THE SCOTTISH REVIEW.

INDEX TO VOLUME XXXII.

A.

Aarböger för Nord. Oldkyndighed og Historie, ... 184
Aitken, Robert, The Knights Templars in Scotland, ... 1
Archivio Storico per le Province Napolitane, ... 371
Athena,... ... ...187, 389

B.

Bain, Joseph, Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603, ... 396
Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse, ...186, 389
Brodie, Sir B. C., by T. Holms, 403
Butler's *Analogy*, A Critical Examination of, by the Rev. Henry Hughes, ... 193

C.

Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603, edited by Joseph Bain, ... 396
Caird, John, University Addresses, 404
Caterans, The Two Greatest of Scottish, by Z., ... 333
Charters and Writs concerning the Royal Burgh of Haddington, 1318–1543. Transcribed and Translated by T. G. Wallace-James, M.B., ... 199
Christian Rome, A Historical View of its Memories and Monuments, by Eugene De La Gournerie, ... 401
Christian Pastor and the Working Church, The, by Washington Gladden, ... 191
Christian Dogmatics, by Rev. John Macpherson, ... 190
City of Glasgow and its Records, The, ... 249
Constable Nun'Alvares, The, by C. J. Willdey, ... 37
Cornelii Taciti Vita Agricolœ. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Map, by Henry Furneaux, ... 200
Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns, 1650–51, by W. S. Douglas, 402, ... 402

D.

De Gids, ...180, 387
Deutsche Rundschau,... ...160, 363
Dictionary, A New English, on Historical Principles, edited by Dr. James A. H. Murray, 406
Douglas, W. S., Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns, 1650-51, 402
Driver, Rev. S. R., D.D., The Parallel Psalter, ... 394

E.

Earl Marischal and Field Marshal, 316
Emporium, ... 371
Erkennen und Schauen Gottes. Ein Beitrag zu einer neuen Erkenntniss lehre für Theologen und Nichttheologen, by L. Weiss,... 192

F.

Field-Marshal, Earl Marischal and, ... 316
Furneaux, Henry, Cornelii Taciti Vita Agricolœ, ... 200

G.

Graham, Duncan, Is Natural Selection the Creator of Species ? 407
Greek Folk as related in their Poesy, The, by J. S. Stuart-Glennie, ... 113
Greek Hymns and Hymn-Writers, by William Metcalfe, ... 296

Gross, Mr., on Scottish Guilds, 61
Gladden, Washington, The Christian Pastor and the Working Church, ... 191
Giornale Storico Della Letterature Italiana, ... 167
Gournerie, Engene de la, Christian Rome: a Historical View of its Memories and Monuments, 401

H.

Henry of Guise, and other Portraits, by H. C. Macdowall, 195
History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages, drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other Original Sources, The, by Dr. Ludwig Pastor, edited by Frederick Ignatius Antrobus, 399
Holms, Timothy, M.A., Sir Benjamin Collins Brodie, ... 303
Hughes, Rev. Henry, A Critical Examination of Butler's *Analogy*, ... 193
Hymn-Writers, Greek Hymns and, by William Metcalfe, ... 296
Ireland, 1798—1898, by William O'Connor Morris, ... 401
Ireland, Local Government in, by W. O'Connor Morris, ... 133
Is Natural Selection the Creator of Species, by Duncan Graham, 407

I.

Ireland in 1798, by W. O'Connor Morris, ... 401

K.

Kinloch, M. G. J., Studies in Scottish Ecclesiastical History in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, ... 403
Knights Templars in Scotland, The, by Robert Aitken, ... 1

L.

La España Moderna, ...179, 385
Lang, Andrew, The Making of Religion, ... 194
La Nuova Antologia, ...163, 366
La Rassegna Nazionale, ...165, 369
Latta, Robert, The Monadology of Leibniz, and other Philosophical Writings, ... 394
Leibniz: The Monadology and other Philosophical Writings, translated by Robert Latta, 394
Le Muséon et la Revue des Religions, ...174, 380
Local Government in Ireland, by William O'Connor Morris, 133

M.

Making of Religion, The, by Andrew Lang, ... 194
Macdowall, H. C., Henry of Guise, and other Portraits, 195
Macpherson, Rev. John, Christian Dogmatics, ... 190
Metcalfe, William, Greek Hymns and Hymn-Writers, ... 296
Memoir of Major-General Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, Bart., by George Rawlinson, ... 197
Morris, William O'Connor, Ireland, 1798, ... 401
—— —— —— Local Government in Ireland, ... 133
Motes in Norman Scotland, The, by Geo. Neilson, ... 209
Murray, Dr. James A. H., A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, ... 406

N.

Natura ed Arte, ...167, 373
Neilson, Geo. The Motes in Norman Scotland, ... 209
New English Dictionary, A, on Historical Principles, edited by Dr. James A. H. Murray, 406
Norman Scotland, Motes in, by George Neilson, ... 209
Nuova Antologia, La,... ...163, 366
Nun' Alvares, The Constable, by C. J. Willdey, ... 37

O.

Old Brigadier, The, by Ivan Turgénieff, ... 272
Outline of Philosophy, with Notes Historical and Critical, An, by John Watson, ... 396

P.

Parallel Psalter, The, arranged by the Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D. 394
Pastor, Dr. L., The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages, ... 399
Pobyedonostseff, K. P., Reflec- of a Russian Statesman, ... 405

R.

Rassegna Pugliese, La, ... 372
Rassegna Nazionale, La,... 165, 369
Rawlinson, George, A Memoir of Major-General Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, ... 197

Reflections of a Russian Statesman, by K. P. Pobyedonostseff, ... 405
Revue Celtique, ...178, 385
Revue Sémitique d'Epigraphie et d'Histoire Ancienne, ...177, 382
Revue des Etudes Juives, ...175, 375
Revue Philosophique,... ...173, 384
Revue des Deux Mondes, ...170, 377
Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, ...167, 374
Rivista D'Italia, ...166, 373
Rivista Politica e Letteraria, 373
Robert Burns and Mrs. Dunlop: Correspondence, by William Wallace, ... 198
Russian Philosophal Journal (Voprosi Philosophii i Psychologii, ... 363
Russian Philosophical Review (Voprosi, Philosophii i Psychologii), ...161, 363

S.

Saville, S. E., Weaver Birds, 238
Scottish Guilds, Mr. Gross on, 61
Studies in Scottish Ecclesiastical History in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, by M. G. J. Kinloch, 403
Stuart-Glennie, J. S., The Greek Folk as related in their Poesy, ... 113

T.

Theologisch Tijdschrift, ...181, 388
Theologische Studien und Kritiken, ...159, 361
The American Historical Review, ...188, 393
The Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi (Record for Northern Philology), ...186, 390
T. P. W., The Vaunts of Modern Progress, ... 81
Turgénieff, Ivan, The Old Brigadier, ... 272
Two Greatest of Scottish Caterans, by Z., ... 333

U.

University Addresses, by John Caird, D.D., ... 464

V.

Vaunts of Modern Progress, The, by T. P. W., ... 81

W.

Wallace-James, J. G., Charters and Writs concerning the Royal Burgh of Haddington, 199
Wallace, William, Correspondence of Robert Burns and Mrs. Dunlop, ... 198
Watson, John, An Outline of Philosophy, ... 396
Weaver Birds, by S. E. Saville, 238
Weiss, L., Erkennen und Schauen Gottes. Ein Beitrag zu einer neuen Erkenntnisslehre für Theologen und Nichtthelologen, 192
Willdey, C. J., The Constable Nun 'Alvares, ... 37

Z.

Z., The Two Greatest of Scottish Caterans, ... 333

THE

SCOTTISH REVIEW.

JULY, 1898.

ART. I.—THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS IN SCOTLAND.

ON the map of Lowland Scotland one finds in places the name Temple, marking here a parish, and there, it may be, a farm, a hamlet, or a croft. The name, of course, is a relic of the presence and possessions of the order of Knights Templars in our country—the only relic and memorial of itself which the order has left on Scottish soil. Elsewhere throughout Western Europe, and even in the Mohammedan East, material remains not unworthy of the power and glory of the greatest military order of mediæval Christendom have endured till modern times. The ruins of the Pilgrim's Castle are still to be seen on the coast of Palestine, frowning over the perilous defile which, about the time of the Third Crusade, it was built to guard. In all its rich store of antiquities Cyprus has nothing more splendid than the noble halls and churches, which were the abode of the order in its later years. The last king of the old *régime* in France passed to the guillotine from the fortress whence his predecessor, almost five centuries before, had dragged the last Grand Master of the Temple to torture and death. The grey walls of more than one preceptory still stand among the meadows of England, and in the central throng and roar of London, the order has bequeathed to the Inns of Court not its name only, but also,

in its chapel, one of the finest and most venerable examples of Gothic art. Scotland alone possesses no tangible memorial of these monkish knights whose pride and riches once provoked the fear and envy of kings. Other monastic orders have left tokens enough of their presence to give beauty and melancholy to our landscapes. Black monks and grey, Cistercians, Augustinians, Praemonstratenses—one sees their ruined churches and cloisters rising in the heart of busy towns, or above the roofs of sleepy villages, or, in some quiet and fertile valley, peeping from amidst immemorial trees. Even the Knights of St. John, the masters of Rhodes and Malta, have their memorial in the church of Torphichen. But the Templars are without a monument. Chapel and preceptory have vanished.

> 'The Knights' bones are dust,
> And their good swords rust,'

and the place of their sepulchre is remembered here and there only by some vague and doubtful tradition, in the mouths of country folk, of 'the Templar's grave.' * Nothing but their name is left, haunting ghostlike and impalpable the ancient scenes of their habitation.

