out all the prescribed ceremonies, he made the following statement of his position *vis-à-vis* with China:—"Our country is a small kingdom, and a vassal State of China, to which the Emperor has shown his graciousness from time immemorial. Our Government was enabled to survive the political troubles of 1882 and 1884 through the assistance received from the Throne, which secured for our country peace and tranquility. Since His Majesty has been good enough to confer these favours upon us, we should make known to him whatever we desire; and whatever we wish we trust that he may allow, as to an infant confiding in the tender mercies of its parents." These compliments, however, did not induce the Suzerain to forego one tittle of his traditional rights; although he so far yielded to the Korean plea of poverty as to permit his Commissioners to travel by sea to Chemulpo, instead of overland, thereby greatly reducing the cost of the entertainment. An account of the minute and elaborate ceremonies observed on both sides has since been published with evident design by the Secretary to the Imperial Commissioners. The latter, it appears, and by other marks of condescension, suggested the omission from the programme of the State banquets, music, and jugglery, with which it was usual to entertain them. "Their motive for this suggestion was to show their consideration for Korean impecuniosity." They

also declined to receive parting presents from the King, at which the latter "felt very grateful, and at the same time regretted the fact." When all was over the King sent a memorial to the Emperor, thanking him for his graciousness. "The sentiments of this memorial—in their sincerity and importance—are beyond expression in words, demonstrating that China's manifold graciousness towards her dependencies is increasing with the times. The Emperor's consideration for his vassal State, as evinced by his thoughtfulness in matters pertaining to the mission, is fathomless. How admirable and satisfactory! And how glorious."

'Such is the technical and official expression of the suzerainty of China which is observed to this day, and such are the evidences of the indisputable reality of that relationship.' *

Strange to say the first to promulgate the idea that Corea is independent and not a vassal State of China were the Chinese themselves. This they did on three occasions—in 1866, when the French demanded an indemnity for the massacre of the French missionaries; in 1871, when the American Expedition under Admiral Rodgers prepared to sail against Corea to demand reparation for the murder of the crew of the 'General Sherman' in 1866, and to force a treaty upon the Corean Court; and again in 1876, when the Japanese proposed to send a similar expedition for a similar purpose. Subsequently Prince Kung discovered the mistake he had made in thus repudiating the Suzerainty of the Emperor, and anxiously strove to regain what he had theoretically lost. At last, after several diplomatic moves, while the negotiations which led to the signing of the Corean Treaty with the United States of America were going on, he insisted upon the King of Corea addressing the following despatch to the President, facsimiles of which were sent to the other Treaty Powers:—

'The King of Corea acknowledges that Corea is a tributary of China, but in regard to both internal administration and foreign intercourse, it enjoys complete independence. Now, being about to establish Treaty relations between Corea and the United States, on terms of equality, the King of Corea as an independent monarch, distinctly undertakes to carry out the articles contained in the Treaty, irrespective of any matters affecting the tributary relations subsisting between Corea and China, with which the United States of America have no concern. Having appointed officials to deliberate upon and settle the Treaty, the King of Corea considers it his duty to address this despatch to the President of the United States.'

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* Pp. 209-13.

The illogical character of this singular State-paper is obvious as is also the contradictory position which the King of Corea is made to take up. He is a tributary prince and yet he is independent. He enjoys complete independence both in the administration of his own country and in his foreign relations, and yet he is a vassal to China. Of his vassalage there could be no doubt. Up to the outbreak of the present war, the power of China in Corea was increasing. The real ruler of the country was not the King, nor his ministers, but the representative of China at the Court of Söul, without whose knowledge or consent nothing could be done.

The causes of the present troubles in Corea are too fresh in the public memory to need recapitulation. It is already clear that the real object of Japan is China, and that in its present attitude we have a revival of the spirit which led to the invasion of Corea in the sixteenth century under Hideyoshi. What the results of this second invasion will be remains to be seen.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

Deutsche Rundschau (July, August, September).—Paul Heyse opens the July number of this magazine with the remarkable address on Goethe's dramas in their relation to the present stage, which he recently delivered before the general meeting of the Goethe Society in Weimar. He very clearly sets forth the reasons which, in his opinion, render the plays unsuitable for representation. His views, as they did at the time, may again arouse some opposition; but even they who sympathise with him least, will recognise the able manner in which he has dealt with his subject.—Another literary article of considerable interest is that which Jules Legras contributes, and in which he deals with Heinrich Heine's sojourn in Paris. On the strength of new and authoritative documents, the young French savant refutes, once for all, the charge so often brought against the poet, of having sold himself to the French Government.—Edward Hanslick closes his reminiscences—Aus meinem Leben—with an interesting exposition of his views as to the duties of a critic.—The number includes two contributions to the political history of Germany. Ludwig von Hirshfeld's essay, 'A Statesman of the Old School,' takes us back to the days of the Karlsbad Congress, whilst the extracts from Theodor von Bernhardi's diary recalls very vividly what he names 'The last days of the new era,' and shows Bismarck as the 'coming man.'—The lighter element is represented by a continuation of Salvatore Farina's 'Stempelpapier,' and by a sketch entitled, 'Ihr Mann,' of which the author is Marie von Bunsen.—The August part has several continued contributions —'Ein Staatsman der alten Schule,' 'Aus den Tagebüchern Theodor von Bernhardi,' and 'Stempelpapier.' In addition to this there is a somewhat bold, but certainly interesting article —Uber das Gähnen—in which W. Henke propounds a theory to account for the phenomenon of yawning.—Pastor Otto Pfleiderer has a very able essay in which he deals with the German character as illustrated in religious matters.—At the head of the table of contents, though mentioned here last, is one of Ernest Wichert's old-fashioned, but charming stories, entitled 'der Herr Pathe'—the Godfather. It is concluded in the August number, which also brings one of Rudolf Lindau's delightful novelettes, 'Der Verlorene Freund.'—An article

of both literary and 'topical' interest is contributed by Arthur Milchhöfer, who, on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of Ernest Curtius's birthday, gives a sketch of the historian's career and an estimate of his work. This is followed by a literary essay bearing the signature of Friedrich Curtius, the octogenarian's son. Its subject is the political conflict in Shakespeare's Coriolanus.—A paper which educationists will read with interest and profit, is that which Friedrich Paulsea devotes to German Universities, and in which he considers them under the twofold aspect of seats of learning and laboratories for scientific research.—A short, but valuable paper on the Corean question is contributed by Herr M. von Brandt, formerly Ambassador in China. As might perhaps be expected, it is not altogether favourable to the Japanese; but, due allowance being made for that, it contains valuable information as to the facts of the old-standing question between the two great Eastern powers.

WESTERMANNS MONATS-HEFTE (July, August).—A set serial novel, and two novelettes bring light literature well in the foreground of the first of these numbers. Herr Königsbrun-Schaup, 'Die Bogumilen,' so far as it has gone is most interesting, and gives a very vivid picture of Austrian life. The shorter stories, of which the authors are, respectively, Otto Roquete and Gabriele Reuter, are also good of their kind.—In an article entitled, 'Eine Fremdherrschaft,' Julius von Pflugk-Harting gives a sketch of the French occupation of Hamburg. The author displays a most unedifying amount of national animosity. It so far affects his facts as to make him say that the beginning of the present century marks the promotion of France from the rank of a 'National State' to that of a great Power (Weltreich).—Goslar and the island of Rugen are excellently described, the one by August Trinius, the other by Rudolf von Gottschall. Both are profusely illustrated, and are well up to the high standard which this periodical has set itself as regards contributions of this kind.—The life and work of Gounod are reviewed in a well-written and appreciative article by Otto Gumprecht. The study is accompanied by a good portrait of the composer.--The most noticeable contribution to the August number is the article which A. Speir devotes to the painter, Franz Stück. From the point of view of literature as well ot artistic criticism, it is excellent; but considerable interest is added to it by the admirable series of illustrations which accompanies it, and which helps very materially to the appreciation of the study.—A very short paper by Paul Schellhas is devoted to the Etruscans, about whom, however,

it does not supply any new information; his paper is rather a summary of what has already been written about them.—Marcus Landau writes about Chateaubriand, but does so without much sympathy or originality. The article may be put down as mere padding.—With Herr Woldemar Kapen as guide, the reader has an excellent opportunity of making a most interesting excursion to Mount Vesuvius.—In both the numbers there are the usual literary notices and news.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 1, 1895).—This number, we regret, has come to hand too late for us to do more than merely note its contents. The list, however, will, we think, attract attention to it. The first article is by Herr Kölbing, the head of the theological seminary of the 'Brüdergemeine' in Gnadenfeld. It is entitled 'Studien zür Paulinischen Theologie.' From a summary glance over it it appears to be an effort to present Paul's teaching, on at least two vital points, the *dikaiosunē theou*, of Rom. i. 17, and the *hilastērion* of Christ, of Rom. iii. 25, in the light of Paul's eschatology. His eschatology had not a little influence on his acts as a follower of Jesus and an active apostle of his gospel, and it would be very strange if its influence did not also affect his ideas and conceptions of Christian truth as well.—Dr. Otto Zöckler discusses at considerable length the interesting and now much debated question, 'Wo lag das biblische Galatien?' The other articles are 'Johannes von Biclaro,' by Dr. Franz Görres;' 'Das Prinzip der pastoralen Moral,' by Professor F. Zimmer; 'Das Glaubensbekenntnis in einer Bern 'er Handschrift aus dem 7-8 Jahrhundert,' by Professor Bratke; 'Luther's Ordinationsformular in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt,' by Dr. Rietschel; and 'Ueber Erklärung des Gewissens durch Autonomie,' by Herr Gennrich.

RUSSIA.

VOPROSI PHILOSOPHII I PSYCHOLOGII (Questions, Philosophical and Psychological) begins its twenty-second number by an article by P. G. Boborikin on 'Formulae and Terms in the sphere of the Beautiful.' This, however, as it deals with the formulae and terms used in Russ, it is difficult properly to represent briefly or adequately in another language than Russ. The author, however, devotes some interesting paragraphs to Friedrich Schiller, more especially in regard to his work and position both as a poet, and as one who, step by step, as he advanced in his art, as poet and dramatist, sought to give an adequate account to himself of those principles of the Beautiful in accordance with which he strove to embody it in his

creations. Our author then passes on to deal with the theory of Art as a pursuit, which must be followed for its own sake, and as it were disinterestedly, as one of the terms on which he dwells in his discussion. In following up this he refers with approval to an utterance of Plato's in the 'Hippias Major,' in which Socrates makes use of an exceedingly clear formula and *mot d'ordre* as to what is the psycho-physiological element of the artistic. 'The beautiful is that which is pleasant to us by hearing and sight.' From Art, for Art's sake the author passes on to disinterestedness, as also a term in Art, and then to the creative faculty, an element in Aesthetics.—The second article is a continuation of Prof. Kozloff's papers on 'French Positivism,' which are here concluded. The special title of paper is 'The Semi-positivists—Guyau and Tard.' Prof. Kozloff considers that the rather full notice which he gave of Fouillée entitles him to treat Guyau somewhat more briefly. Of course, he does not hold that M. Guyau is very much a repetition of Fouillée; but he considers that owing to his close friendship with that philosopher, and the influence exerted upon him by this close relationship, there was a close analogy between the careers of the two thinkers, which made itself visible in a common direction of thought and a similarity in the essential points of their philosophical tenets. Indeed, as a final result they may be said to be marked out from one another by two prominent qualities; the first, their marked individuality of character, and the second, the special peculiarities of this individuality.—The article following on this is a lengthened controversy which it is not possible to expound within reasonable limits.—The next article is a continuation of, and the finishing part of the formerly noticed paper on the 'World conception of the Circle of Stankevitch, and the poetry of Kolzoff.' The article opens with some notes on the doings of Cerebrianski, who, as previously noticed (See *S. R.*, April, 1894), was a pupil in the School for the Clergy in Woronezh, and an enthusiast in poesy, music, and art. After professing philosophy in this school in Woronezh, he passed into the Moscow Medico-Surgical Academy. The whole of the circle, including friends at a distance, such as Bjelinsky in St. Petersburg, were ardent disciples of the Natur-philosophie of Schelling, and here we have some notices of their enthusiastic doings, more especially in regard to music. All were enthusiasts on the subject, but Cerebrianski, as became a Professor of Philosophy, was looked upon as taking a leading part. He expresses himself thus in regard to music—'The Poet.' 'Yes!' writes he, in conclusion, 'Music is the universal ideal of the language of Nature. Its