This utter lack of monuments is unfortunately accompanied by a great deficiency of written record. Our old chroniclers, while sometimes describing the exploits of the Templars in Palestine, never mention the organisation, estates, or membership of the order at home, nor does the list of our extant monastic chartularies include any collection relating to a preceptory of Scottish Templars. The early extinction of the order and the probable fact that most of its Scottish muniments were kept elsewhere than in Scotland will help to account for this want of information. The result at any rate is that for an account of the Templars in our country we have hitherto had to rely on the compilations of Father Augustin Hay and the careless Spottiswood—compilations extremely

* At Inchinnan, for example, and in the churchyard of Inchcaillach in Lochlomond. *New Statistical Survey*, Vol. VII., p. 124. Guthrie Smith's *Strathendrick and its Inhabitants*, p. 101.

meagre and sometimes misleading. It is not possible, of course, to supply this defect in any adequate fashion, or to do for the Scottish Templars what has been done for their English brethren in the work of C. G. Addison. Yet by bringing together the few scattered references in old records and charters one may perhaps succeed in giving a slightly more copious and precise account than has hitherto been offered of the position occupied in Scotland by that famous military brotherhood, which, at the date of the battle of Bannockburn, was already a thing of the past.

The order of the Knighthood of the Temple—*Militia Templi Jerosolimitani* as it was styled in common official form —must have been introduced into Scotland very soon after its foundation. It was in 1118 that Hugh de Payens and Godfrey de St. Omer, two knights of Northern France, drew around them the little band of crusaders sworn to the defence of pilgrims on the dangerous roads between Jerusalem and the seaport towns of Palestine, and in 1128 the society, already largely increased by an eager throng of the most devout and adventurous warriors of Frankish Christendom, received confirmation and a code of rules from Pope Honorius II. at the Council of Troyes in Champagne. Hugh de Payens, the founder and first head of the order, was present at that Council, along with St. Bernard of Clairvaux, its great eulogist and legislator, and immediately afterwards he made a journey through some of the Western kingdoms, exhorting their princes and nobles to help the new brotherhood and send succour to the Holy Land. In Normandy he was honourably welcomed by King Henry Beauclerk, who sent him over to England, 'and there,' in the words of the English Chronicle,

'he was received by all good men, and they all gave presents to him ; and in Scotland in like manner. And moreover they sent to Jerusalem great wealth in gold and silver. And he invited people out to Jerusalem ; and there went along with him and after him so many people as more had never done before since the first expedition during the days of Pope Urban.'

One may imagine the warmth of the welcome which the Templar would receive in Scotland from the devout King

David, who at this time had been four years on the throne. The year 1128 saw the foundation of the monastery of Holyrood and the building of the great abbey church at Kelso, and in all probability it witnessed also the gift of those lands on the South Esk in Midlothian which general tradition represents as David's benefaction to the Templars. At all events there is no doubt about the king's devotion to the new military brotherhood, since Ailred of Rievaulx tells us that he kept some of the brethren constantly at his court and made them judges and advisers of his conduct by night and day.* After all, this may be accounted but moderate devotion for an age wherein saints could become the panegyrists of the Templars, and a monarch could bequeath them his kingdom. Natural enough too it was, since the order embodied three of the great mediæval ideals which were at the height of their popularity in the century between Godfrey of Bouillon and Richard of the Lion Heart. As vowed to celibacy and the renunciation of all private aims, the Templars shared in the reverence paid to monasticism: as professed men-at-arms they attracted the admiration due to the knight and the warrior, while as the sworn foes of the infidel and guardians of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem they represented the crusading spirit. They were the very model and mirror of Christian chivalry, and the days were still far distant when hideous stories of their greed and pride and profligacy should find credence or foundation.

It was of course the very reverence in which the Templars were held that served most effectually to destroy the pristine severity and humility of the order. The guides and guardians of pilgrims in the Holy Land were rapidly transformed into the standing army of the Latin Kingdom in the East; the 'poor comrades of the Temple' were the objects of so much devout munificence that within a century they had become the lords of some nine thousand manors† in different parts of Europe. This accumulation of property soon made it necessary for them

---

* *Eulogium Davidis*, in Pinkerton's *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, edition 1889, II., 276.

† *Matthew Paris*, IV. 291.

to frame a huge organisation in which the countries of Western Christendom, as well as the Levantine regions, were embraced. The Templars' proper sphere of duty and activity was of course in Palestine, where the brethren fought continually against the Saracens, and where the Grand Master had his headquarters at the so-called Temple of Solomon on Mount Moriah. But the territorial possessions of the order had also to be looked after, and thence arose the system of preceptories, and the great scheme of provincial hierarchy and organisation. Fortified houses, each, as a rule, with a chapel attached to it, were built on the principal estates, and served at once as offices for administration of the lands, as places of retirement for sick and aged brethren, and as centres for the reception of recruits. The Templar who was put in charge of one of these houses and who bore rule over its inmates, was called a Preceptor, from the *precipimus tibi* with which his commission began, and the establishments themselves, naturally termed preceptories, were grouped in provinces, each governed by a master or prior, according to the kingdom in which they chanced to be situated. Western Europe was thus divided into eleven provinces, of which two were allotted to Italy and three to the Spanish peninsula, four to the territory corresponding to the modern kingdom of France, and one each to Germany and England. Scotland never attained provincial rank, but, along with Ireland, formed part of the English province. As the whole order was ruled by the Grand Master at Jerusalem, so the Scottish houses and possessions were under the government of the Master of the Temple at London, which was the chief English house. This subordination is amply proved. In the inquisitions made at the dissolution of the order it was stated as a notorious fact that the brethren of Ireland and Scotland had always been subject to the English Master, and the Scottish Templars themselves admitted that they took their orders from him.* It is significant also that grants of land belonging to the order in Scotland were some-

* Raynouard *Monumens Historiques*, p. 259. Wilkins's *Concilia*, II. 368-71, 380.

times at least made at the Temple in London, and that the common seal of that house was appended to documents signed in Scotland and relating to the Scottish possessions.*

At the same time, although in this strict subordination to England, the Scottish Templars had a chief of their own who was usually styled the Master, but sometimes the Preceptor, of the House (or Knighthood) of the Temple in Scotland—*Magister Domus (vel Militiae) Templi in Scotia* †—and who had his headquarters at Ballantrodach in Midlothian, the principal house of the order to the north of the Tweed. The name Ballantrodach has long ago vanished from the map of Scotland, but the significant name of Temple, which has succeeded it, and which designates the modern parish wherein the preceptory and its lands were situated, is the most notable vestige of the order that Scottish geography has to shew. The ruined church of Temple, which stands picturesquely on the banks of the South Esk a few miles above Dalkeith, is of a later date than the dissolution of the order, and apparently there are now no remains of the preceptory, although from a tradition rather vaguely reported by Augustine Hay, it seems that 'the foundations of a vast building and the root of several big pillars of stone' were discovered at some time in the seventeenth century, in a garden in the neighbourhood.‡

In this vanished preceptory, whatever was its situation, the government of the order in Scotland was carried on, and its business administered. Charters relating to the Templars' lands were granted at Ballantrodach, and there also payments by and to the order were appointed to be made. The last preceptor who was ever stationed there, told the inquisition who examined him, that he was chief preceptor in Scotland, and had charge of all the order in that kingdom—in subor-

* Unpublished Charter in the Scottish Register House, by Robert de Stamford, Master of the Temple in England (c. 1250), relating to land in Falkirk. See also *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, II. 293.

† *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, I. 37. Rymer's *Foedera*, II. 572. *Rotuli Scotiae*, I. 4, 5, 33. Stevenson's *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*, I. 220. *Ragman Rolls* (Bannatyne Club), 139.

‡ Account of the Templars, p. 7, in *Templaria* (Edinburgh, 1828).

dination, of course, as has been already said, to the English Master, whose vicegerent he was, and whose chapters at London he was obliged to attend.* The names of only a very few of these Masters of the Temple in Scotland have been preserved. A certain Bartholomew was Master some time between 1165 and 1169, and about 1180 the office was filled by Ranulf de Corbet, probably a member of that Roxburghshire family, lords of Clifton and Makerston, who appear as benefactors of the Abbey of Melrose. These apparently are the only Scottish Masters before the end of the thirteenth century of whom anything can be known.†

The Templars in Scotland of course enjoyed a full measure of those great and various privileges, both temporal and spiritual, the possession of which made their order one of the most favoured societies in Christendom. To understand their position, however, one must avoid the error of regarding them as ecclesiastics. They were monks only, not clerks; although sworn to chastity, obedience, and poverty, they possessed, no more than the meanest layman, any of the mysterious power and sanctity of the priesthood. But at the same time, the extraordinary meritoriousness of their vocation—for what higher or holier calling could there be for a layman than to fight, as Saint Bernard phrased it, the battles of the Lord?—gained them some important privileges which were strictly proper to the clergy, and some which made them even more highly favoured and advantaged than the great majority of ecclesiastics. By the great Bull of Pope Alexander II., known as *Omne Datum Optimum* (1163), they were not only exempted from payment of tithes, but were allowed to hold tithes themselves. They might have chapels and cemeteries of their own, and the priests whom they engaged as chaplains were not to be subject to any other authority than that of the order. In effect, the Templars and all their dependants were withdrawn from the ordinary episcopal jurisdiction, and made subject

* *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, I. 37; *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, II. 293; Wilkins's *Concilia*, II. 356, 368, 380.

† *Reg. de Dunfermline*, pp. 57, 418; *Reg. Ep. Glasg.*, I., 37.

directly to the Pope and to him alone. One very notable privilege was that which allowed the churches in any place lying under sentence of interdict, to be opened once a year on the arrival of any brethren of the order who might come for the purpose of collecting alms.* Obviously it was expected that the faithful, in gratitude for this relaxation of the interdict, would give bountifully for the succour of the Holy Land, and in order still more to provoke their liberality a remission of penance was promised. From the canons of the Scottish Church,† however, it appears that this privilege was sometimes abused by the Scottish Templars to the extent not only of admitting excommunicated persons to divine service, but even of allowing the bodies of such persons, and of public robbers and violators of churches, to obtain the rites of Christian burial.