accords go out until they become accords of the whole world. Genius in man serves them in Nature. He collects tunes, sowing them abroad in infinite space, and bringing them to his ear, he animates them by the life of his own heart and phantasy. Notation and strings are the characters, the words only removed from determination by the individual, and remaining in a musical poetical universality. The strings of Genius vibrate in the life of the whole world, in the roar of the wild beast, in the breathings of the zephyr and the boom and the many tuned laughter of the waves. Touching the strings, the musician touches the countless multitude of the world-strings. The force of sound is, as it were, light wings to bear the soul into the life of the unlimited.' Another member of the circle, or one who came into contact with it, was Nadeshdin, Bachelor of Divinity and Professor of Art and Archæology in Moscow University, where in 1832 to 1835, he lectured on Art and its various relations. A designation of his is preserved of Art as the world-structure in miniature. The lectures of Nadeshdin excited as much enthusiasm as those of Prof. Pavloff, another member of the circle in the same University, whom the writer of the article describes as in some sort an 'antipodes' to Nadeshdin. Nadeshdin with his enthusiasm was very 'viewy' about a great many subjects such as Art, affected by the Greco-Roman mediæval and modern times; nor did he fail to put the question, living so far back as he did in the old despotic days of Russian history, as to the worth of the times in which he lived! The circle, narrow as it was, had its critics within itself. In the midst of this circle of Schellingists, the young poet was duly esteemed, as setting the Natur-Philosophie to Music, and our author makes sundry extracts, wherein he points out, as was indeed done at the time, that the poems of Kolzoff were redolent of the influences around him. Another influence of the Schellingism was the mysticism which grew upon the poet.—The final article, by M. Tokarski, is on Exorcism by means of arrows exercised by Tibetan Lamas, of which the author was a witness in Kiachta in 1889, and which he carefully describes and seeks to prove to have been in the phenomena he witnessed wrought by Hypnotism.—This is followed by some four articles of a special nature, the usual reviews of books and bibliography.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL—*Russian Opinion*—(June, 1894).—A. P. Tchaikoff leads off with a further instalment of his Itinerary and description of 'The Island of Saghalien.' The present war between China and Japan lends interest to everything which concerns this important island. The older among

our readers can remember when this island was accounted, rightly or wrongly, as Japanese property. Now it is indisputably Russian.—'Poetry' in the present single number is represented by L. M. Medveydeff only.—'The Indian Ocean,' its present, and probably future, is a serious paper by M. I. Veynewkoff.—The article on 'Labour in Manufactories and Professions,' by K. I. Toomskoi, is still continued.—'Leon-Battista Alberti,' and his relation to Science and Art, is an able essay by M. S. Koreylin.—'A Few Remarks on Naturalism in Art' by the foreign reviewer V. A. Goltseff are, as may be expected, as good as they are brief.—Another and final article on 'Peasant Economy and Emigration' is given from the pen of K. R. Katchorofski (not Kotchoorofski, as in July number).—'Historical Method in Biology;' the natural-history view, is it an abstract idea or a real fact? a question propounded by K. A. Timiryahzeff, is contained in a brief paper of fifteen pages.—'Church and State in Geneva of the Sixteenth Century, during the Epoch of Calvinism,' by R. U. Whipper, is a paper that might have been expected in a Scottish rather a Russian Review.—'Romances and Tales of Eliza Ozheshkoff' is a continuation of the appreciative summary thereof by M. K. Tsebrikoff.—'Morals of Different Nations,' by I. N. K., is still continued.—'Outlines of Provincial Life,' by I. I. Ivanewkoff, still maintain their interest.—'Home Review' gives, as usual, a summary of domestic events of general importance, and on the present occasion deals largely with educational items. A brief necrology of the writer N. M. Astireff is appended.—'Foreign Review' is brief, but varied.—'First Decade of the Society for the Care of Indigent and Homeless Children in Moscow' tells its tale in its title, and shows that in Russia, as elsewhere, the poor are always with us.—The 'Bibliographic Division' contains notices of thirty-seven works.

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA.—(July 1st.)—The poet Carducci commences in this and continues in several following numbers a long dissertation on Tasso's 'Aminta' and the old pastoral poetry. He denies to the Greeks and Romans any pastoral poetry proper.—R. de Cesare contributes many pages of description of the work of Dr. Schloezer, and the end of the Kultur-Kampf.—In an article entitled 'How did Correggio live?' Professor Rondani gathers together many particulars relating to Correggio's private life. He succeeded in art while still very young, travelled afar and examined many celebrated paintings.

He commenced his celebrated picture of St. Francisco before he was twenty-one years of age. In 1520 he married a girl of eighteen, the daughter of a soldier who had died on the field of battle. He had no other wife, and by her he had four children, of whom two must have died in infancy. The remaining son became a painter like his father, and the remaining daughter married. From 1514 till his death in 1534, Correggio worked industriously and incessantly, living mostly in Parma or its neighbourhood.—Signor Bricchetti gives a description of the Galla country now under the protection of Italy, and translations of some African popular songs.—A new and not agreeable story, 'The Indifferent,' by Matilde Serao, is commenced in this and concluded in a following number.—Luigi Palma continues his description of the Sicilian Constitution in 1812.—Guido Bragi writes on Adolfo Bastolo, the critic.—C. Baer furnishes an article on Prince William of Prussia, Regent, and the Italian war of 1859; concluded in the next number.—(July 15th.)—R. Bonfadini writes a monograph on Sadi Carnot.—T. Cassini concludes his chapters on the Italian poet, Monti.—A. Venturi describes the exhibition of paintings at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, from which, he says, the Italians ought to derive a lesson on care for works of art.—A. Chiarini describes the classic schools in Naples from 1860 to the present time.—R. Galli contributes a paper on 'Venice and Rome,' what he calls a new page of history from the 6th to the 12th centuries.—(August 1st.) Signor Bonghi criticises the Apostrophe to the Pope, made by the Archbishop of St. Paul, U.S., in his speech at Baltimore. Bonghi points out the defects in the Catholic Church and the Pope's opinions. He considers that the Archbishop's views are more human and more practicable than the Pope's. Bonghi's opinion of the world at the present time is that it is progressing towards goodness, and that Christianity is not destroyed.— * * * contributes a long article with many quotations from a book recently published, 'Le Comte de Cavour et la Contesse de Circourt.' Anastasia de Circourt, a lady of Russian noble birth, was early on intimate terms with Cavour's mother and aunt, and became acquainted with the Count himself when he was travelling in France in 1835. She received him with all the warmth of his mother's friend, and grew very fond of him, while the young man felt for her 'an affection mingled with deep respect.' In 1836 the Countess and her husband settled in Paris, and when Count Cavour came there on a second visit in 1837, he found her in her new house in the Rue des Sausayes, where she introduced the young Piedmontese to the most distinguished men of the time, and to the aristocratic circles of

Rue St. Germain. The Countess's *salon* was one of the most attractive of the period. The Countess and Cavour kept up a lively correspondence, now published for the first time, from 1835 to 1861, and after the death of Cavour, the Countess continued writing about him to Nigia up to 1863. After the affair of Villafranca, the correspondence languished on the part of Cavour, who, it is said, was not the same man and seemed aged all at once by several years. But the Countess continued to write to him, and later on Cavour again took up his pen, describing his country life at Leri, whither he had retired. The Countess's admiration for Cavour became almost fanatical. She wrote to Nigia a very touching letter on receiving the news of Cavour's death. She seemed only to exist in the memory of her distinguished friend, made propaganda for 'New Italy,' and wrote and thought of scarcely anything but Cavour.—Countess Lovatelli writes on the ancient cult of *Bona Dea* in Rome, a goddess who was venerated with mysterious rites, and who in some measure corresponded to Proserpine and Ceres, the feminine and generative principles of nature. — Another writer on the reform of the classic school is G. Chiarini. — V. Z. Biareco renders a seemingly dry subject, 'The Metre, the Kilometre, and the Minute,' very pleasant and interesting. — R. Erculei commences the history of Donna Ersilia Cortese del Monte, a Roman lady of the 16th century; concluded in following number.—(*August* 15*th*.)—G. Gorrini writes on the Corea and the war between China and Japan.—L. Lioy sends a pleasant article on the socialism of animals, quoting the systems of many kinds of beetles, flies, ants, and other insects, and even of foxes.—A. Baccelli has something to say of Pope Pio II.'s memoirs.—(*September* 1*st*.)—G. Boglietti commences some chapters on Italian Socialism, and the recent movement in Sicily and Naples.—P. Fambri notices at length some new books on the Venetian, Paolo Sarpi.—Short novels in this and previous number furnish light reading.—L. Celli sends the first part of a study of the military ordinances of the Venetian Republic in the 16th century.—D. Zanichelli discusses the French system.—G. Mancini tells us a great deal about the artificial production of rain.—(*September* 15*th*.)—Besides continuations of articles in former numbers, we have only to note here papers on the railway problem and instrumental music in Italy. There is besides a tale entitled 'Dolcetta's Marriage.'

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (July 1st).—F. Nunziante describes the emigrant instinct in the human race; and L. Ferraris writes on penal scepticism, the doubt that exists as to the efficacy of

prisons in reforming individuals, and the still greater doubt whether punishment is of any avail.—Aeggotos describes the gist of the question of Established Churches in the Great Britain. —R. Corniani describes active and non-active political parties in Italy.—(*July* 16*th*.)—G. Jachiero sends a long and learned article on the work and system of P. Paolo Vergerio, surnamed the Senior, who lived in the 14th century.—G. Grabinski begins a review of '*Le Conclave*.'—G. Calchi-Novate contributes a lecture on divorce. — G. Berthelet discusses the Conservative Catholic party.—The 'Review of Foreign Literature' notices a number of English books, giving much space to Sir Richard Temple's 'Life in Parliament.'—Signora Merlo commences a serial novel entitled 'Poor Dora.'—(*August* 1*st*.)—V. Ausidei has an interesting article on Umbrian lyrics.—E. Verga criticises Pierre de Nolhac and his poems on Italy.—L. D'Isengaro unearths a song-book, written by Lorenzo Costa, a poet of the beginning of this century, which was hidden in the family archives until now.—G. Marcotti describes the country of the 'Little Russians' in Galicia.—(*August* 16*th*.)—Isabella Anderton contributes an appreciative paper on Rudyard Kipling, introducing him to Italians.—V. Marchese writes on the new science of armies.—(*September* 1*st*.)—P. Manasei describes the agrarian laws in Italy.—G. Morando introduces to Italian readers the 'International Journal of Ethics,' published at Philadelphi, and directed by a staff of celebrated writers, among whom is an Italian, Professor Barzelotti. The writer of the article describes this journal at full length, arguing on the subjects presented, and protesting against some affirmations by Archbishop Satolli in his paper 'Italy and the Papacy.'—The dialogues on the Temporal Power, by G. Cassani, still run on.—G. Marcotti sends a critique of the book 'Caffaro and his Times;' and G. de Negri writes on the tax on petroleum.—V. Grossi describes his 'impressions of travel' of Rio de Janeiro.—R. Corniani writes an article entitled 'Shall we abolish Juries?' He is in favour of such abolition, but sees no hope of it.—E. Piotelli discusses the reform of the classic school in Italy.

LA NUOVA RASSEGNA (August, September) contain: 'Territorial Recruiting,' 'Shelley's Women,' 'Reform in Secondary Instruction,' 'The Predecessors of Farini,' 'Cesar Pascarella's Designs,' 'Full Powers,' 'The Soul in Infants,' 'Election Lists,' 'A New Anthology,' 'Evolution and Socialism,' 'American Folk-Lore,' 'The Popular Poetry of Brazil,' 'The Beliefs, Opinions, and Prejudices of Crispi,' 'Hygienic Service,' 'Giorgio De Naves,' 'Language and Thought,' 'The Scenery of Basil

Lacatelli,' 'The Round Table of Arthur and the Breton Legends,' 'Ad Aquas Salvias.'