Still more liable to abuse (although we do not hear any complaint of it), must have been the right of girth, or sanctuary, which was recognised as belonging to the Templars' houses as well as to those of the Knights of St. John. It was to their character as *crucesignati* that the Templars and Hospitallers owed this privilege, which strictly was an adjunct of churches and churchyards, and the token of it, as well as of the many other exemptions enjoyed in common by the two orders, was the cross which they engraved upon all buildings belonging to them. In the comprehensive charter‡ granted by Alexander II. to the Scottish Templars in 1236, there is formal recognition of this right of sanctuary as applying to murder, robbery, and other crimes of violence—*flemyngyrth, murthir et latrocinio et forsemento.* The tradition of the privilege lingered for centuries after the right itself had been abolished, and there is an odd story of an old woman, so late as the beginning of the present century, taking refuge in a

* Wilcke, *Geschichte des Tempelherrenordens*, II. 230.

† Robertson's *Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, II. 17.

‡ *Reg. Ep. Aberdon.*, II. 269; and *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, 1424-1513, No. 1791.

Temple tenement and defying the town officers to lay hands on her in that secure retreat.*

In the charter by Alexander II. which has just been mentioned, and the terms of which are in great part a mere repetition of a similar document granted by Henry III. of England in 1227,† the various civil privileges enjoyed by the Scottish Templars are enumerated and confirmed. They held their lands not only with the common feudal rights of *sac* and *soc*, *tol* and *theam*, *infangthief* and *outfangthief*, but also, as *in perpetuam elemosinam*, with freedom from all feudal aids and exactions, whether for the king himself or his ministers. They were exempt from *scot* and *gild*, from attendance with the king's host and in his courts, from the casualties of ward and relief, and from all services connected with the royal castles, fleets, parks, and houses. Any lands which they might reclaim and cultivate, even within the bounds of the royal forest, were to be exempt from the forest laws. Finally in fairs, harbours, and markets, and on highways and bridges, no dues or tolls were to be taken from the Templars or their serfs or tenants, while any fines or forfeitures incurred by these dependents were to be made over to the order. The extraordinarily privileged position of the military orders as landlords can hardly perhaps be better indicated in brief and in fine than by a quotation from a charter of William the Lion, granting certain lands to the Priory of St. Andrews 'with the same freedom from all custom, service, and exaction as is everywhere enjoyed by the brethren of the Hospital and of the Temple.'‡ Evidently the conditions on which the Templars held their lands were regarded as a model of the most favourable kind of tenure.

The estates thus possessed were scattered over nigh every part of Scotland, from Drumfriesshire and Wigtown north to Forres, Nairn, Inverness and Dingwall. In fact, as one may see from the letters issued by Edward I. in favour of the

---

* *Abstract of Chartulary of Torphichen*, Introduction, p. 3.

† Dugdale's *Monasticon*, VI. 844.

‡ *Reg. Prior. St. Andreæ*, pp. 227, 264.

Templars in 1296, there was but one Scottish sheriffdom—that of Argyll—in which they owned no lands.* Their particular estates, however, it is as a rule impossible to identify, for in the aggregate of so-called Temple Lands, familiar to every Scottish lawyer and antiquary, they are confused with the original possessions of the Knights of St. John who succeeded to the property of the Templars on their suppression. But the mere extension of the name of Temple Lands to the estates of the Hospitallers would suffice, even if we had no more effectual means of definite comparison, to show the preponderance of the Templars' possessions. From a report, however,† which was made in 1338 by Prior Philip de Thame of the Hospital, it appears that the Scottish estates of the Templars exceeded in value those of the Hospitallers in the same country by a third. The Templars in Scotland, it is there said, used in time of peace to pay as 'responsions,' or annual contributions to the headquarters of their Order, the sum of 300 merks, while the Hospitallers paid only 200 merks. Responsions were usually fixed at one-third of the gross receipts of the order in any district, so that the annual income of the Scottish Templars before the outbreak of the desolating War of Independence must have been about £600. After the vague statements one often sees about the vast wealth of the Templars, this sum will perhaps appear strikingly small. Not only is it, at the most, a mere fifth of the annual income of the order in England—a difference due doubtless in great part to the comparative poverty of the northern kingdom—but, as may be seen from the ancient rental of Kelso, ‡ it was inferior even to the revenue in some cases enjoyed by a single Scottish abbey. It is clear that the Templars in Scotland, though fairly well endowed, were not, for so popular an order, burdened with extravagant wealth.

The bulk of their possessions was doubtless situated in the Lothians. Round the preceptory of Ballantrodach their lands

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, II. 724.

† *The Knights Hospitallers in England* (Camden Society), pp. 129, 201.

‡ Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, pp. 161-179.

art of which, as appears from a charter of the year 1350 in e General Register House, was obtained from the second or ird Alexander) stretched down the Esk to Carrington and arviestou, and up towards the Moorfoot Hills by Halkerston, tterston, Rosebery, and Yorkston. In the richer flats ›wards Gullane and Aberlady, they had the acres which fterwards became the barony of Drem. Temple Liston, the lder name of Kirkliston, shows their presence on the Almond ı Linlithgowshire, which is proved also by the mention of heir neighbours at Liston in the Inquisition of 1309; but the ne old Norman church at that place was not in their hands. ιt Falkirk and in the carse around it they had land and salt ›its. Like most of the better endowed monasteries, they ›wned property in Berwick, that great and wealthy seaport, which seemed to the chronicler of Lanercost a second Alexındria, while in Glasgow, as yet a poor episcopal burgh, truggling hard against the oppression of Rutherglen, they ›ossessed, by the gift of Bishop Jocelin, a tenement (probably n the Stockwell) worth twelve pence yearly, and a right of fishing in the yet unpolluted Clyde.* The Temple Lands in Rutherglen itself may be set down as belonging to them, seeing that letters on their behalf, but not on the Hospitallers', were addressed by Edward I. in 1296 to the *vicecomes* at that place. Spottiswood, copying blunderingly from the inquisition of the English Templars' lands made in 1185,† has spoken of their house at Oggerston in Stirlingshire, and in this he has been incautiously followed not only by George Chalmers, but also by so learned and careful an antiquary as Cosmo Innes, who, in one of his books, includes the name of Oggerston as the site of a preceptory of Knights Templars in a geographical index of mediæval Scotland. As a matter of fact, however, '*baillia de Ogereston, apud Stiucle,*' was not in Scotland at all,

* Bain's *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, III. 432; *Chartulary of Newbottle*, 86, 127, 134; *Chartulary of Holyrood*, 83; *Reg. Prior. St. Andreæ*, 344; *Reg. Ep. Glasg.*, I. 37; Charter in Scottish General Register House; *Abstract of the Chartulary of Torphichen, passim; Processus contra Templarios in Scotia* in Wilkins's *Concilia*.

† Dugdale's *Monasticon*, VI. 829.

but within the territory belonging to the English earldom Huntingdon, and the Templars' lands there were granted them by one or another of the kings of Scotland as holder that fief. Stiucle is not Stirling, but Stewkley in Huntin donshire, while the ruins of Oggerston may be found marke on any map of that county a few miles to the south of Pete borough.

Oddly enough the Scottish possessions of the Templars c which we have most knowledge were those lying in the re mote district of Deeside, in Aberdeenshire and the Mearns Shortly before 1239 Walter Bisset, the head of that powerfu family which within a few years was to come to ruin through the suspicion that its members were concerned in the murder of the young Earl of Athole at Haddington, built a house for the order in what was then the undivided parish of Culter. This house, which is the only Scottish preceptory we know of besides Ballantrodach, was erected on the south side of the Dee, where also was situated the greater part, if not the whole, of the land attached to it. Blairs, Tulichezirt, Estirtully, Kincolsy or Kincausy, and the two Deliburries or Tilbouries are still recognizable in the geographical nomenclature of the present parish of Maryculter.*

Within a few years the possessions of the order on Deeside were augmented by a grant of the church of Aboyne, some thirty miles up the river, which was conveyed *ad proprier usus* by Ralph, the Bishop of Aberdeen, between 1239 and 1249. By the terms of the grant the Templars were bound to maintain a vicar in the church, and to present him, duly qualified, to the Bishop, to whom he should be answerable in spiritual matters and for the cure of souls, while to the Templars he was to account for the temporalities of his benefice. It is significant of the position of Scotland in the Templars' hierarchy that this episcopal donation was confirmed by Pope Alexander IV. in a Bull addressed to the Master and brethren of the Knighthood of the Temple in England. That the rights thus conferred on the Order were exercised we have evidence in

---

* *Liber de Calchou*, I., 191. *Reg. Ep. Aberdon.*, II., 288-93.

the record of the presentation of a certain John of Annan, King's Chaplain, to be vicar of Aboyne in 1277.*

Ten years later the Templars were engaged in an arbitration concerning their lands at Culter, and from a copy of the sentence, fortunately preserved in the episcopal chartulary of Aberdeen,† we get a most interesting glimpse of their relations with the ecclesiastical orders in Scotland, and of the kind of disputes to which their extraordinary privileges gave rise. The parish church of Culter, which embraced under its jurisdiction both sides of the Dee, belonged to the Monks of Kelso, who had obtained from Pope Urban IV. an indult to the effect that no one in any of their parishes should rebuild any church or chapel without their consent. In spite of this the Templars had lately rebuilt the chapel at their preceptory at Culter, and also refused to pay the tithes due from their lands. The monks therefore asked for payment of the tithes, and for the destruction of the chapel. To this the Templars replied by a reference to their privileges. They were exempted, they said, from the payment of tithes from waste lands which they had brought into cultivation, and in such a category were the lands of Estirtully, Kincolsy, and the two Deliburries, as well as those of Tulichezirt and Blairs, which had formerly been part of the royal forest. Farther, it was their privilege in these waste lands to erect churches with cemeteries for themselves and their vassals and also for wayfarers. The parish church of Culter was on the north bank of the Dee, and, as the river had no bridge, their men, living on the other side, often could not get to mass without danger. On this account they had built the chapel, with cemetery and baptistery, at their house at Culter, and had possessed it peaceably, along with the tithes of their lands, for more than forty years. The dispute, after reference to arbiters appointed by the Pope, was settled in 1287 by a compromise very favourable to the Templars, who were allowed to keep their chapel and teinds, but adjudged to pay, as compensation to the monks of Kelso, the sum of eight marks a year. The

---

* *Reg. Ep. Aberdon.*, II., 271, 272. † *Ibid.*, 288-93.

result of this virtual disjunction of the southern part of the parish is seen in the existence of the two parishes of Peterculter and Maryculter at the present day.

The average number of Templars in Scotland is, of course, not ascertainable, yet by inference we may conclude that it was but small. At the extinction of the order there were between two and three hundred members in England, and, if we keep in mind the wealth of the Templars there, represented by a revenue of more than £3000 a year, and the multitude of their preceptories, which were about forty in number, it cannot be imagined that the brethren in poor and sparsely-peopled Scotland, with their income of some £600 a year, were ever more numerous than forty or fifty.* This, however, is not to say that the order contained on an average no more than forty or fifty Scottish members. Until the fall of Acre in 1291, the great majority of the Templars, made up of men of all nationalities, must have been stationed at the various posts in the Holy Land, while even after that event most of them would naturally be found at the headquarters of the order in Cyprus. We know, too, that Knights were received in any preceptory, and were moved about from one kingdom to another. Thus, for example, a certain Robert the Scot, in his examination by the English Inquisitors in 1309, admitted that he had twice been received into the order—once at the Pilgrim's Castle in Palestine, and the second time, after desertion and repentance, at Nicosia in Cyprus. Again, Robert de Hamilton, who was examined at Lincoln in the following year, said he had been admitted at the preceptory of Dynnesley in Hertfordshire.† And yet again we hear of a Richard Scot received as a serving brother at Paris, and of a John Scot admitted at a house in the County of Ponthieu.‡ Doubtless, therefore, there were Scottish Templars stationed from time to time in many parts of Western Christendom, as well as in

---

* Addison's *Knights Templars* (second edition), pp. 103, 467. *The Knights Hospitallers in England, passim.*

† Wilkins's *Concilia*, II., 345, 365.

‡ Michelet's *Procès des Templiers*, I., 292 ; II., 36, 132-3.

the East, while, on the other hand, knights of other nationalities must have been often sent to the Scottish houses. In most cases these knights would naturally be Englishmen, and it is noteworthy that all the Templars mentioned in the Scottish Inquisition of 1309 as being quartered in the Scotch preceptories are also described as born in England. The Templar, of course, had no nationality from the moment he assumed the red cross. He was the soldier of Christendom, and not of any particular country or kingdom, and so could pass from one realm to another, finding everywhere, in the prior and preceptory of his order, the only master and home that he owned. In Scotland this general cosmopolitism must have well accorded with the peculiar character of the Scottish knights. These would, in almost every case, be members of the Norman baronial class, introduced by David I. from England, and in ways of thought and feeling, and often, too, from family interest, they would generally be more in sympathy with Englishmen than with the people among whom they lived.

Although there exist no remains of any preceptory of Scottish Templars, we may be sure that the houses of the order to the north of the Tweed were of the same kind as those in England. The ruins at such places as Temple Bruere in Lincolnshire and Temple Balsall in Warwickshire, show a half-baronial, half-monastic type of structure, with strongly fortified towers, and enceinte enclosing a stately hall which served for refectory, and a chapel which, like that of the Temple in London, appears sometimes to have been of circular shape. Of this type, doubtless, though on a smaller and humbler scale, were the Scottish preceptories at Ballantrodach and Culter. The Templars who inhabited them were of three classes, knights, chaplains, and serving brothers.* The knights, who alone were the proper and original Templars, were distinguished by the famous white mantle with a red cross on the left breast, which they wore over a complete suit of chain mail. Each knight had three horses and an esquire, and whatever may be

* The general organisation of the Order is described by Addison, chapter iv. Its rule is printed in Wilcke, II. 203-22.

signified by the well known seal bearing the device of two cavaliers on one saddle, the Templars were expressly forbidden to ride in this manner. The serving brethren *(fratres servientes)*, though taking the vows of the order, were only a kind of inferior attendants, and their inferiority was marked by the black or brown robe which they wore. They served the knights as esquires, tending their horses and following them to the field armed with bows, bills, and swords, while at home they did the menial work of the preceptory. The chaplains were ordinary ecclesiastics who had been admitted to the order that they might perform divine service and administer the sacraments to the brethren. In addition to these, a house of Templars generally contained some servants and esquires who were not members of the order.

The administration of the preceptory was conducted by the Master or Preceptor, with advice of the other brethren, who formed his chapter. This form of government prevailed in all grades of the order, from the highest downward. As the Grand Master in Jerusalem or Cyprus was advised by the Priors of the various provinces, and the English Master at London by the Masters of Scotland and Ireland and the preceptors of the three kingdoms, so the Scottish Master had for councillors the brethren under his command. The composition of a chapter at Ballantrodach may perhaps be gathered from the list of witnesses to a charter* granted expressly with counsel and consent of the brethren there by Master Ranulf Corbet, about 1180. In this list we find the names of brother Roger, the Almoner, brother Alan, the Preceptor, brother Anketin, brother William, Warin, the chaplain, and Peter, Walter, John, and Hugh, 'our clerks.' Legal documents affecting the property of the order were usually signed at a chapter, where also disputes were settled and appointments to offices or benefices made. Some of the witnesses at the Scotch inquisition of 1309, spoke of the chapters in Scotland being held by night and in secret, but it is noteworthy that no one had ever seen or heard of the most solemn and mys-

* *Reg. Ep. Glasg.*, I. 37.

terious ceremony of the order—the reception of a new brother—taking place at any of them. Doubtless the most important and exciting of the Scottish chapters were those convened to meet the Master of the Temple at London, when, in the ordinary exercise of his office, he came down to visit the Scottish houses, to correct the faults of their discipline, and remove any brethren who had proved themselves incompetent or unworthy.

The round of life in the preceptory was the common monastic one. The brethren were bound to daily observance of all the canonical hours from matins to compline. In the refectory they ate their meals in silence, while one read aloud some passage of scripture, or homily, or sacred legend; four days a week they abstained from flesh, and on Fridays had nothing but Lenten fare. At supper it was commanded that wine should be used but sparingly, and when compline was over, all went to bed, conversation, save in case of absolute necessity, being forbidden after they had left the common hall. Every day a tithe of the bread was given to the poor, its distribution being the duty of the almoner, whose office is more than once mentioned. The vow of chastity was so strictly interpreted that the knights were forbidden to accept any service from a woman—even so much as a basin of water for washing the hands. Of course they were denied all the ordinary luxuries of apparel. They might not wear furred garments, pointed shoes, or baldricks: the adornment of their arms with gold and silver was discouraged, neither might they suffer their hair and beards to grow to picturesque length. The delights of hunting and hawking, too, were prohibited. 'None of you,' so ran their rule, 'may catch one bird with another, or shoot with bow or cross-bow in the forest, or ride shouting after the hounds. Your strength is devoted *ut leo semper ferietur*—to the smiting of the adversary that goeth about like a lion seeking whom he may devour.'

Such, at least, was the rigour of the rule given by St. Bernard, but there is no question that in later times that rule was greatly relaxed. From the first its stern monastic character must have been profoundly modified by the fact that the

Templars were not only religious devotees, but men-at-arms, who

> 'With a stronger faith embraced
> A sword, a horse, a shield.'

The preceptory, indeed, must have been an odd mixture of the monastery and the feudal castle, where mailed and bearded monks passed from the narrow cell, the solemn chapel, and the droning refectory, to the armoury where hung the red-cross shield and the banner of Beau-seant, to the stables where the war-horse champed and whinnied, and the tilt-ground where martial exercises were practised. Among minor and particular causes of relaxation none perhaps can have been more effectual than the rule which allowed married brethren to be associated to the order on condition that they and their wives made over their property to it. These married brethren were not members of the order, inasmuch as they had not taken the vows, nor been initiated, and consequently they might not wear the white habit. They participated, however, in the privileges of the Order, received pensions from its funds, and sometimes, in spite of the prohibition of St. Bernard, were allowed to live in the preceptories—of course apart from their wives. In Rymer's *Fœdera* * we have records of a number of pensions of this kind granted by the English Templars. A certain Richard Osmund, for example, had 3d. a day for food, and 20s. a year for clothes, in return for a donation beforehand of £24, while the widow of Sampson of Hull received an annual allowance of corn, straw, forage, and firewood, besides the pasturage of two cows, and the liferent of a house and garden, in consideration of a grant of lands which she had made to the Templars out of her dowry. That the practice prevailed in Scotland may be seen from an unpublished charter in the Scottish General Register House, † granted in 1354 by Thomas Lyndsay,

* III., 292-94.

† For access to this and other documents in H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh, the author is indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Maitland Thomson, Curator of the Historical Department there.

Master of the Hospitallers as successors to the Templars, which narrates certain events that had occurred near Ballantrodach in the Templars' time. According to this document, a certain William the son of Geoffrey of Halkerston—a man 'fonder of ease than of labour'—conveyed his wife's property at Esperston to the Templars and was, as part of the bargain, received into their preceptory, and maintained there for the rest of his days, his wife with her children being left in a house which had been reserved for her on a corner of the estate. It is evident that such a practice, offering as it did a life of privileged ease to idle and selfish persons, must have been very pernicious alike to the community at large and to the Templars, whose discipline it was bound to relax. In this particular case it not only wrought gross injustice to a family which was robbed of its inheritance, but resulted, as we shall see farther on, in a series of acts of cruelty, oppression, and treachery which forms the blackest blot on the history of the Templars in Scotland.