IL PENSIERO ITALIANO (September) contains: 'Leo Tolstoi and his Political Opinions,' 'Agrarian Credit,' 'The teaching of French in Italy,' 'Religious and Scientific Morals as regards the Problem of Population,' 'Providence,' 'The Measure of Value,' 'A Criticism of Critics.'

RIVISTA STORICA ITALIANA (No. 3, for 1894).—'Conspiracies and Law-suits in Lombardy in 1830-35,' 'The Story of the Lucanis,' 'Religious Sentiment in the Middle Ages,' 'The Arrest and Death of Count di Carmagnola,' 'Notes of a Bibliography useful to the History of the Napoleonic period, 'Forty Letters from Murat to his Daughter Letitia,' 'The Cities and Castles of Istria,' 'Procida from its Origin to Modern Times.'

REVISTA DELLA TRADIZIONE POPOLARI ITALIANI (September).—'Traditions of Terranova Pausania,' 'Southern popular Poetry,' 'Sardinian Sacred Legends,' 'The Madonna of the Seven Veils,' 'The Fay Alcina and the Talking Bird,' etc.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE (No. 11, 1894).—E. Pércopo continues the publication of his 'Notes on the writers and artists of the Arragon times,' by a chapter dedicated to the residence in Naples of Fra Giocondo of Verona, the famous architect, engineer, sculptor, philologist and antiquary—a universal man. He came to Naples about 1489, sent for by the Duke of Calabria, and remained till the end of 1495, when he followed Charles VIII. to France. He completed in Naples the building of the palace of Poggioreale, commenced by Guilano of Milan, and at the death of the latter, took his post as chief architect. In 1492 he drew on 20 parchments the plan and design of some existing fortresses, and illustrated with 126 designs two books by Francesco of Siena.—Schipa's monograph on the Duchy of Naples is continued, as also two other serial papers.

LA RASSEGNA (July).—Financial politics.—The Bank of England during 1893.—Mineral waters.—The longevity of trees.—The Chioggites on the Waters of Zara.—The juridical organisation of farms.—The Parliamentary Syndicate.

LA CULTURA—(July, August, 1894).—contain; 'The last word of a Great Man' (Renan) by B.—Mantica's 'Gay Rhymes,' by G. Zarmoni.—'Horace's Odes,' by G. Manera.—'The Norwegian Drama,' by A. G. Auratucci.—'Three verses by Petrarch,' by A. Gianetti.—'The Century and the Church,'

by B.—'Translations of Homer's Odes,' by Zama.—'The Home School,' by R. Pércopo.—'First imitation of Accadia,' by Zannoni.—'A French Custom,' by B.—Notes and Reviews.

THE REVIEW OF POPULAR TRADITIONS—(Year 1, No. 8).—The Nurrese legend of San Giuliano and Monte Cristo.—The Lodigian legend of the Cà of Mosto.—A Genoese legend.—The Devil's Stone.—A legend of the moon.—The legend of the climbing gourd.—The Stone of Arzolas Oschiri.—Popular Calabrese legend.—The blessed Henry of Comentina.—The legend of *Lupo Cavo.*

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO (No. 2, 1894).—Contains: Inedited fragments from the Statutes of Lucca 1224-1232, by Carlo de Stefani.—Matteo Palmeri of Florence, 15th century, by A. Messeri.—A geographer of the Renaissance, by A. Mori. —Notices and correspondence from France, and reviews of Italian books.

LA RIFORMA SOCIALE—(July, August).—The colonisation of Eritrea, by L. Franchetti.—The legislation on factories in England, by R. W. C. Taylor.—The corn law and democracy, by Prof. Chindamo.—American Strikes, by Prof. Virgilii.—Savings Banks, by L. Paolini.—The Anarchy Peril and Repressions, by Professor Grasso.—Old and New on Co-operation, by Prof. Brentano.—The Sulphur Crisis, by F. Ferrario.—Social Studies and the action of the Ruling Classes in Italy, by Prof. Alessio. —The Dangerous Re-action, by F. S. Nitti.—The Agrarian Law for Sicily, by Prof. Salvioli.—Current Accounts and Interest, by G. de Rosa.—The Unemployed, by U. Rabbeno.—The Results of Insurance for Invalids and Old People in Germany, by L. Lepetit.—Apropos of an Anarchist poem at Paris, by A. Ferraro.—Institutions of Public Charity, by Prof. Sitta.—Railways in the United States, by U. Rabbeno.—Chronicles and Reviews.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3, 1894).—The first place is given in this number to a translation (or perhaps it may be a French version, as no translator's name is given) of an article which appeared in the March number of the *Theologische Tijdschrift*, by Dr. L. Knappert. It is one of a series which has been appearing in the above magazine and in the *Bibliotheek van*

Moderne Theologie en Letterkunde—a magazine that came to an untimely end some months ago. This Dutch scholar has given considerable attention to the mythology of the Teutonic races, and in these articles is making known the results of his researches. One of his sources of information on this subject is the lives of the missionary saints—the records (half legendary perhaps, but for his purpose extremely useful and valuable) of their conflicts with the paganism they found flourishing in the provinces which they invaded or visited. The references to, or descriptions of, the deities worshipped or rites celebrated, which abound in these records, or in the story of the lives of these missionary monks, are often of a kind that throw much interesting light on the beliefs and practices current in the Germanic villages or districts where these men laboured. The last saint dealt with was Saint Lindger. Here, it is St. Gall, one of the companions of Saint Columban, in his mission to Australasia, and then to the district near Bergen. The eloquence and zeal of this monk effected great changes on the faith and life of those to whom he appealed, but it is not so much his missionary success that Dr. L. Knappert details, but the forms of idolatry he there found rampant, and the knowledge these give us of the primitive religion and mythology of the race to which they belonged.—The second article in this number is entitled 'La reine de Saba.' It is by M. J. Deramey. The form Saba is that given to the country in the Vulgate; but M. Deramey rejects it, and gives good reason for preferring Sheba or Seba. It appears in the Hebrew text under these two forms, so far as the initial letter is concerned,—*shin* being used in the one case and *samekh* in the other. But from the genealogical table in Genesis x., it would seem that these names indicate two distinct families, or districts (*compare* v. 7, and v. 28.) Our author discusses this question very carefully, but seems to regard the data at our disposal as insufficient to warrant a positive judgment on this point. He decides that whether these terms indicate one or two states, they were neighbouring if two, and were situated in the great peninsula between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and lay along the south-west corner of it. M. Deramey then gives the story of the Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon as it appears in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, and in Josephus. The bulk of his article, however, is taken up with a summary of a work in great part devoted to that visit, and which is a great favourite with the Abyssinians, is in fact a classic in that country, and has received a considerable amount of attention from European scholars. It bears the title 'Kebra-Nagasht.' The narrative is by a Christian monk, and was evidently written with a patriotic motive—was written to

show that through Solomon's marriage with the Queen of Sheba and the refuge found in that country afterwards for the sacred vessels of the Temple at Jerusalem when it was destroyed, the princes or kings of the Cushites who passed over into Ethiopia and founded the kingdom of Abyssinia, were the true heirs and successors to the glories of Israel. M. Deramey's summary of that part of the work which details the visit of the Queen to Jerusalem, and her marriage to Solomon, is followed by a careful estimate of the historical value of the legend.—M. G. de Blonay and M. L. de la Vallée Poussin furnish another instalment of their 'Contes Bouddhiques,' translated from the *Dhammapada.*

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 4, 1894).—M. the Abbé de Moor opens this number with the first part of what promises to be a very elaborate defence of the historical veracity and value of the Book of Judith. He sub-titles his study, 'Un épisode de la défection générale des nations tributaires de l'Assyrie pendant les années 652-648.' That then is the period in which he places the events which the Book of Judith describes. After giving a brief account of the controversy which from the earliest period has raged as to the historical character of this work, and mentioned with warm praise some of the most notable of its advocates, he furnishes us with the programme of his projected study. 'We will treat first,' he says, 'of the condition of Media at the time of the reign of Phraortes II.; secondly, we will describe the state of Assyria when Phraortes made his attack on it; thirdly, we will endeavour to establish the identity of the Nabuchodonossor and of the Arphaxad of the Book of Judith with Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, and Phraortes II., king of the Medes; fourthly, we will examine the different expeditions undertaken after the defeat and death of Phraortes II., by the Assyrian general, Holofernes; fifthly, we shall describe the condition of the kingdom of Judah and that of the ten tribes before and after the last campaign of Holofernes against these countries, and the different stages of that campaign up to the siege of Bethulia; sixthly, we shall describe that siege and its incidents, with its disastrous issues to Holofernes and his army; and, finally, we shall set forth the consequences of this last enterprise of the Assyrian general so far as Judah and Assyria were concerned.' A full and tempting programme, certainly; but the learned Abbé sets himself bravely and confidently to his task. In this section of his essay, and within thirty-nine pages, he overtakes three of the above given 'heads,' and is well advanced with the fourth—reaches, in fact, the third campaign of Holofernes, and disposes of it. It may be inferred from this

that our author does not enter into too minnte details, and does not indulge in superfluous verbiage. The crucial points in this section of his essay is the establishment of the identity of the Nabuchodonossor of Judith and Assurbanipal, and of Arphaxad and Phraortes II. M. de Moor finds it necessary here to assume not a little, and rely on hypotheses rather than established facts. The *data* of the Book of Judith are compared with the annals of Assurbanipal's reign, and a measure of resemblance between them is consequently made out. But why should Assurbanipal appear in Judith as Nabuchodonossor, or Phraortes as Arphaxad? M. de Moor presents two possible reasons for this, but neither rests on any solid historical ground; and very strong reasons may be given for rejecting both. But the author's pleading here should be carefully read and critically weighed. We certainly have here all that can be advanced in favour of his thesis.—M. the Abbé Z. Peisson continues his article on 'The Science of Religions.' In the previous number he dealt with the question as to the origin of religion. Here he faces the fact that religion presents itself to us in manifold and almost infinitely diversified forms, and posits the very natural question, 'Which of these is the true form, or the one nearest to the divine original?' He does not, however, adventure the task of categorically answering the question, but contents himself with showing how necessary the study of the various religions—the science of religions, in short—is to our getting to a proper solution of the problem. He gives a sketch of how the question has been treated by the traditionalists, and how it has fared more recently at the hands of the modern critical schools; and goes on then to show in what spirit he thinks it should be approached and investigated. What he here says will be highly approved of by every student of the question, who regards religion as one of the most potent and most important factors in the development and healthy direction of humanity.—(No. 5, 1894.)—M. the Abbé de Moor carries forward here his argument in favour of the historic character of the Book of Judith. He takes up here the fifth point of his programme—the condition of Judah and Israel at the period which he regards as that in which Holofernes invaded Palestine, and met his fate at the hands of Judith. The difficulty meets him here at the outset that the Judah of the Book of Judith knows nothing of kingly rule, but is governed by a body of elders with the high priest at its head. But he gets over this difficulty by assuming that there may have been an interregnum in those days, and finds a place for it when Manasseh was taken captive, according to the Book of Chronicles, by the King of Assyria, and lodged in Babylon. Other difficulties as they occur are