Passing from the preceptory and its inmates to the lands around it, one has to note that these, like the generality of monastic lands at the time, were doubtless partly tilled by serfs *adscripti glebae*, and partly farmed out to husbandmen who paid their rent in money as well as in services and in kind. What these services were like on the lands of Ballantrodach we may learn from some charters of the fifteenth century preserved among the Arniston papers,* which, although they refer to a time when the Templars' lands had long been in the possession of the Hospitallers, represent doubtless a state of things that had remained unaltered for centuries. The tenants of Utterston and Yorkston were bound to do so many days' ploughing in winter and harrowing in Lent, and in autumn they were required to labour at harvest in some cases for three full weeks. They must also lend their horses to carry a load from Ballantrodach to the Templars other lands at Kirkliston—an obligation which was known as the Listonlade. While performing these enforced

* *Historical MSS. Commission*, Report III., Appendix, p. 414.

labours, however, they were fed—and not ill-fed—by the Templars who had to give them their 'disjune' and to provide for each man's supper a peck of meal and a pound of cheese. Of course they were all 'thirled' to the Templars' mill, which, along with the baronial dovecot, probably stood close to the preceptory gates. One of the conditions of a tenancy under the Templars was that on the tenant's death the order took half of his goods if he left no heir, or a third if he were survived by wife or children.* Doubtless it was also the custom in Scotland, as in England, that the tenants were forbidden to sell any horse colts foaled upon their lands, and to marry their daughters without license.† The latter of these restrictions was a common feudal condition, while the former was evidently meant to provide the order with a supply of good horses for purposes of war.

It was, of course, from the rents of their estates that by far the greatest part of the Templars' wealth was obtained. Another source of income was found in the tithes of the churches bestowed upon them, which, as in the case of the church of Aboyne, they appropriated to their own uses, filling the cure with a vicar, who no doubt was underpaid. Something also was derived from the *confratriae* or collections which they were authorised to make in churches other than those that belonged to them, and even, as has been seen, in churches closed by sentence of interdict at the time. The money thus gained seems to have been turned to the best account, for the Templars, in all that we know of them, shew as good business men. The Scottish burghs soon found it necessary to protect themselves against their encroachments by enacting that no Templar should meddle in buying or selling goods belonging to the guild unless he were a guild brother.‡

The order, however, must have had a high reputation for trustworthiness in money matters, else it would not have be-

---

* *Reg. Ep. Aberdon.*, II., 260.

† Addison's *Knights Templars*, p. 109.

‡ *Curia Quatuor Burgorum* in Acts of the Scottish Parliament, I., 704.

come, as it did, virtually the greatest banker of the time. Not only was the money collected for the Holy Land commonly paid into the hands of the Templars and by them transmitted to the East,* but laymen also habitually found in the Templars' houses a safe place of deposit for their wealth, while these houses were often named in contracts as the places where payment was to be made of money due. When the Sieur de Joinville, for instance, received the arrears of his pay from St. Louis at Acre, he at once banked the greater part of the sum with the Commander of the Palace of the Temple there.† The Temple of London seems to have been a kind of thirteenth century Bank of England, where the King and his nobles, as well as the rich burghers of the capital, regularly kept their money and jewels. Matthew Paris tells us how the treasure of Herbert de Burgh, the great and patriotic Justiciary, was entrusted to the Templars, and how they refused to surrender it to King Henry III.; and what is still more curious, he gives the form of a bond by which the money-lenders of Cahors in Guienne—those same usurers who are damned by Dante to the seventh circle of the Inferno—bound their debtors to repayment at the 'New Temple' in London.‡ There are several instances of important money transactions concerning Scotland being settled in a similar manner through the medium of the great military order. When, in 1225, Queen Ermengarde, the widow of William the Lion, bought the lands on which she meant to found the monastery of Balmerinoch, it was arranged that the title deeds of the property should be deposited at the Temple in London until the price was paid down there. Three years later, Roger le Bigod bound himself to pay two thousand pounds of silver at the same place on behalf of Alexander II., while in 1282 Alexander III. was apparently under obligation to deposit a sum of money there.§ How St. Bernard would have mourned over all this, and especially over the reception

* Bliss's *Calendar of Papal Registers*, I. 74, 170, 384, 423.

† *Joinville* (Wailly's edition), p. 272. ‡ *Matthew Paris*, III. 232, 329.

§ *Liber de Balmerinach*, pp. 6, 7; Bain's *Calendar*, I. 183-5; Rymer's *Foedera*, II. 217.

of the Cahors bonds, it is easy to imagine, and certainly the successors of Hugh de Payens and Godfrey de St. Omer would have had some difficulty in making it out to be a fashion of smiting the lion.

What has been said so far almost exhausts the known history of the Scottish Templars until the great interregnum and the beginning of the troubles with England. Only two small details, in fact, remain to be added. The Master of the Temple in Scotland, whoever he was, seems to have taken part in the unfortunate Egyptian Crusade of 1249, since he is mentioned in the Cotton MS.* as an authority for the amount of St. Louis' ransom, and in 1255 we find the name of Richard the Almoner of the Templars in the list of counsellors of the Comyns' party removed by the influence of Henry III.† The latter detail supplies the only instance of a Templar busying himself in the politics of Scotland, while the former adds another figure, though not another name, to the meagre roll of Scottish Crusaders. As companions in the eighth Crusade, this shadowy Master of Ballantrodach would have the Earl Patrick of Dunbar (who, however, died at Marseilles on the outward journey), and the equally vague 'Monseigneur Hugues d'Escoz,' who, according to Joinville, '*moult bien se prouva en la sainte Terre.*'‡

With the beginning of the last decade of the thirteenth century, our information about the Scottish Templars is suddenly and substantially increased. While from the preceding century and a half we have the names of only two Masters of the Temple in Scotland—Bartholomew and Ranulf de Corbet—the subsequent twenty years yield the names of no less than four. The first of these, Brian de Jay, appears in the Ragman Rolls as *Preceptor Militiae Templi in Scotia*, in July 1291, and next month he is found receiving from King Edward two grants of oak trees from the forests of Clackmannan and Selkirk. Next year he was appointed to act in place of the

---

* *Matthew Paris*, VI. (Appendix), 521.

† Acts of the Scottish Parliament, I. 419.

‡ *Chronicon de Lanercost*, 54 ; *Joinville*, 148, 386.

English Master, Guido de Foresta, and on the elevation of Guido's successor, the hapless Jacques de Molay, to the Grand Mastership of the whole order, Brian was appointed to the command of the English province.* His successor in Scotland was John de Sautre, a member of a family which seems to have given several brethren to the Order, since mention is found of three other de Sautres as Templars about this time.† Both Brian and de Sautre appear to have been Englishmen, and about the former two or three curious and picturesque anecdotes have been preserved, which shew him, with strange vividness, as a sinister figure, the very embodiment of the cruelty, arrogance, and impiety with which the name of Templar was associated in the order's later years. At the English inquisition in 1309, one witness asserted that Brian de Jay had denied Christ to be true God and man, and had said that the least hair in a Saracen's beard was worth a Templar's whole body. Worse still, on a certain winter's day, when some poor men asked alms for the sake of Our Lady, Brian had answered, 'Go and be hanged with your lady!' and, throwing down a farthing on the frozen mud, had made the wretches grovel and pick it up with their mouths.‡

It is true that the evidence given against the Templars at their dissolution is not to be accepted with implicit faith; but there is from another source a very ugly story about Brian's conduct in Scotland. Mention has already been made of William, the son of Geoffrey of Halkerston, who conveyed his wife's estate at Esperston to the Templars, and became an inmate of their preceptory at Ballantrodach. The gift (so at least it was asserted) had been made only for the husband's lifetime; yet on his death Brian de Jay, then evidently Master of the Temple in Scotland, proceeded with a band of followers to expel the widow and her children from the house in which they lived. When she resisted and closed the door in his

* *Rotuli Scotiae,* I. 4, 5 ; Stevenson's *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland,* I. 346 ; Addison's *Knights Templars,* 547.

† *Ragman Rolls,* 139 ; *Documents Illustrative of Sir Wm. Wallace* (Maitland Club), p. xxxix ; Wilkins's *Concilia,* ii. 341, 343. 356.

‡ Wilkins's *Concilia,* II. 383, 386.

face, the Templar ordered his men to break their way in and drag her out by main force. This was done, and as the poor woman clung desperately with both hands to the door of her dwelling, a ruffian in the band unsheathed his dagger and cut off one of her fingers. So, in the words of the old charter which tells the tale, they dragged her forth '*vulneratam, clamantem, et ululantem,*' and Brian de Jay took possession of the house and inheritance from which she had been iniquitously expelled.

This, however, is only the beginning of the story. Christiana (for that was the widow's name) seems to have been a woman of spirit, and as soon as her hand was healed she set out to seek the King at the Abbey of Newbottle, where he chanced to be lodging. The King, of course, must have been John Baliol, and one is glad to hear, for the credit of poor 'Toom Tabard,' that he was very effectually moved to indignation by her tale. By his royal letters Christiana was at once restored to her inheritance, and there she lived in peace until the sad outbreak of the war, by which the courts of justice were closed. The Templars, as might have been expected, took advantage of the commotion to lay hands upon Esperston, and the widow was again violently driven forth. So things went on till the eventful summer of 1298, when Brian de Jay, marching with a band of Welshmen to join the army of Edward I., arrived at Ballantrodach four days before the battle of Falkirk—or, in other words, on the 18th of July—and put up there for the night. With some faint hope of obtaining justice, Christiana's eldest son, Richard, betook himself to the Preceptory to plead his mother's cause. He was well received by Brian, who promised, if he would guide the Welshmen on their march towards Kirkliston, to make all right there. Private orders, however, were given to the Welsh captain to make away with the young man, who, accordingly, was treacherously slain next day at Clerkington (now Rosebery), when he came to fulfil his engagement. Thenceforward the disputed land at Esperston remained in the hands of the Templars until the dissolution of their order.

Such is the story which one finds told with wonderful vivid-

ness and circumstantiality in the Hospitallers' charter of 1354, to which reference has already been made. As embodying with solemn legal attestation a tradition which then was only sixty years old, and which from its relation to particular legal rights and claims was more likely than usual to be preserved with accuracy, it may surely be accepted as authentic. Certainly no other extant story gives a more striking or significant picture of the lawless violence which Scotland endured through the aggression of Edward I., or enables one better to understand old Barbour's impassioned eulogy of freedom. As for the Templars, it serves to confirm some of the most serious charges against them, and to show Brian de Jay as a somewhat blacker Bois-Guilbert. With the traditional insolence of his order, however, Brian evidently combined its characteristic bravery, and when, three days after the treacherous murder of the widow's son, he fell, the only slain man of note on the English side at Falkirk, he left behind him the reputation of a 'templer of pris' and a 'douhty man.' The exact circumstances of his death are variously related, for while Trivet says that he fell in the beginning of the battle, and the chronicler of Lanercost that he was killed while too rashly charging the Scottish schiltrons, Hemingford and Robert de Brunne assert that he came to his end through pursuing the Scottish fugitives till his horse floundered in a bog and left him at the mercy of the foe.* Along with him was slain the Master of the Scottish Templars—doubtless the John de Sautre already mentioned. Following an error of Lord Hailes, several writers have spoken of the Preceptor of the House of St. John at Torpichen as killed along with Brian at Falkirk, but the words of Trivet, '*socius ejus* (*i.e.*, *Preceptoris Militiæ Templi in Anglia*) *qui erat Preceptor Scotiæ*,' make it indubitable that the Templar, and not the Hospitaller, was the man.

For all the crimes and errors of the Templars a dreadful reckoning was soon to be held. Within a decade after the death of Brian de Jay, the order had been attacked by Philip

* The various accounts of the battle are brought together in *Documents Illustrative of Sir William Wallace* (Maitland Club). See also *Trivet* (Oxon 1719), p. 313.

the Fair of France, and ere fourteen years were over it
ceased to exist. This is not the place to discuss anew the
vexed question of the Templars' guilt or innocence of man
the charges brought against them, or to tell over agai
detail the story of the greed and cruelty of Philip, the m
able weakness of Pope Clement, and the martyr-like her
of Jacques de Molay. The story is one of the blackest t
of inhumanity and injustice in the whole range of history,
whatever indignation the sufferings of the Templars
rightly stir, there is no doubt that their day of usefulness
over, and that their abolition was of benefit to Europe. A
the Saracens' capture of Acre in 1291, and the complete
final loss of the Holy Land, they had no longer any reason
existence. The similar order of Hospitallers, it is true, m
aged to secure a new lease of life which was to last for
centuries, by establishing itself as an outpost of Christend
in the island of Rhodes; but the Templars lacked either
foresight or the good luck to do likewise. In Cyprus, whit
they retired after the loss of Acre, they got into disputes w
the reigning family of Lusignan, while the utter perversion
their activities was shown by the fact that, in breach of
vows which forbade them to fight against their fel
Christians, they began to take part in the wars of West
Europe. We have seen the Templars of England and Sc
land enlisting in the army which Edward I. led agai
Wallace, and about the same time other members of
order drew their swords in the struggle between the hou
of Aragon and Anjou. The continued existence of a
military brotherhood, perfectly trained and armed, and re
to mix in the internal wars of Christendom, while neither p
sessed any natural tie or owned allegiance to any soverei
would have been a terrible calamity to Europe.

There was, however, no lack of causes at work to bring
order to a speedy end. The decline of the crusading sp
had much impaired the reverence and admiration in which
Templars were formerly held, and made men listen to sto
against them which doubtless had often a fatally good fo
dation. Their arrogance as well as their greed was proverb

more than a hundred years before their downfall Richard Cœur de Lion had scoffingly left them a legacy of his pride. A fraternity of soldiers, of course, could hardly be expected to shew a shining example of humility: on the contrary such incidents as Brian de Jay's brutal treatment of the widow of Esperston were only what one might look for from warriors whose manners and habits had been acquired in that sink of all dissoluteness and violence, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. It is morally certain, too, that among their Eastern surroundings the vow of chastity must have become mainly a mere dead letter; the ominous proverb, 'beware of the kisses of the Templars,' points to a corruption only too natural in that age, and too credible in this.

If all these causes combined to bring popular odium upon the order, there were others which were effectual to raise up dangerous enemies to it in high places. The numerous exemptions conferred by the Pope ensured the hostility of the clergy of all ranks, whose tithes were withheld, whose revenues from oblations were diminished, and whose jurisdiction, parochial and episcopal, was invaded. The nobles must have grudged the possessions heaped upon the Templars by their more pious ancestors, and, last and most dangerous of all, the kings of Western Europe, then just beginning to consolidate the fabric of monarchy, cast envious and jealous eyes upon their wealth and power. Both Edward I. and Edward II. of England robbed the Temple at London of large sums in money and jewels, but it was left for Philip IV. of France, with the aid of his obsequious creature the Avignonese Pope Clement V., to effect the thorough spoliation and destruction of the order.

In the beginning of 1307 the Grand Master Jacques de Molay came from Cyprus to Paris, with a train of knights and a hoard of treasure, on the invitation of the Pope. On the 13th of October in the same year he and all the members of the order throughout France were arrested by secret orders of Philip on charges of heresy, idol worship, and impurity. They were accused of renouncing Christ and all his saints at their secret initiation, of spitting and trampling on the cross

and using indecent ceremonies, of causing their chaplains t omit the words of consecration in the mass, of worshipping cat and a human-headed image in their chapters, and of re gular and universal indulgence in unnatural vice. Along wit these monstrous charges were some more credible accusations The Grand Master, it was said, and also the visitors and pre ceptors, presumed, although laymen, to absolve the brethre from their sins. Templars were forbidden to confess to an priest who was not a member of the order. Almsgiving and hospitality were not duly observed, and it was accounted no sin to acquire the property of others by fair means or foul.* To make good this indictment some nine hundred Templars were cast into the prisons of Paris alone, and subjected in many cases to horrible and nameless tortures, and when a number of the victims afterwards withdrew the confessions which had thus been extorted, one hundred and thirteen of them, including the Grand Master Jacques de Molay, were burned, as relapsed heretics, at the stake.

Edward II. of England hesitated at first to follow the example of Philip, but by strenuous exhortations from that monarch and from the Pope he was urged to take action, and on the 8th of January 1308, the English Templars were seized. Their examination did not take place for more than a year and a half, but at length, on the 20th of October, 1309, the Bishop of London and two other Commissioners began to investigate the charges against them. At that time there were two hundred and twenty-nine Templars in custody in England, but it was said that many others were still wandering about at large, and that some had escaped to Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. Orders had been given by King Edward for the seizure of the Scottish Templars at the same time as their English brethren,† but their examination was still longer delayed. It was not until the beginning of October, 1309, that the Inquisitor for Scotland, Master John de Solerio, papal chaplain and canon of Hereford and St. Radegund's, Poictiers,

---

* The articles of accusation are printed in Wilcke, II., 265-280.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, III., 45.

started on his northward journey from London, and that orders were given to John de Segrave, the English Guardian of Scotland, to bring up the Templars there for examination.* On the 17th of November along with William Lamberton, the politic and versatile Bishop of St. Andrews, Solerio opened the inquisition in Holyrood Abbey. Edinburgh, like the greater part of the Scottish Lowlands, was still at that time in subjection to the English, although Bruce was every day gaining strength in the northern wilds and the fastnesses of Galloway and Carrick. Most of the year 1309 had been consumed in negotiations for a truce, and in the month of November Edward was being approached by ambassadors from France, who came to attempt a mediation between him and the Scots. The disturbed state of the country, however, and the growing power of Bruce are shewn by the inquisitors' statement that their work had to be hurried over because of the incursions of the enemy and the continual expectation of war. †

Only two Templars, Walter de Clifton and William de Middleton, appeared before the inquisitors at Holyrood, and according to their evidence they were the only members of the order left in Scotland. Both were Englishmen by birth, and had been initiated at English preceptories, the one by William de la More, the last Master of the Temple at London, and the other by his predecessor Brian de Jay. Their time had been spent partly in the English houses—at Temple Newsom, Temple Rockley, and Aslakeby, for example—and partly in the Scottish ones. Middleton had lived both at Culter and Ballantrodach, while Clifton had been for three years at the latter house as Master of the Scottish Templars in succession to John de Hufflete, also an Englishman, who in his time had filled that office for two years, but who now, along with some other brethren of the order, had fled beyond sea.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, III., 182.

† The report of this Inquisition, known as *Processus Factus contra Templarios in Scotia*, is in the second volume of Wilkins's *Concilia*, but is perhaps more accessible in the reprint in the *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, II., 1-16.