disposed of in a like manner. The bulk of this section of the essay is taken up with Holofernes' campaign against Judah.—The admirable paper read by Monsigneur De Harlez at the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago, on 'The nature and utility of the study of religions' is printed in this number, but as it has appeared in the full report of the proceedings of that Parliament in English, we need only refer to it. It will be already familiar to most of our readers.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Juillet, 1894).—The place of honour is deservedly given to a Life of St. Guénolé in the shape of a Breton mystery—a copy of which was found among the MSS. of M. E. Bernard, formerly vicar-general of Quimper by M. l'abbé Bernard, rector of Kerglof (Finistère.) The original MS. is in the National Library at Paris. The mystery is divided into two parts, each of which consists of two acts, with a prologue for each act, and an epilogue for each of the parts. It is written in Alexandrines, among which are intercalated verses of eight syllables. M. P. le Nestour carefully analyses the mystery and adds a translation of part of it.—Dr. Whitely Stokes follows with the first part of an article on the 'Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas.' The Dindsenchas is a collection of stories in Middle Irish prose and verse about the most noted localities in Ireland, and the Rennes Dindsenchas is a copy of this collection preserved in the Library at Rennes, which was probably written, so far as the stories are concerned, in the fourteenth or following century. As usual, we have both the text and translation.—M. E. Ernault continues his Breton studies under the title 'Sur l'Argot de la Roche.'—In the 'Bibliographie' Mr. Kuno Meyer continues his list of corrigenda to the text of the *Silva Gadelica.* There is also a review of the 1869 edition of the Lexico-Grammatical Supplement to Col. A. Troude's French-Breton Dictionary, from the pen of M. Ernault.—The 'Periodiques' and 'Chronique' are as usual full of information.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (No. 2, 1894).—The fourth section of the late M. Isidore Loeb's treatise, 'Réflexions sur les Juifs,' receives the place of honour here. These 'réflections' throughout have been directed against the long existing, and still current, prejudices and accusations made against the Jews, and which have instigated so many persecutions from which they have suffered and made them so odious to thousands and thousands of their fellow-citizens and neighbours. Our summaries have indicated the nature of M. Loeb's defence of his fellow-religionists in the three preceding sections of his work. Here he

takes up and considers the truth, or falsity, of those charges against the Jews which are based on the special character of their religion, on their code of morals, and on their general conduct. Their religion, it is said, contributes to isolate the Jews, to make them bad citizens, unpatriotic, insubmissive to the laws of the country in which they live, and of a doubtful morality in their relations with all not professing their faith. These accusations are said to rest on the teaching of some parts of the Bible and of the Talmud, and to be verified in daily experience. M. Loeb here takes them up *seriatim*, and asks what amount of truth is in them, how far they find their justification in either the Bible or the Talmud, and how far experience attests their veraciousness. We should like to be able to quote here, and translate the whole of his spirited defence, for there is not a single sentence in it that is not of most weighty import to the formation of a judicial verdict on each one of those points,—to the formation, therefore of a correct historical judgment, and of a sane and wholesome estimate of neighbours and fellow-citizens. He does not anywhere here indulge in passionate denials of the charges made against the Jews, or make light of their faults in character or conduct, or of the extracts commonly quoted from Bible or Talmud. There is nothing of the special pleading vein, and no abuse of your adversary. It is throughout a calm historical examination of positive facts, and a judicial estimate of their teaching. That his religion occupies the foremost place in a Jew's heart is acknowledged; but it is shown by undoubted facts, and the testimony of witnesses best able to judge—of statesmen, generals, and men in positions of authority—that he is not made less loyal, less submissive to law, less patriotic, less moral by his religion, but infinitely more so. His exclusiveness, his refusal to mix freely with and adopt the language of the country where he has found a home, to intermingle with them in marriage and at meals, is fully explained, and, so far as it needs to be, is justified. The accusation is shewn, however, to be grossly exaggerated and misrepresented; and the blame for most instances of isolation and perpetuity of peculiarities is shown to lie not at the doors of the Jews, but at those of the Gentiles. The teaching of the Bible and the Talmud complained of is quoted, and its significance fairly and honestly dealt with. We are reminded, however, of the fact, which is almost invariably suppressed or ignored by the authors and vendors of these charges, that these quotations are but selections, and very bad selections from these works, and do not represent their general teaching, or the spirit of the faith embodied in these books. The special circumstances under which these quotations were written we are reasonably asked to con-

sider. The injustices their writers were then suffering, the provocations they were then receiving, the terrible hardships they, or their fellow religionists were then enduring—and these were oftentimes indescribably awful—were enough to fire human passion and human indignation to a white heat, and beget a hatred of their persecutors both fierce and lasting. But surely not the words of a man lashed into anger by the severest wrongs, and speaking in a mood of high strung passion—not these are to be taken as indicative of what the man *qua* man is, and to be for ever quoted as expressing the mood, and temper, and spirit of his race. Is the literature of any race ever so treated as is the Jewish here, or any race judged by the standard here applied to the Jews? But we must resist the temptation of describing further the contents of this masterly defence of the Jews, and recommend our readers to its careful study in the pages of this *Revue*, or the treatise itself when issued as a separate work. A series of tables of criminal statistics is given towards the close of this section of the paper which is as instructive as any part of it. This paper of M. Loeb is by far and away the most interesting to the general reader, and we may be pardoned, therefore, for giving to it all the space at our command. The other articles are of interest chiefly to Jews, and Jewish scholars and historians. We note the following: 'Relations du marquis de Langallerie avec les Juifs;' 'Le *séfer sékhel Tob* abrégé de grammaire hébraïque de Moise Qimhi;' 'Le livre de l'algèbre et le problème des asymptotes de Simon Motot;' 'Documents sur les Juifs de Wiener-Neustadt;' and 'Napoléon I. et la réunion du Grand Sanhedrin.'

REVUE SEMITIQUE D'EPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE. (No. 3.)—M. J. Halévy's 'Recherches Bibliques' in this number embrace a series of brief studies, bearing on the geographical position of Haran, where Terah and his family are said to have settled on their emigration from Ur of the Chaldees, and which is referred to several times in Scripture; and also a series of 'Notes pour l'interpretation des Psaumes,' in continuation of his previous contributions towards that object. The first series of studies bearing on the geographical position of Haran cover ground already gone over by him, but furnish additional proofs in defence of the view as to its situation which he was led many years ago to adopt. He gives a brief summary of the reasons which led him to adopt that view then, and adds here the further considerations which have since confirmed him in regarding it as the correct one. The commonly held opinion has been that Haran was situated in Upper Mesopotamia, and was in fact the

celebrated town Harran, or Carrhae, near Orfa, or that it was in central Syria, seven days journey north of Galaad. Haran is definitely said in Gen. xxiv., 10, to have been in Aram Naharaim. This latter has been generally taken as identical with Mesopotamia, the territory lying between the two rivers, the Khabur and the Euphrates. But this district is in reality traversed by a third important river, the Balih. Schrader has attempted to get rid of this difficulty by limiting Aram Naharaim to the district between the Euphrates and Balih. M. Halévy combats this view also, and gives very weighty reasons for regarding the two rivers indicated in the term as those in the vicinity of Damascus, and the term Aram Naharaim as denoting the alluvial and extremely rich plain between the two rivers Amanah (not Abanah, as in our version) and Pharpar. Critics, M. Halévy thinks, have been led astray by confounding the descriptive phrase, applicable to *any* district lying between two rivers, with the classical transeuphratic Mesopotamia. He proceeds then to show how lucid many passages of Scripture become if this be accepted as the territory indicated by the phrase, Aram Naharaim. This he shows is especially true of the Balaam narratives. There is an insuperable difficulty in connection with Numb. xxii., 5, which at once disappears if the *nahar* there spoken of is not identified with the Euphrates, and, taken in connection with what immediately follows, the clause was read 'Pethor, which was situated on the river, and was the country of his (Balah's) own people.' The Balaam narratives are dealt with at some length by M. Halévy here, with a view to establishing their unity, as well as to illustrate and substantiate the opinion put forward as to the geographical situation of Haran, and of the Aram Naharaim of early Israelitic story. The 'Notes pour l'interpretation des Psaumes' suggest many simple emendations of the text where difficulties seem to have been created by copyists' mistakes. The sense is much improved in every case, but the method is subject to dangers and must be adopted with great caution. M. Halévy, however, is not likely to err by offering rash or hasty conjectures. His conservative instincts and his veneration for the sacred text are too strong to permit of that. He gives us here also a further instalment of his transcription and translation of the 'correspondence of Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV.,' and this concludes the series.—M. Clément Huart continues here also his 'Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure.'—M. J. B. Chabot furnishes the Syriac text of the Apocalypse of Esdras, taken from the MS. copy in the *Bibliothêque Nationale*, No. 326. It is prefaced by a brief note descriptive of the MS., and stating where the other MSS. of this Apocalypse are deposited. Herr F.

Baethgen published in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* in 1886, the text of the MS. in the Royal Library at Berlin, with a German translation.—The other articles in this No. are 'Notes pour servir á l'étude des inscriptions lihyanites,' by B. Carra de Vaux; 'Note sur le monument funeraire appelé *nephesh*,' by Rubens Duval; 'Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiope,' by J. Perruchon—a continuation of the series he has been contributing to this *Revue*; and 'Notes Sumériennes' and 'Notes Géographiques,' also part of a series, by M. J. Halévy. Under *Bibliographie* he gives an interesting notice of the last parts issued of the *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum.*

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (July, August, September).—The commercial relations between France and Switzerland are dealt with by M. Numa Droz in a long article bristling with statistics, and discussing a number of economical questions, interesting enough from the point of view of political economy, but by no means light reading. *That*, however, is amply provided for by the long opening instalment of what promises to be a capital novel, 'Le Sentier qui monte,' by M. T. Combe, and also by the concluding part of the humourous sketches, 'Château-Flottant.'—'Cellque j'ai vu au Nouveau-Monde,' explains itself. It is only fair to add, however, that Mme. Mary Bigot's reminiscences and experiences are as attractive in manner as they are instructive and interesting in matter, and they supply excellent reading.—As a piece of literary and critical work M. Henry Jacottet's study of Dante-Gabriel Rosetti takes high rank. It is thoughtful and well balanced, and will give foreign readers a very accurate notion of the poet's work and of his position in literature.—In his paper, 'La Taille et la Résistance à la Fatigue,' Dr. Chabrié examines, as the title indicates, the relation between stature and physical endurance. The details into which he enters are interesting and instructive, but the data at his disposal are too vague and too few to justify any very definite conclusion. Nor does there appear to be anything very striking in what the writer is able to put forward as the result of his comparisons and investigations—that, as regards men of the same country, the taller possesses a greater power of endurance than the shorter.—The August number opens with an article written by a specialist for specialists, 'Horsemanship in the Army.' It refers more particularly to the French army, but will be found full of details and suggestions which will be read with interest and with profit by those who have to do with the

training of cavalry in any country.—Though perhaps rather short, in comparison with the subject, the article which M. Sayous devotes to Dürer and Holbein, considered as portraitists, is remarkably well written, and being to some extent based on the most authoritative of recent French and German monographs on the two masters, will be particularly welcome to those whose reading has been more limited as regards this subject.—M. de Verdilhac's article, 'Curiosités bibliographiques et littéraires,' is fully as interesting as the title would lead one to suppose. It is light and chatty, and full of excellent anecdotes excellently told.—'The Duration of Human Life' may at first sight appear a technical and rather dry subject, but M. H. Stilling has treated it in a popular and attractive manner, introducing a number of interesting cases and anecdotes, and has written on it a most interesting and thoroughly readable article.—M. V. de Flouant has an article in the September number which is sure to be turned to with considerable interest, for it deals with Japan. The Corean question is not, however, discussed, and does not even appear in it. What the author does is to trace the career of the empire of the Mikado from the time it set itself to adapt itself to western civilisation. The rest of the number is devoted to light literature, and to the usual delightful chroniques.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS.—The August and September numbers are nearly half filled with the continuation and conclusion of Cyriel Buysse's sketches of Flemish country life under the title of 'Sursum Corda.' The whole series of portraits of country people is monotonously repulsive, and one does not wonder that the principal character who had made it his aim to elevate and enlighten the circle in which he found himself placed, retires from the scene disgusted and despairing. He himself obviously wants elevating as much as the others. It is to be hoped that these strongly drawn but coarse delineations are not true to life.—'The Extension of Towns,' by Mr. J. V. Kips, (August) is a paper of much value. Starting from the fact of the gigantic increase of town populations—the Hague, for instance, had a population of 70,000 in 1851, and in 1893 over 174,000—he advocates the necessity of providing beforehand for this apparently inevitable development. The task belongs to the engineer, the architect, and the jurist. The engineer ought to arrange the districts, shops, warehouses, villas, workmen's quarters, and palaces, in the most convenient way, and contrive the easiest and most direct modes of access. The block