The examination of the Templars in France had been systematically accompanied with most horrible tortures, and in England also, although to a comparatively limited extent, the rack and other engines of torment had been used. That no torture was employed in Scotland is proved in the most convincing way not so much by the lack of all mention of it, as by the fact that the witnesses made none of those horrible and incredible confessions which elsewhere were extracted by mere physical pain. Of all the accusations against their order Clifton and Middleton admitted that one only which charged the Masters, Preceptors, and Visitors with usurping the priestly power of absolution. Middleton had seen and heard the English Master absolve the brethren from all sin—*a quocunque peccato*—'by the authority given unto us by God and St. Peter and our lord the Pope.' Clifton, who described the Grand Master as signing the penitents with the cross, believed that the absolution did not extend to the crime of murder or of violence offered to a priest. In all probability the witnesses, or else the reporter of their evidence, simply misunderstood the exercise of that mere disciplinary power of absolution from offences against the rules of the order which, according to the priest of the Temple Church at London, was possessed by the Grand Master and his representatives.*

The mysterious secrecy of their rites of initiation was what gave opportunity for the most horrible charges against the Templars, and Clifton sadly admitted that it was, and had long been, the cause of strong suspicion. He had, however, no startling revelation to make, and his story of his own reception, which is perhaps the most detailed and picturesque account of the ceremony that we possess, discloses a sufficiently solemn and edifying scene. After telling some Templars of his wish to become one of them, and being at first discouraged and told that he sought a great and hard thing in desiring to give up his own will and enter into obedience, he was at length introduced to a chapter held by the English Master at the Lincolnshire preceptory of Bruere. There, with

* *Addison*, 477.

joined hands and on bended knees, he asked to have the habit and brotherhood of the order. The Master questioned him as to possible impediments—was he in debt? was he affianced to a woman? had he any secret infirmity of body? When these questions had been answered in the negative, and the brethren present had given their consent to his reception, the ceremony of initiation at once took place, for with the Templars there was no period of probation. Still on his knees, the postulant promised to be servant for ever to the Master and brethren in defence of the Holy Land, and swore to God and the Virgin, placing his hand beneath a copy of the Gospels which had a cross depicted on it, that he would live in chastity, poverty, and obedience. Then the Master handed him the mantle and cap of the order, gave him the kiss of peace, and, making him sit down upon the ground, recited and explained to him certain of the rules of discipline.

In addition to the two Templars, nearly fifty witnesses, lay and clerical, were examined at Holyrood on that 17th of November, 1309; but their evidence, although strikingly significant of the general dislike and suspicion of the Templars, is almost entirely of the vaguest and most worthless kind. The abbots of Dunfermline, Holyrood, and Newbottle knew nothing for certain of any of the enormities mentioned in the articles of accusation, but had been told that such things were done, and thought the secret and nocturnal chapters most suspicious. The Warden of the Greyfriars at Haddington had a more particular grievance, for he had never heard of any Templar confessing to a friar. The chaplain of Liston, a 'neighbour' of the order in Scotland, declared that its members had always been hostile to the Church, and swore that for his own part he had not heard of any of them dying a natural death, nor had he ever seen a Templar's grave. This last statement, of course, has reference to the ridiculous story of the Templars burning the bodies of deceased brethren, and making the ashes into a powder for the younger brethren to drink as a pledge of secrecy. Somewhat more noteworthy was the evidence of brother Adam de Wedale, a monk of Newbottle, who asserted that the Templars gave no alms and

shewed no hospitality save to the rich and powerful, and
through their greed and injustice in seizing by fair mea
foul the possessions of their neighbours, they were gen
defamed. Doubtless, Brother Adam was thinking o
sufferings of the widow of Esperston, and the fate of he
who had been slain within a few miles of his own co
wall some nine years before, and in this part of the evi
we reach at last a grave and quite credible charge ag
the order. The same accusations of unjust greed and la
hospitality were repeated by William de Preston, Willia
St. Clair, and a few other young esquires (*domicelli*), wh
asserted that they had heard their fathers say that i
Templars had been good Christians the Holy Land w
never have been lost. Finally, some nine or ten o
Templars' own tenants and servants spoke of the secre
their chapters and their habit of giving and receiving
absolution.

This was all the evidence that could be got for the
demnation of the Templars in Scotland, and to most
have dispassionately studied the story of their fall, the
grains of serious and pertinent matter in its bushel of he
and irrelevance will seem to represent very nearly the
that could be said against them. But the order as a w
was prejudged and doomed on charges so monstrous as al
to carry their own refutation. Within six months afte
inquisition at Holyrood the burning of the 'relapsed' bre
had begun at Paris, no less than fifty-four being led out
single morning to the stake. In this island, fortunatel
such scenes of cruelty were witnessed. The Master o
English province, it is true, died a prisoner in the Tow
London; but in England no Templar was actually p
death, while the great majority, after making confessio
their guilt and being absolved and reconciled, were se
do penance in various monasteries, where a small pension
allowed for their support.

The formal abolition of the order was reserved fo
Council of Vienne, which met in the month of October,
and before which the great mass of hideous confession

tained under torture was produced. Nine Templars, however, unexpectedly made their appearance before the Council, demanding to be heard in defence of their brethren, and, to the credit of the Assembly be it said, the great majority of its members, including the English, Scottish, and Irish bishops,* decided in favour of their request. But the ruthless policy of Philip and the Pope was not to be so frustrated. Clement prorogued the Council, called a secret consistory of Cardinals on whom he could depend, and with their advice prepared an ordinance abolishing the order by way of 'prudent provision, not of condemnation.' This ordinance was published in the Council at its reassembling on the 3rd of April, 1312, and on that day, consequently, by the sole decree of the Pope and without consent of the Church, the Order of the Temple, one hundred and eighty four years after its formal incorporation at the Council of Troyes, ceased to exist.

The fate of the Scottish Templars has been the subject of much unprofitable conjecture by the more fantastic writers on the history of the order, and especially by those who have tried to trace a connection between the Templars and the Freemasons. The fact that only two brethren were arrested in Scotland has been regarded as especially mysterious, and the question has been asked, What became of the others? Michelet,† in support of the wild theory that the fugitive Templars formed themselves into secret societies, remarks it as significant that 'the most secret arcana of freemasonry are reputed to have come from Scotland, and the highest grades of the society have Scottish names.' In regard to such vague and vain imaginings, however, one does well to follow the example of Raynouard,‡ who declines to lift the 'mysterious veil of conjectures' by which the fate of the Scottish Templars has been explained. History is absolutely silent on the subject, nor, after all, is there anything so very mysterious in their disappearance. As has been already said, the number of

* Raynouard, *Monumens Historiques*, 187, *note*.

† *Histoire de France*, livre V., chap. 3, *note*.

‡ *Monumens Historiques*, 200-201.

Templars in Scotland can never have been great, and du
the disquieting and desolating Wars of Independence it m
have become smaller than ever. That war, too, would m
it all the easier for the brethren to escape when the news c
of the proceedings in France and England. Some, like J
de Hufflete, fled over the sea, probably to Norway or Denm
while others, perhaps, found a refuge in the little army of
excommunicated King Robert, whose fear of offending
French monarch would doubtless be vanquished by his de
to secure a few capable men-at-arms as recruits. This a
however, is a mere conjecture, which may pass for what it
worth.

But, while nothing is known of the escaped Templars, th
is fortunately a scrap or two of authentic information as
the subsequent fate of one of the captives.* On the 4th
February, 1318, Brother William de Middleton received fr
the Archbishop of York a certificate stating that the bea
on whose identity some doubts had been cast, was really
ex-Templar, and had spent three years and a half in the C
tercian monastery of Roche, and behaved himself well. N
year the same Archbishop wrote to the Prior of the Engl
Hospitallers, asking for payment of Middleton's pension, wh
apparently had been delayed. Evidently the Templars
this island, though robbed of their property and reduced t
dependant condition, were not left in absolute want. In fa
from a papal letter† addressed to certain English deans a
priors in 1318, reminding them that the Templars were not
be allowed to live in luxury on their pensions or save
money out of them, it would seem that their condition was
some quarters regarded as rather too easy. As for Middlet
he appears to have drawn his pension for but a few ye
longer, for if he is the same as the *quondam frater Willelmus
Middleton* mentioned in one of the documents of Coldingh
Priory ‡ as lately occupying a cell in that monastery, he m
have been dead in 1325.

* Raine's *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Register*, p. 2

† Bliss's *Calendar of Papal Registers*, II., 183.

‡ *Correspondence of the Priory of Coldingham* (Surtees Society), p. 16.

The main and original object of Philip the Fair had been to seize the Templars' possessions, and during the course of the judicial proceedings against them the greater part of their estates, both in France and England, passed into the royal hands. In the year 1311 and 1312 many Scottish nobles who had taken the English side—David Earl of Athole, for example, John of Argyll, David de Graham, and David Beton—were rewarded by Edward II. with gifts of Temple lands in England.* The moral and religious sense of Christendom, however, forbade a general and formal secularisation of property given for religious purposes, and on the suppression of the order its possessions, by a papal bull dated 16th June, 1312,† were transferred to the Knights of St. John. So far as Scotland was concerned, effect was given to this bull in November of the following year by letters from King Edward to his Scottish chancellor and chamberlain,‡ ordering that all the churches, houses, manors, lands and rents of the Templars in that country, with the crops in their fields and the ornaments of their churches, should be delivered to two Commissioners appointed by the Grand Master of the Hospital. It is odd to find such letters granted so soon before Bannockburn, but doubtless Albert de Nigro Castro and Leonard de Tibercis put King Edward's sign manual discreetly into their pockets, and trusted to the bull of His Holiness, when they crossed the Border and found themselves in a country where the real master was Robert Bruce.

Of the actual transference of the Scottish lands there is no record, but its accomplishment is an historic fact. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries all the known possessions of the Templars in Scotland—the houses of Ballantrodach and Culter, the church of Aboyne, the lands of Drem and Liston —are found in the hands of the Preceptor of Torphichen as local chief of the Knights of St. John.§ In these hands they remained until the Reformation, when, in the great scramble

* Bain's *Calendar*, III., 49, 51, 60, 61, 66. † Wilcke, II., 323.

‡ Rymer's *Fœdera*, III., 457.