system, confusing and ugly, must be eschewed in favour of triangles and radiating lines, such as are to be found in Amsterdam, Brussels, Florence, etc. The architect must provide beauty. His rule must be to avoid endless perspectives, or open gaps at the end of streets because a prospect wholly closed to the eye is alone æsthetically justifiable. On this the charm of our ancient cities depends. Again, there must be no artificially contrived irregularities, but where there is a reason for irregularity it must be made use of. For instance, the crossing of avenues gives an opportunity for irregularly shaped open spaces. Then such spaces ought to be apparently closed, as are for example the Piazza of S. Mark at Venice, and the beautiful places round the Cathedral at Salzburg and those at Hildesheim. The abomination of a statue in the middle of a square where only a fountain or obelisk that is seen to equal advantage on all sides ought to be is demonstrated. Some interesting plans are given as illustrations. Finally, the task of the jurist is to give practical expression and actuality to the foregoing, perhaps the most difficult task of all. It is certainly a question of moment whether towns are to be allowed to grow without any order or arrangement, and to grow more hideous year by year, or whether they are to be made healthy, convenient and beautiful—Mr. Doedes' very interesting paper on Ian van Riebeck, founder of Cape Colony is concluded. (Aug.) His estimate of this fiery tempered rough and ready little hero of the 17th century is more favourable than Theal's in his short history of South Africa. His faults were common to all the men of his time, but the virtues, the energy and devotion to duty of this ex-surgeon are still an example. Most striking descriptions are given of the state of things in the colony when the European population mustered only 110 men, and 15 women and children.—Byvanck continues his article on Paul Claudel, and there is a readable review of modern music.—'The Scarcity of Gold,' by Mr. N. G. Pierson (Sept.) is an elaborate treatise on the currency question. The conclusion he comes to is that it is much to be regretted that in 1881 an international understanding was not arrived at. That opportunity, however, having been lost, he considers that, after all, things have not turned out so very badly. In no other country was so risky a trial made as in Netherlands and its colonies, a trial which during twenty years has worked with wonderful success. The assimilation of a standard almost entirely silver, or the equivalents of silver to gold, seemed a hopeless experiment particularly in Java, still it succeeded, and though the great declension in silver gives at present an uncomfortable feeling, there is no reason to be afraid. The difficulties of introducing

bimetalism he shows to be very serious, and considers it may mean only the revival of out of date economic theories. Scarcity of gold is not caused by the existing standard, and would not be cured by bimetalism. It has been caused from time to time by want of production, and there has been scarcity of goods, but a review of the world's finances shows that there is no real scarcity of gold, nor is that to be anticipated.—'The new suffrage law and the late elections in Belgium,' by Gittée, is a review of measures and parties by no means rose-coloured for liberals. The latest work of the Belgian Second Chamber has been the abolition of proportionate representation. The towns are now sacrificed to the country districts which are under the influence of the Romish priesthood. The only hope for the liberals is in refraining from their dissensions, which have led them into mistake after mistake.—'Concerning a dead Mandarin' is a curious yet poetical account of Chinese *post mortem* conceptions.—Another paper devoted to Leconte de Lisle and Walter Pater is entitled, 'Dead on the way to Apollo,' that god representing the natural, ever-shifting life, striving to attain perfection and beauty.—There is a review of Zola's Lourdes novel, which is pronounced the failure it was bound to be in the hands of this powerful realist. Such a subject, touching the mystic side of life and the most delicate spiritual problems, could not be properly handled by one to whom the outside of life is everything.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Divine Liturgies of our Fathers among the Saints, John Chrysostom and Basil the Great, with that of the Presanctified, preceded by the Hesperinos and the Orthros. Edited with the Greek Text by J. N. W. B. ROBERTSON. London: David Nutt. 1894.

This is a revised and enlarged edition of a volume which was published in 1886, and received the approval of various dignitaries of the Orthodox Church. To the liturgies of SS. Basil and Chrysostom there have now been added, with very great advantage for Western students and travellers, the Hesperinos and Orthros (Vespers and Lauds) for the eve and morning of Sundays and Feasts, the Liturgy of the Presanctified, and a number of the changeable forms for different times. It is a pity, however, that passages of Scripture such as the Odes (p. 175 *et seq.*) are only indicated by reference: no one in this country knows them by heart in Greek. Again, the inaudible prayers are inserted in the middle of the audible ones, in a way which (although strictly following the text of the Euchologion) would make it almost impossible for a stranger to follow the service, and this difficulty is increased by printing them at full length in Greek as well as English, just as if they would be heard by the congregation, which they never are. The Greek text is handsomely printed, and accurate so far as we can see. The translation is in some respects disappointing. The editor does not say whether it is meant for devotional use or for the assistance of liturgical students. In either case it might be improved in some points. Greek liturgical terms are simply transliterated without any attempt at explanation. Pages bristling with words such as Hesperinos, Ektene, Heirmos, Mystagogia, repel any but an expert in such studies. A translation professedly into English should not exhibit such forms as Exodos, I. Reigns, Abbakum the Prophet, the Precursor, etc.; and might be more in sympathy with the ecclesiastical terms used in the English language, and which are often merely the English names of the same things. Why, for instance, should the corporal be called the heileton? Mr. Robertson's translation of the Psalms seems innocent of any of the classical English versions. Sentences such as 'Come let us adore and fall down,'—'O Lord my God, Thou art become exceeding magnifical,'—make one wish that Mr. Robertson had been contented to follow the Prayer Book or Authorised version so far as the text allows. The same remark applies to his translation of the prayers, which adheres slavishly to the Greek, though here and there slips occur. *E.g.*, p. 11, 'us sinners and thine unprofitable servants' is hardly a literal rendering of ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ ἀχρείων δούλων σου: and there are not a few passages which must jar on the ear of any one familiar with *The Book of Common Prayer*, or Bright's *Ancient Collects*. A comparison of 'A Prayer of St. Chrysostom' with the version on p. 249 of Mr. Robertson's work will bear out what we say. At the same time Mr. Robertson deserves thanks for presenting these valuable liturgies in such a handsome and convenient form. His work should be welcomed by all who take an interest in liturgical studies.

Genetic Philosophy. By DAVID JAYNE HILL. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

Principal Hill's volume before us contains a series of admirable studies on the genesis of Matter, Life, Consciousness, Feeling, Thought, Will, Art, Morality, Religion, and Science. They are, so to speak, critical reviews of the history of the philosophical systems which have been offered in explanation of these things; and from the standpoint of one who belongs to no particular school of philosophy, but looks from a vantage point on all, and sees, or thinks he sees, how the confusion and strife of the schools have arisen, and how they may be allayed, if not absolutely put an end to. When one surveys, in however careless a way, the history of speculation regarding each and all of the points enumerated—sees how system has followed system in a long and seemingly never ending series—sees how unsatisfactory every new generation of philosophers finds the work of all that have preceded them (their work in turn to be found fault with by the next), one becomes bewildered, and wonders if the philosophy of Matter, Life, Consciousness, etc., will ever, or can ever, be produced, or discovered. Are these things inexplicable? or, are their investigators simply pursuing false methods of investigation? What are, or have been, their methods? and, may the explanation of the universal failure that has attended their labours not be that their methods have been faulty in the extreme? Principal Hill attributes their failure to faulty method, and not to the helpless obscurity or inexplicable mystery of the subjects in question. Philosophers have all along been guilty, he alleges, of reversing the only sane, safe, and possibly successful method of investigation—the only natural one. They have begun their labours where they should have ended. They have theorized when they should have been observing—have evolved from within themselves certain 'principles,' and then set about the helpless and hopeless task of squaring the phenomena with which they then found themselves confronted, with these 'principles.' When unscientific 'scientists'—if the phrase may be pardoned—pursued this same method, or something similar to it, their efforts were equally unsatisfactory and useless. So soon, however, as they adopted the rational, and now called 'scientific,' method the results were seen to be of the greatest possible value, and to be demonstratively accurate. This, Principal Hill here calls the genetic method—the method of tracing things to their genesis, and observing them in all their relations and actual details. Nothing is isolated, and so nothing can be thoroughly understood, or accurately comprehended, unless observed, or studied, in *all* its relations. It is only then that it is seen to be what it really is, 'the outgrowth of its own antecedents,' and a part or stage of a continuous whole. The volume before us shows us how the non-observance of this method has rendered the manifold, continuous, and laborious efforts of 'philosophers' so futile from generation to generation, while the observance of it by 'scientists' has produced of late such splendid and beneficent results. The whole volume is full of the most pregnant thought. Its style is clear. Its literary qualities render it fascinating throughout, and there is a fresh, healthy commonsense in all that is here said that makes the reading of it as wholesome as it is delightful.

Philosophical Remains of George Croom Robertson, Grote Professor of Philosophy of Mind and Logic, University College, London. With Memoir. Edited by ALEXANDER BAIN, LL.D., and T. WHITTAKER, B.A. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1894.

Though with very few exceptions the writings here brought together have all appeared before, the friends of the late Professor Croom Robertson have done well to collect them and to issue them in a separate form. Unfortunately, Mr. Robertson was cut off in his prime, and though he apparently meditated something of more importance than we have here, the state of his health and the multiplicity of his other engagements prevented him from carrying out the plans he seems to have at one time entertained or to accomplish more in the way of writing than a number of occasional articles. This is all the more to be regretted as such literary work as Mr. Robertson has left, is sufficient to show that had his life been spared and health permitted, his contributions to philosophic study might have enriched our literature to a much greater extent, and that by his death philosophy suffered a serious loss. Of the value of the papers here issued nothing need be said. They have already been appraised. Students of philosophy are well acquainted with them, and the opinion among them will only be that they are all too few. The exceptions referred to above are the lectures which the late Professor delivered at the Russell Institute in 1871 and at Manchester in 1873, the first on the English Mind and the second on the Senses, and a couple of introductory lectures delivered at University College, London. The articles on Analogy, Analysis, Analytic Judgments, Association of Ideas, and Axioms contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* are included. The remaining pieces have been collected from the pages of *Mind*. Dr. Bain contributes a brief memoir of Mr. Robertson, which besides giving a sketch of Mr. Robertson's career contains many interesting literary reminiscences and does justice to the skill and conscientious care with which he discharged the duties both of his Chair in the University and in the editorial Chair of *Mind*.

A Study of Ethical Principles. By JAMES SETH, M.A., Professor of Philosophy in Brown University, U.S.A. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1894.

As the title indicates, the aim which Professor James Seth has here in view is not to set forth a new system of Ethics, but to exhibit and discuss the principles on which any valid system of Ethics ought to rest and which it ought to develop. The volume divides itself into four parts, viz., an introduction in which the problem and method of Ethics are defined, and the relation in which it stands to psychology; Part I., in which the several types of Ethical theory, Hedonism, Rigorism, and Eudaemonism, are discussed; Part II., which deals with the virtues and duties of the individual and social life, and the ethical basis and functions of the State; and Part III., in which the author treats of the metaphysical problems of morality or the three problems, of Freedom, God, and Immortality. In the course of the discussion Professor Seth does good service in re-stating the doctrines of the ancient moralists. His handling of the speculations of the modern schools is acute and luminous. Between Hedonism and Eudaemonism he draws a sharp distinction, as also between the Science of Ethics and the Philosophy of Ethics. Though the author lays no claim to originality, his volume everywhere bears proof of freshness, vigour, and independence of thought, and will, there is every reason to believe, serve as an excellent introduction to the further study of the subject. It is not often that a philosophical work is so well written. Here and there the style becomes almost poetic. All the same, Mr. Seth has the art of putting his thoughts with the utmost clearness, and in a work on philosophy that is no small gain.

Town Life in the Fifteenth Century. By Mrs. J. R. GREEN. 2 vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

Hitherto the history of the municipal institutions of either England or Scotland has attracted comparatively little attention. A number of local histories have been written, and in Scotland a fairly large array of Town Charters and Records have been published, among others by the Burgh Record Society under the able management of Sir James Marwick, and by certain Town Councils and private individuals; but the history of the town life in either country in a way at all commensurate with its importance has not yet been written, nor, so far as we are aware, has it ever been so much as attempted. The reasons are perhaps not far to seek. For one thing, the labour which it would involve is probably, for this busy and unleisurely age, far too herculean; and for another, the materials are, for the most part, inaccessible. In the case of many towns it is to be feared that they are no longer recoverable, while as for those of the rest, the majority of them would seem to be hid or wasting away and to be scarcely known to exist. That large quantities of the requisite materials do exist seems to be certain, but judging from the notes scattered here and there in the reports of the Historical MSS. Commission, it would appear that with few exceptions, much requires to be done with them before they can be at all available for the purpose. In the two volumes before us Mrs. Green has made a solid and chivalrous attempt to break into this rude and undigested mass, and to reveal some of the treasures it contains. A history of Town Life or of Municipal Institutions they cannot be called. Nor is the slightest claim that they are such made. They contain a picture of English town life during the fifteenth century. If we were disposed to find fault we might complain of the omission of the word 'English' from the title page. References are made to the towns of France and Germany during the period, but the subject of the volume and that which is distinctly dealt with almost to the entire exclusion of everything else, is the life of the English towns. One might complain, also, that no reference, so far as we can remember, is made to the Scottish Burghs or to the Town life of Scotland, though the Towns or Burghs there were in many respects on all fours with those of England. They had the same periods of growth and decay, and have undergone similar revivals; they had the same struggles and the same victories; their customs and institutions were similar. They were acquainted with crafts and guilds and pageants; the 'ale-kenner' went about to test the strength and quality of the ale which was vended, and the town officer and others were always on the watch to see that no unauthorised individual exposed goods in the market, or opened a shop for their sale, though some of the towns enjoyed privileges which apparently no English town possessed, *i.e.*, monopolies in certain industries. But to find fault would be ungracious, and no one who can appreciate the immense difficulties with which Mrs. Green has had to cope in the writing of the first English book on the subject, will be at all disposed. Taking all things into consideration the work seems to us of rare merit and execution and represents a world of labour. As we have said it contains a picture. So far as its broad outlines are concerned, and in many of its details, it seems to be perfectly veracious. At the same time we are not able to follow Mrs. Green in all her inferences and conclusions. Nor are we disposed to believe that in some of the details her presentation is strictly correct. For instance, her description of the relations between Town and Church, though true in particular instances, is not generally true. Even in the fifteenth century the relations between the Town and Church in England were as a rule, we believe, much more intimate than Mrs. Green

would apparently make out. Questions of law often set the clergy and towns folk by the ears, but as Mrs. Green owns, the Parish Church was, as a rule, the centre of burghal life, and the existence of such societies as that of Corpus Christi, and many others of a similar nature, and as well, the thoroughly religious character of many of the guilds, would show that whatever dissensions arose between the Town and Church were only temporary and local. In the first volume we have a brief sketch of the industrial and commercial revolutions which came over the country, dealing for the most part with the external affairs and the internal government of the towns, which necessitated a discussion of the relation in which the burghs and cities stood to their superiors, and the struggle for freedom. In the first part of the second volume we have chapters devoted to an account of the inner life of the towns--crafts, guilds, markets, manners, sanitary arrangements and means of education, while in the remaining chapters the Common Councils of Southampton, Nottingham, Sandwich, and Norwich are singled out for separate treatment. The work is rich in particular instances and abundant in notes, and as a pioneer in a what may be almost called a new line of historic writing, is deserving of great praise.

The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., Hon. D.C.L., LL.D., etc. Vol. IV. Edited from Posthumous MSS., with Supplements and Notes by ARTHUR J. EVANS, M.A. Maps and Numismatic Plate. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1894.

This volume is a further reminder of the immense loss which England and English letters sustained now a little more than two years ago by the unexpected death of Mr. Freeman at Alicanto while still engaged on the great task he had set himself of recording for the benefit of English readers the story of the events which have happened on the shores of Sicily from the earliest times down to a comparatively recent period, or in his own words, down to not earlier than the death of the great Sicilian Emperor. The preceding volumes, one of which was published soon after his death, have already been noticed in the pages of this *Review*. The present volume has been put together from the MSS. Mr. Freeman left, probably not as he would have printed them himself, but in such wise as the most reverent regard could suggest. The editor has treated the text left by Mr. Freeman as sacred, neither altering nor adding to it. Passages wanting to carry on the story he has for the most part supplied in Mr. Freeman's own words from the book on Sicily which he contributed to the 'Story of the Nations' series. Whatever notes were needed have been supplied by Mr. Evans, who has not scrupled when anything newer than was beneath Mr. Freeman's hands was attainable to point out its bearing on the text. He has also added a variety of supplements and appendices for the purpose of supplying what appeared to him to be wanting. Of the manner in which the editor has discharged his duties there is no need to speak. The work has manifestly been a labour of devotion and love, and no pains have been spared to make the volume as complete as possible. Of the three chapters contained in the volume the first takes up the story of the tyranny of Dionysios at the point where it was let fall in the third volume, while the second and third carry on the narrative to the death of Agathoklês. In the Supplements he has added Mr. Evans treats of the monarchy of Dionysios, the Adriatic Colonies of that monarch and his Finance and Coinage. Another of equal interest shows the light which numismatics throw upon the Sicily of Timoleôn. Other MSS. than those Mr. Evans has used contain we are glad to learn

fairly connected accounts of the Roman and Norman conquests of Sicily. It is to be hoped that these will soon see the light under the hands of editors equally competent and painstaking as Mr. Evans.

A History of Rome to the Battle of Actium. By EVELYN SHIRLEY SHUCKBURGH, M.A. Maps and Plans. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

To write the history of Rome during the first seven hundred years of its existence in about as many pages is by no means an easy task. Much has to be merely touched upon, and much has to be altogether left out. The danger of giving too much prominence to this and too little to that is always present, and the greatest care has to be exercised lest the rule of proportion be violated, and the narrative become lop-sided or over-loaded in parts with details. When the late Mr. Green accomplished the task of compressing, within only a few more pages than are here employed by Mr. Shuckburgh, his elaborate and picturesque history of the English people, he accomplished what is on all hands recognised to be one of the most brilliant feats in historical writing. Mr. Shuckburgh's *History of Rome* will in all probability never attain to the same popularity. It is scarcely to be expected that it will. Still, it is a production which may deservedly take a place beside Mr. Green's. It is admirably arranged and proportioned, the different eras in the history of the Roman State, within the period prescribed, are distinctly marked off, and one has no difficulty whatever in following step by step the expansion of her power. That the influence of the Roman people was always increasing is a fact which Mr. Shuckburgh steadily keeps before the mind of the reader. He is never allowed to lose sight of it, and no matter into what details the narrative descends, he is continually made to feel that the story is that of a people who are continually reaching up, as if impelled by an irresistible fate, to be masters of the world. A great part of the narrative is of course taken up with military affairs, not however to the neglect of other and equally important matters. Constitutional history has received a large share of attention, being discussed in a series of chapters which bring it down to the time of the Gracchi, and afterwards with more or less fulness in connection with the development of foreign policy, and the changes in the relation of Rome to her neighbours and conquered provinces. Social and literary history are also dealt with, and at the end of each chapter Mr. Shuckburgh is careful to indicate the original authorities on which his narrative is based. As a rule he follows the most recent writers in his interpretation of their records, but his pages are here and there marked by a healthy independence, and on occasion he gives reason for dissenting from the findings to which they have come, and for the maintenance of his own. Mr. Shuckburgh's style is clear and forcible, and has a charm altogether its own. It is to be hoped that we have here only the first volume of Mr. Shuckburgh's work, and that in another he will tell the story of the Empire and of its decline and fall.

Sources of the Constitution of the United States considered in relation to Colonial and English History. By C. ELLIS STEVENS, LL.D., D.C.L. London & New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

An attempt has been made by a certain school of Constitutional writers in America to isolate the Constitution of the United States from all previous history, and to regard it as without sources or antecedents, and as a

purely political invention. Others, while admitting that it has antecedents, and is not a pure invention, prefer to look elsewhere than to England, and are disposed to maintain that the original home of most of the American civil institutions was Holland. At the head of these latter may probably be placed Mr. Douglas Campbell, who, in his *Puritan in Holland, England, and America*, denies that the American people are of English race, and bases his assumption on the fact that there were resident along with the English in the Colonies men of other races. Dr. Stevens here joins issue with both these classes of writers, and while admitting that some of the institutions of America, such as the free school, the use of a written ballot, and certain features of the land laws and of the township system, are traceable in part at least to Dutch influence, and though not included in the Constitution, have exercised an influence in moulding the American nation, maintains that the whole of the American Constitution is more or less distinctly traceable to English origin. To a writer so well versed in the Constitutional History of America and England as Dr. Stevens, the task was comparatively easy, and he has found no difficulty in proving, with an abundance of illustration, his thesis. His work is indicative of a movement which is going on in many parts of the United States, which may perhaps be taken as a proof that what Von Holst aptly calls 'the worship of the Constitution' is on the decay, and is giving place to sounder views. At any rate, Dr. Stevens' scholarly and carefully written volume is calculated to show how closely the British and American systems of Government are connected. At the same time it may have a salutary effect on this side of the Atlantic, where the United States are regarded by many as a land void of checks and bars to legislative enactments and constitutional changes. Dr. Stevens is at some pains to point out the strong conservative element there is in the Constitution of that country, and does not scruple to express the alarm with which many of his countrymen regard the endeavours of many to modify and destroy old English institutions, and to point out the baselessness of their belief that America sets the example of such destructiveness, and that all change is necessarily progress. Though by no means a large book, the work is a valuable contribution to the subject of which it treats, and at the present moment, when change is in the air, is deserving of careful study.

Life and Letters of Erasmus. Lectures delivered at Oxford, 1893-4. By J. A. FROUDE, Regius Professor of Modern History. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1894.

Mr. Froude has already written at considerable length about Erasmus, both in his *History* and in his *Short Studies*. The present volume, however, supplies much that is there wanting, and is a brilliant addition to the literature which deals with the history of the Reformation period in Northern Europe. For his materials Mr. Froude has depended for the most part on the letters of Erasmus, which are here abridged, condensed, and translated with rare skill and with the author's usual felicity of diction. Some attempt, as was necessary, has also been made to fix the chronology of the letters, a task not always easy, but which in the hands of Mr. Froude is made to yield considerable fruit, though here, perhaps, more than elsewhere in the volume, he has laid himself open to criticism. The style is decidedly colloquial, as it was almost bound to be, but is none the less pleasant to read. Three things come out most distinctly in the lectures—the religious condition of Europe, the character of Erasmus, and the marvellous effect of his writings. Here and there, too, are many admirable passages, as, for instance, the portraits drawn by Erasmus of

Sir Thomas More, Colet, and Archbishop Warham. His letters, too, from which there are copious extracts, are full of humour, and lose nothing of their original charm under the treatment here given to them. The delivery of the lectures must have formed an epoch in the history of the Modern School of History at Oxford. It is rare, indeed, that so brilliant a series has been delivered either there or elsewhere. The precarious condition in which the accomplished author is at present lying disarms criticism. It is to be hoped that the volume now before us is only the first of many similar ones.

John MacGregor ('Rob Roy'). By EDWIN HODDER. Illustrated. London: Hodder Brothers. 1894.

Mr. MacGregor is known chiefly to the general reader as a canoeist, but, as Mr. Hodder here shows, and as many are already aware, he was something more. In his time he played many parts, and though, as Mr. Hodder admits, he was apt to 'go a little mad' over anything in which he was deeply interested, he deserves to be reckoned among those who have spent their lives in trying to do good, and probably amongst those who have a claim to be called philanthropists. Few if any of the movements in which he was engaged were not highly beneficial. Most of them certainly were. Take, for instance, the Ragged School movement, or that which resulted in the foundation of the Shoe-black Brigade. He may have been slightly erratic in some things, but on the whole his influence was for good, and his sincerity above suspicion. Mr. Hodder has written his life with skill. Perhaps it is a little too voluminous. Still, there is no lack of interest in its pages, and the reader is put in acquaintanceship with all the philanthropic works of the past generation, besides being carried over the greater part of the world in the company of the famous canoeist. The book is certainly worth reading. Among others who figure upon its pages are Lords Shaftesbury and Kinnaird, Bishop Wilberforce, and the father of 'Rob Roy,' who, by the way, was the organiser of the Royal Constabulary Force in Ireland, and earned the thanks of the Duke of Wellington for the way in which he accomplished that work.

The Life and Letters of James Macpherson. Containing a particular Account of his famous quarrel with Dr. Johnson, and a sketch of the origin and influence of the Ossianic Poems. By BAILEY SAUNDERS. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

A hundred years ago no literary man was better known than the subject of Mr. Bailey Saunders' biography; nowadays, however, he is scarcely known and few ever read the poems which secured to him an almost European fame. A pretty wide-spread opinion indeed long since set him down as an impostor. That he altogether deserved so hard a judgment may perhaps with some reason be doubted. At any rate the work he produced, translated, or invented, was not without its influence—an influence which few will maintain was not on the whole good. Certainly it quickened an interest in Gaelic poetry and had something like a freshening effect upon literature in general. Much has been written about Macpherson, but chiefly about his poems and their genuineness; but hitherto there has been no biography of him. Whether his biography deserved to be written is a point on which there may be a difference of opinion. He was not great, nor was there anything heroic about him, and if biographies should be written of only the great and heroic, he was not entitled to one; but, as Mr. Saunders remarks, for a long time he

was an important figure in society and the occasion of a prolonged controversy and may therefore have some claim to have the story of his life written. For our own part we must own that by gathering together all that is ascertainable about Macpherson and his methods and unburdening his mind in print, Mr. Saunders seems to us to have done a good and useful work. Certainly he has made a much needed contribution to history of English literature during the last century. Mr. Saunders is not afflicted with the *lues boswelliana.* He writes without prejudice and has much that is new to tell.

The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. Edited from numerous MSS. by the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt.D., LL.D., M.A. Vols. 3 and 4. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1894.

The first and second volumes of this monumental edition of Chaucer's works have already been noticed in the last number of this *Review.* All that was there said of the ability and learning with which it is being edited is here fully borne out. Mr. Skeat seems to have read everything that has been written about Chaucer and to have an explanation carefully considered and well founded for any difficulty his works present, and one scarcely knows which to esteem most—his wealth of learning, or the admirable use to which he puts it. The amount of information which he has here brought together and condensed is almost amazing, and the student of Chaucer cannot but be grateful that, so far as our present knowledge goes, we have here at last the promise of an edition of his works which is almost, if not all, that can be desired. The pieces contained in the first of the present volumes are 'The House of Fame,' 'The Legend of Good Women,' and the treatise on the 'Astrolabe,' with introduction and notes. In the introduction the editor discusses, as usual, the sources to which Chaucer was indebted, the character and value of the MSS. containing the text, the value of the texts already printed, the forms in which the poems or parts of them have appeared, the metres in which they are written, and the many other matters it is now the custom to treat of in introductions of the kind. The portion of the volume, however, to which the majority of readers will turn first is the last, where we have an elaborate essay on the sources of the Canterbury Tales. It runs to over a hundred and thirty pages, and exhibits a masterly skill in the art of condensation, and, unless we are mistaken, contains a larger amount of reliable material on the subject than has ever before been brought together in a single treatise. One principal value of this essay is, that like all the rest of Mr. Skeat's introductions, and not less of the notes in this and the preceding volumes, the references in which they abound direct the reader to other sources of information where the views accepted or rejected are more fully discussed. The fourth volume opens with an introduction giving an account of the sources whence the text of the Canterbury Tales has been obtained, and, as might be expected, contains a complete list of MSS. and printed editions. The text is entirely new, in the sense that it owes nothing to previously printed texts, but has been constructed afresh from an independent study of the MSS. Use, however, has been made of such portions as have already been edited by Dr. Skeat in conjunction with Dr. Morris. The labour of construction has, of course, been greatly facilitated by the work done in this connection by Dr. Furnivall for the Chaucer Society. At the beginning of the volume are given three of the Minor Poems of Chaucer which have quite recently been discovered. They are entitled—'Womanly Noblesse,' 'Complaint to my Mortal Foe,' and 'Complaint to my Lode-sterre.' The first was

found by Dr. Skeat in MS. Phillipps 9030, and the others in the MS. Harl. 7578.

The Idylls of Theocritus, Translated into English Verse. By JAMES HENRY HALLARD, M.A., Oxon. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1894.

Mediæval Records and Sonnets. By AUBREY DE VERE. London: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

Poems, Sonnets, Songs, and Verses. By the Author of 'The Professor, and other Poems.' London and New York: George Bell & Sons. 1894.

Nathan the Wise: A Dramatic Poem in Five Acts. By G. E. LESSING. Translated by WILLIAM JACKS. Glasgow: Published for the Translator by James Maclehose & Son. 1894.

The Agnostic, and other Poems. By GEORGE ANDERSON. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1894.

The Songs of Thule. By LAWRENCE JAMES NICOLSON. Same Publisher. 1894.

Poems, Songs, and Sonnets. By ROBERT REID (Rob Wanlock). Same Publisher. 1894.

Each of these volumes is more or less deserving of notice. One or two of them are of somewhat exceptional value, and as samples of modern verse-making none of them is without merit. Among the first may be mentioned Mr. Hallard's version of the Idylls of Theocritus, in which he has attempted with considerable success the very difficult task of satisfying the requirements both of the exacting scholar and the man of letters. So far as we have examined them his renderings show the exactness of the scholar and the facility of an expert in English verse. The experiments in hexemeters are commendable, but Mr. Hallard has shown a wise discretion in discarding in many of the poems the original metre, and substituting in their place measures to which the English ear is more accustomed. The translation has evidently been a labour of love, and the author has his reward in having produced an enjoyable version of the thoughts and verse of the famous Alexandrian whose feeling for nature was in many respects almost modern.—Mr. Aubrey de Vere's volume divides itself into two parts. In the first he endeavours to reproduce some of the features of the Middle Ages by recounting a number of its legends. The second part consists of a number of sonnets, several of which are under the name of Mr. Browning, and others under those of Cardinals Newman and Manning, Father Damien, and Lord Tennyson. The legends are told with great spirit, more especially those of the Cid. In these the author is at his best. The narratives are condensed, vigorous and picturesque, and here and there lines or descriptions of more than usual strength or beauty occur, as *e.g.*, 'The hand that battles best is hand to rule;' 'Yet greatness flashed from all his acts,' or

> 'From a string
> Of courtly ladies in the glory clad
> Of silver cloudland when a moon sea-born
> That silver turns to pearl, Ximena moved

> Calmly, not quickly without summoning sign,
> A sister at each hand in weeds night-black
> And stood before the King. No gems she wore
> And dark yet star-like shone her large, strong eyes,
> A queenly presence.'

All the characteristics of the spirit of the Middle Ages Mr. de Vere does not attempt to give. Those he deals with are the moral and religious, and his presentation of these is, to say the least, striking.—The dainty little volume of Poems, etc., by the author of *The Professor and other Poems*, has a large table of contents, but with one or two exceptions, the poems and songs are short, many of them running to not more than a dozen lines, and some of them to still fewer. They are all characterised however by careful workmanship. The most considerable poem in the volume is 'A True Story.' On the whole it is well told, but here and there the diction is a little bald and prosaic. The shorter poems are free from this and are frequently exquisite both in thought and language.—Mr. Jack's translation of Nathan the Wise has the merit of reading well and may be commended as a fairly exact and spirited rendering of the work by which Lessing is probably best known to readers in this country. Archdeacon Farrar contributes an introduction to the volume in which he sketches the life of Lessing and gives an estimate of his worth and influence as a writer. The etchings which embellish the work are by Mr. William Strang.—Mr. George Anderson, formerly one of the members of Parliament for Glasgow, but now we believe a government official of high standing in Australia, has a considerable command of English and is a writer of vigorous verse. 'The Agnostic' reminds us of some of the books in Wordsworth's 'Excursion,' and has probably been fashioned upon them. At all events like Wordsworth in the Excursion Mr. Anderson deals with some of the highest themes of human thought. The argument is carried on by Gerald, the agnostic, or perhaps we should say, the doubter, and Edith, the believer. What arguments are used are well put, but Mr. Anderson is careful to warn us that they are not all that can be used nor are they used exhaustively. In the same strain of thought as is followed by Gerald in the 'Agnostic' are the poems 'Of Life and Death.' The spirit of despondent doubt pervades them and adds to their pathos. The rest of the volume is made up for the most part of poems on Scriptural subjects and war poems. Mr. Anderson's friends on this side of the planet will be glad to meet with him in his new character, and though they may not accept all he has to say, to all that is true and human in what he has written—and there is much of both in his volume—they are sure to give a hearty welcome.—Mr. Nicolson's volume deserves commendation. A fine feeling pervades all his verses, while some of them are remarkable for their pathos and beauty. Most of the poems are written in English, but here and there we have one or more in the Scottish or Shetland dialect. But whether he writes in English or Scottish, or in his native Shetland dialect, Mr. Nicolson writes with equal technical skill. His verse is always melodious. That some of his songs have been set to music is not surprising. They are full of emotion of the purest kind.—Mr. Reid, whose volume is the last on our list, hails from Canada, but is a native of the little lead-mining village of Wanlockhead, which is perched away high up among the Lowthers. Notwithstanding his exile he has neither forgotten the soft dialect of his native hills nor lost his love for it. In the many poems he has here written he shows himself deft in its use, and turns its music to excellent account. Among his fellow-poets he is regarded with esteem; and deservedly so. His verses have the true ring about them, and there is no lack of the genuine

poetic vein in his nature. Quotations are here almost impossible, but we may refer to 'Kirkbride,' 'Stormsted,' 'Kilmeny's Warning,' 'The Hinmaist Crichton,' and 'The Spirit of the Moor' as to poems of great merit. One stanza we will take the liberty of transcribing. It is from a beautiful little poem entitled 'A Sprig o' Heather,' and apparently written on receiving a sprig from Scotland :—

> 'It brings me a glisk o' the hichts and howes
> Whaur grey mists gether,
> Whaur blithe birds sing and the wee burn rows
> In the wilds o' heather ;
> The scent o' the sweet thing fills my min'
> Like the croon o' an auld sang kent langsyne,
> And my heart gangs back to the joyfu' days,
> When it's beat was licht as the breeze that strays
> Amang the heather.'

Pictures from Bohemia Drawn with Pen and Pencil. By JAMES BAKER, F.R.G.S. Map and Illustrations. London: Religious Tract Society.

To the modern tourist, who is usually supposed to be ubiquitous, Bohemia is little known. In most of its towns and villages an inhabitant of these islands would appear according to all accounts to be almost as rare a sight as he is in some parts of the Dark Continent. This is all the more surprising as it is second to no other part of Europe in the beauty of its natural scenery and its curious remains of mediæval architecture and mediæval life. Mr. Baker writes of it with enthusiasm, and few who read his pages will not desire to visit it. If thrown into a more convenient form, his volume would form a charming guide book to the scenes which he depicts with so much skill, and which his acquaintance with the history and legends of the country enables him to invest with an interest guide books seldom possess. As depicted in his pages, Bohemia wears the appearance of a newly discovered land both on account of its remarkable scenery and singular historic remains as well as on account of the quaint customs and costumes of its inhabitants. Its scenery is often weird beyond description, while its rock-castles and rock-towns carry one back to the the times of Hus and to periods still earlier, and remind one of times very different from the present. Among the many excellent volumes which the series to which it belongs contains, Mr. Baker's will take a place distinctly its own. For the charm of novelty it is almost unrivalled.

Aspects of Modern Study, being University Extension Addresses. By Various Writers. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

Abstracts of these addresses have from time to time been given, and the public is more or less acquainted with them through the newspapers. Few, however, who have made their acquaintance with them in that way will not be pleased to have them as they have now been published apparently under the editorial care of Mr. Roberts, the energetic secretary of the London Society for the extension of University Teaching. They are the words of men of exceptional ability, and are admirably adapted for their purpose. In the first of the lectures Lord Playfair gives an account of the evolutions of University extension as a part of popular education, and shows that the main purpose of the movement in connection with which the lectures were delivered is not to educate the masses, but to

permeate them with the desire for intellectual improvement, and to show them methods by which they can attain this desire. Canon Browne's address, in which he speaks hopefully of the prospects of the movement, and describes more at length the character and aims of the teaching it is designed to convey, naturally follows. The other lectures are by Mr. Goschen, Mr. John Morley, Sir James Paget, Professor Max Müller, the Duke of Argyll, the Bishop of Durham and Professor Jebb. Dr. Westcott's lecture has already appeared in his volume on *The Incarnation in Common Life.* Mr. Goschen gives some excellent advice on learning, thinking and reading, while Mr. John Morley returns for the time to his old profession, and speaks of the study of literature. The Duke of Argyll in an address remarkable for its breadth of treatment discourses on the application of the historical method to economic science. Professor Jebb deals with the influence of the Greek mind on modern life repeating to some extent the views he has already set forth in *The Growth and Influence of Classical Greek Poetry.* As popular addresses these lectures are in every way admirable, and being published at a nearly nominal price, they should find a very wide circle of readers.

Walks in Palestine. By HENRY A. HARPER. Illustrated by sixteen Photogravures from Photographs taken by Cecil V. Shadbolt. New Edition. London: Religious Tract Society. 1894.

From Darkness to Light in Polynesia. By W. WYATT GILL, LL.D. Same Publishers. 1894.

The Sanitary Code of the Pentateuch. By Rev. C. G. K. GILLESPIE. Same Publishers. 1894.

Among the Tibetans. By ISABELLA BIRD BISHOP, F.R.G.S. With Illustrations by Edward Whymper. Same Publishers. 1894.

The Meeting-Place of Geology and History. By Sir J. W. DAWSON, C.M.G., LL.D., etc. Same Publishers. 1894.

Ponds and Rock Pools. With Hints on Collecting for, and the Management of, the Micro-Aquarium. By HENRY SCHERREN. Illustrated. Same Publishers. 1894.

Heredity and Personal Responsibility. By Rev. M. KAUFMANN, M.A. Same Publishers 1894.

Present Day Primers—*How to Study the English Bible,* by CANON GIRDLESTONE; *A Brief Introduction to New Testament Greek,* by Rev. S. G. GREEN; *A Primer of Assyriology,* by A. H. SAYCE, LL.D. Same Publishers. 1894.

The bill of fare which the Editorial Committee of the Religious Tract Society annually furnish for their numerous readers, is this season unusually varied and attractive. While popular, the books are all of solid interest, and one or two of them possess considerable literary charms. Apart from the interest attaching to it as a description of the most celebrated places in the Holy Land, Mr. Harper's *Walks in Palestine* deserves commendation on account of the admirable photogravures with which it is illustrated, and which have been pronounced by several competent judges

to be finest series of Palestine views yet issued. The volume is a cheaper reproduction of the original work, and contains in addition a brief memoir of Mr. Shadbolt, from whose photographs in Palestine the photogravures are taken. These are beautifully executed, and, as need hardly be said, are in every way much superior to the pictures which are usually published as representing scenes in the Holy Land. Mr. Wyatt Gill's volume will appeal to a very wide circle of readers. His previous works in connection with the South Sea islands are well known and highly appreciated. Here he has taken the traditions and songs of the natives, and, with the aid of his own recollections and observations, extending over a lengthened residence in the Pacific, endeavoured to write the history of Polynesia from the earliest known times down to the present. The traditions, of which there are many, are given, as are also many of the clan songs in which the traditions are preserved. The work is of value both to the antiquary and the folk-lorist not less than to those interested in the success of Christian missions. Most readers, indeed, will find much that is attractive in its pages. The clan songs are quite a feature of the volume. As well as the traditions, they have been taken down from the lips of the natives. Translations accompany the texts. Mr. Gillespie's little volume belongs to the Society's series known as By-paths of Bible Knowledge, and contains a brief account of the legislation contained in the Pentateuch from the point of view of modern sanitary science. *Among the Tibetans* is Mrs. Bishop's latest book, and, like the rest of her books of travel, will not fail to secure numerous readers. It is full of adventure, and its descriptions possess all the charms which one has grown so accustomed to in the works of the far travelled writer. In *The Meeting-place of Geology and History* Sir J. W. Dawson carries the reader back to the origin of human life on the earth, and endeavours as definitely as may be to fix the period in the history of the earth when man first appeared upon it. The problem is of profoundest interest, but is involved in the greatest obscurity. The author is of opinion that 'no fact of science is more certainly established than the recency of man in geological times,' and that though 'the absolute date of his first appearance cannot perhaps be fixed within a few years or centuries, either by chronology or by the science of the earth,' yet it would seem that the Bible history, as well as such hints as we can gather from the history of other nations, limits us to two or three thousand years before the Deluge of Noah.' In the course of his argument Sir J. Dawson makes use of much interesting information, both geological and archæological, while his aim throughout is to show in how many different ways science confirms the teaching of Scripture in respect to the beginnings of human life. Mr. Scherren's useful little volume will find its way to an increasing class. It is full of hints and information for those who are engaged in studying such forms of life as are to be found in ponds and the pools on the sea-shore. Mr. Kaufmann writes clearly and judiciously on a subject which is gradually attracting considerable notice, and is deserving of careful study. As to the three Present Day Primers mentioned in our list, it is sufficient to say that they have all been carefully drawn up by experts, whose names are a guarantee for their accuracy.

The Unemployed. By GEOFFREY DRAGE, Secretary to the Labour Commission. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

The subject of Mr. Drage's volume is very important, and as the Secretary to the Labour Commission, one would naturally suppose that he has had exceptional facilities for examining into it and for arriving at con-

clusions of more than usual authority. With the Report of that Commission Mr. Drage is not at all satisfied, and here and there finds serious fault with it. Into his controversy with the compilers of it we have no wish to enter. Our business is rather with Mr. Drage's volume, which as breaking comparatively new ground and containing much that is informing, may on the whole be commended. Satisfactory in every respect it can scarcely said to be. The historical portions are a little meagre, and his own classification of the unemployed, whatever may be its superiority over that contained in the Report, is too general to be of much use. Still in the first part of the volume which deals with the agencies which have hitherto been employed for the solution of the problem of the unemployed, a good deal of valuable information is brought together, and though more details might have been desirable, it is presented in a concise and lucid way. The least satisfactory part of the volume is the third. Here, besides dealing with the classification of the unemployed, Mr. Drage treats of the number of the unemployed and the causes to which the want of employment is due. To arrive at anything like a fair estimate of the numbers is, under existing circumstance, difficult, and Mr. Drage has been obliged to confine himself to such statistics as were accessible to him, chiefly those furnished by certain of the Trade Societies. As for the unskilled labourers in need of employment numbers are for the most part wanting The classification adopted by Mr. Drage throws the unemployed into two great sections—those temporarily without regular employment, and those permanently without it. Those of the first section again are divided into two classes—those with a prospect of work within a definite period, and those who have no such prospect. As for those who come within the second section, they are divided into casual labourers and the unemployable, on account of some physical or moral defect. The classification is somewhat rough, and may, so far as it goes, be correct, but it is desirable that a classification entering more into detail should be made. One indicating the causes to which the surplus labour and the failure to obtain labour are due would, if reliable, be of the greatest value. The chapter on the 'Causes of the Problem' is to our way of thinking too indefinite and hypothetical. The effect for instance of strikes in multiplying the ranks of the unemployed is dismissed in a few sentences. Nor is much said as to the way in which one trade is affected by another. It is admitted that strikes may have an injurious effect, and even that the operation of Trades' Unions may, but Mr. Drage is extremely reticent with respect to instances. Most people have arrived at certain conclusions with respect to these things, and what one turns to a book like Mr. Drage's for, is concrete facts. A few of these would have lighted up Mr. Drage's speculations, and made his chapter of greater value. In subsequent chapters a brief but clear account is given of the attempts made to lessen the number of the unemployed, and some of the methods adopted or proposed are freely criticised. Mr. Drage's proposals are by no means heroic; he candidly admits that the solution 'is to be found not so much in any one vast remedy as in a series of smaller remedies, each attacking one or more of the causes which have sufficed either to bring about or to intensify the present problem.' For the remedies suggested, however, we must refer the reader to Mr. Drage's own words. They have been carefully thought out, and are deserving of consideration as the suggestions of one who is entitled to speak with some authority.

SHORT NOTICES.

In his little volume, entitled *The Apostles' Creed* (Clay & Sons), Dr. Swete endeavours to meet the attacks which have recently been made on that symbol by Professor Harnack in Germany, and which have still more

recently been popularised in this country by Mrs. Humphry Ward. The German Professor's pamphlet contains nothing that is particularly new, most of what he says having been said before, and Dr. Swete being amply provided with the requisite learning, has no difficulty in meeting his assertions and in arguing against, from the ground of history. Though small, the volume contains much that will be new to the general reader, and deserves to be read as containing something of what may be said on the other side.

Bishop Hedley's volume, entitled *A Retreat* (Burns & Oates), contains twenty-four discourses or meditations with directions, intended to furnish matter for a retreat of eight or ten days. The topics chosen are such as we might expect. They are handled, however, in a much more vigorous way than one is accustomed to in treatises of the kind. Bishop Hedley writes with great skill. His thoughts are suggestive, and there is a force and penetrativeness about them which must make itself felt in the minds of those who read them. The religion of the volume is of the solid, earnest, and practical kind, while the directions given are pointed and searching.

Professor Cowan's *Landmarks of Church History* (A. & C. Black), is one of the Church of Scotland Guild Text Books. It is fairly well arrayed, and carefully compiled, and will take its place as a useful manual. Its real worth can be proved, like that of most books of the kind, only in the hands of an expert teacher.

The Scottish Songstress (Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier), by her grand-niece, is a delightful little book in which Mrs. A. R. Simpson records a number of charming reminiscences of her grand-aunt, Caroline, Baroness Nairne.

Lane's *Modern Egyptians* has long been a famous book. As the years go by it will become all the more valuable as recording the manners and customs of a people who, under the influence of Western civilisation, are gradually changing their ways. The present reprint (Alex. Gardner), will help, if such a thing is possible, to make the work more popular. It is handsomely printed, and contains an abundance of illustrations. A brief biographical sketch of the author has been added to the volume. One fact not mentioned, and not generally known, is that the author was offered the honour of knighthood, but declined it, preferring to remain plain Mr. Lane.

James Macpherson, the Highland Freebooter (Alex. Gardner), by J. Gordon Phillips, is a thoroughly Scottish story of the old romantic kind. It is full of incident, intrigue, and fighting. The time of the story is the first half of the eighteenth century, and the scene is laid in the north of Scotland. Macpherson, the hero, is partly poet, partly musician, generally a freebooter, and on the whole a not unlikeable character. Lady Ann of Aberlour, the heroine of the story, is remarkably well drawn, and the hardships through which she has to pass on account of the intrigues and doings of Braco, the villain of the piece, enlist one's sympathy. The plot is somewhat intricate, and, as in the old romances, we hear much of secret doors and secret passages, close pursuits, and hairbreadth escapes. On the whole, the story is well told, and carries the reader on at a rapid pace.

Mr. Crockett's contribution to Mr. Fisher Unwin's 'Autonym Library' has for its title *Mad Sir Uchtred of the Hills*. The scene is laid in Galloway, and the foundation of the story seem to be one of those local traditions in which that part of the country is so rich. The reputation won by the author of *The Raiders*, will not in any way be diminished by this

slight, but, on the whole, powerful story. Those who take it up will not be disposed to lay it down till they reach the end.

William Blacklock, Journalist (Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier), by T. Banks Maclachlan, is apparently a first venture. There are excellent points about it. Though well drawn, Blacklock is not a character in whom one can take much interest. He is silly and conceited. The heroine, an admirable character and excellently well portrayed, shows her good sense by finally refusing to have anything to do with him. Mr. Maclachan writes fluently and with skill, and gives promise of doing yet better things.

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