§ *Abstract of Chartulary of Torphichen*, Introduction, pp. 7-10.

for ecclesiastical and monastic property, they were secured
Sir James Sandilands, the last Preceptor, who, having turn
Protestant, obtained from Queen Mary in 1563 * a grant of
the lands of his order in his own favour. Thus definit
secularised, the great aggregate of Temple Lands, in whi
the original possessions of the Temple and the Hospital we
hopelessly confounded, soon became dispersed among vario
owners. Ballantrodach, for example, passed to the Dundas
of Arniston, while the estates at Drem became the property
that shrewd and grasping lawyer, Thomas Hamilton, first Ea
of Haddington. † The distinctive character of the Temp
Lands, however, was long preserved because of the privileg
which still clung to them as relics of the ancient vast immun
ties of the military orders. In towns, for instance, the o
exemptions from scot and gild and from the dues of fairs an
markets persisted, as giving some claim to freedom from civ
obligations and burdens, and it was in token of these an
other privileges that the cross was so religiously kept engrave
on every Temple tenement within burgh. ‡ The exemptio
from payment of teinds, also, endured for more than a centur
as may be seen from the mention of it in Stair's *Institution*
(Book II., title 8, cap. 7, and Book IV., title 24, cap. 9). Bu
all these lingering relics of a vanished order have vanished i
their turn, and the Temple Land, as indicating a privilege
variety of tenure, is now as much a thing of antiquity as th
knighthood of the Temple itself. In Scottish law, as i
Scottish geography, the Templars have left, of all their powe
and glory, only the shadow of a great name.

ROBERT AITKEN.

---

* His charter is printed in the *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, II., 17-32.

† Omond's *Arniston Memoirs*, p. 2, and *Templaria*, Proceedings
Claim for John Hamilton, p. 2.

‡ *Templaria*, *ibid.*, p. 8.

Art. II.—THE CONSTABLE NUN'ALVARES.

SENHOR OLIVEIRA MARTINS, the gifted Portuguese author who has so graphically pictured us to ourselves in his *Inglaterra de Hoje*, has, among other and numerous works, left us a picture of his own too little known country in the Middle Ages, in the shape of a life of Nun'Alvares, the celebrated Constable of Portugal in the fourteenth century.

The name of Nuno Alvares Pereira is about as little known in England as that of the most obscure individual that ever existed, but his life covers such a wide sketch of the manners and customs of the age in his own country, and is so replete with adventures that took place in the stirring times that helped to make history, that we ought to feel deeply indebted to the author for the picture he has drawn of his country, and the framework in which he has set it.

On the 22nd October, in 1383, died King Ferdinand of Portugal without heirs, and the crown of that country devolved upon the house of Castille, very much in the same way that on the death of Elizabeth the crown of England devolved upon the Scottish house of Stuart; but, unlike England, that let things take their course, and submitted to the Scottish monarchy, the Portuguese would have none of Castille at any price, right or wrong, so they set up an illegitimate son of the late king and placed him on the throne, and he and his posterity ruled the country well and successfully as the House of Aviz; and in the maintenance of his usurpation against the Castilians, King John, for that was the name of the first of the line, was manfully helped by his friend, the Constable Nun'Alvares.

This might pass as a mere event of little interest, if it were not for the fact that the surroundings of the life of the Constable form a series of quaint pictures in the life and manners of the age, and are so intimately connected with our own country that the study of the book would repay those who are able to read it themselves, and for those who are not, the following pages purport to reproduce some of the scenes that it unfolds.

Among the orders of knights that took their rise from the necessities of pilgrims to the Holy Land, was the order of Knights Hospitallers, and these existed in Portugal as elsewhere. In the fourteenth century their occupation was gone, like that of the Templars, on account of the completeness of Mahometan conquest in Palestine, but the Knights Hospitallers themselves remained, without their special work to do. The Prior of the Hospital, as he was called, who had been a sort of abbot and colonel combined, was now useless, but rich, and instead of having hard work to do in a foreign land, he now vegetated in the house of his order at home. Now, therefore, we find that the Priory of the Hospital was seen to be a good place to provide maintenance for the illegitimate son of a king or an archbishop, and accordingly we find that Gonçalo Pereira, Archbishop of Braga, who had already made somewhat of a name for himself when Dean of Oporto by getting his bishop expelled, dedicated his son, Alvaro Gonçalves Pereira, to the life of a military knight, and getting him appointed Prior of the Hospital at Crato, the headquarters of the order in Portugal, at the early age of eighteen.

At his new post, Prior Alvaro Gonçalves occupied his time in diffusing liberal hospitality, in practising astrology, and in giving the rein to himself in the contrary direction to that in which his vows should have led him, to such an extent that he had thirty-two natural children by at least three different mothers, one of whom, in penance for her sins, it is but fair to relate, spent the last forty years of her life in fasting and alms deeds, never eating meat or drinking wine. One of the sons, Pedro, became Prior of Crato himself, and another, Nuno, became Constable of Portugal.

A word as to the retention of the military orders in the Peninsula. Their occupation was gone in Palestine, but by no means so in the Peninsula, which was not yet entirely free from Mahommedan occupation or even fear of further invasion, Spain yet having the Moorish kingdom of Granada in the south, and both Spain and Portugal having the Moors in force as hereditary and still powerful enemies on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar. The crusades lay more at home than abroad, hence

the necessity for the retention of forces devoted to the object of defence from the Moors; and hence the reason why King Denis of Portugal centralised the military orders as a national force, retaining the Templars under the new form of the Order of Christ, after they had been formally dissolved by the edict of the Pope, Clement the Fifth, the tool of Philippe-le-Bel of France, the ruthless persecutor of their order. The headquarters of the Order of Christ were at Thomar, where their immense monastery is still to be seen.

Another powerful order was that of the Hospitallers, their headquarters in Portugal being, as we have seen, at Crato. It was subject, in so far as military matters went, to the Crown, but in matters spiritual it was permitted to retain allegiance to the Grand Master of the Order at Rhodes, whither the Prior Alvaro Gonçalves betook himself in great state to render his allegiance.

A third order was that of the Military Knights of St. Benedict. It had its origin in the vow of a few knights on the eve of the battle of Ourique, where the Moors were defeated, binding themselves to die for their country and their faith. At a council at Coimbra they received the Cistercian rule; they had their headquarters first at Evora, and afterwards at Aviz, but they owed spiritual obedience to the Prior of the Cistercian monastery at Alcobaça. The name of Aviz arose from an accidental circumstance. When fixing on a lonely place to build a new house for their order, the knights could not find that the place was called by any particular name; so, from the mere chance that two birds happened to be standing on the proposed site, they gave it the name of 'Aves,' or 'Aviz,' hence the title of 'Master of Aviz' for the head of the house.

As the Hospital served for the fruit of the errors of an archbishop, so did Aviz for that of those of a king, and we accordingly find John, illegitimate son of King Pedro by Thereza Lourenço, installed at the age of thirteen as Master of Aviz, and afterwards conforming to his vows with not much greater fidelity than Alvaro of the Hospital.

John, Master of Aviz, is indeed the central figure of the time in his own country. He seems to have been a man of incompar-

able ability, of great resolution, of considerable patriotism, n
very particular as to ways and means, and of much tact an
prudence withal, just the man suited to the times—brave, wil
and politic, and with a good sense of the advisability of helpin
those that helped him. He was brought up in dissolute and un
scrupulous times, and what he saw or heard of at the court o
King Ferdinand could not have contributed to his respect o
people in high places. His murder of the queen's favourit
shows how he did not stick at trifles when it was advisable to ge
an awkwardly placed man out of the way, and at the same tim
affords an illustration of the way in which history repeats itself
the assassination being, in point of the actual perpetration of
the crime, very like that of the murder of Rizzio, the favourite
of Mary Queen of Scots.

Leonor Telles, the notorious wife of King Ferdinand, now on
his death-bed, had a favourite named Andeiro, Count of Ourem.
The Master of Aviz had the throne in view on the death of
Ferdinand, and a possible rival, and one that offered a good
excuse for being got out of the way, was Andeiro. One day
John bid adieu to Leonor and ostensibly set out to take up a
military command in the province of Alemtejo, but instead of
going on to his destination, he halted three leagues from Lisbon,
at a place called Santo Antonio do Tojal, whence he suddenly
returned to Lisbon at nightfall for the purpose of soliciting an
interview with the queen on the following day on some pretended
business of revising certain details of the instructions given to
him. He then went back to Tojal, whence he returned next
morning with some twenty followers. They stopped at the gate
of the castle, were admitted, and went upstairs.

'The Master, pale but quiet, advanced with a tragic air at the
head of his comrades. He had crime written on his face. No
one uttered a word. He knocked at the door of the Hall in
which the queen was. The door-keeper who opened it, seeing a
crowd of armed men, sought to bar their entrance, but they
thrust themselves in, and the Master advanced serenely, bowing
reverently before the queen: behind him his comrades formed in
a line as immoveable as the wall.' The queen was in mourning
for her late husband, and never looked more beautiful; by her

side Andeiro, a fine man of forty, clothed in scarlet, was on his knees at first, but he recovered his composure sufficiently to stand up before long. The queen, directing the master to be seated, said to him: 'Well, brother, what is this? For what purpose did you turn out of your way?'

The Master without taking his eyes off the favourite, replied that the frontier was large and the people few, an apparent reference to the position and defence of his province; and the queen pretending to agree, called her secretary to go over the list of vassals and hand the Master the names of those he wanted.

After these little preliminaries the spirits of the queen and her courtiers rose a little, and the nobles of the court surrounded the Master and began to converse with him, Andeiro inviting him to dinner with him. Another pressed the same invitation on him in favour of himself, but the Master told him in a whisper to get away thence as he had come to kill Andeiro.

'Not I,' was the reply, 'I'll stop and help you.'

'No—go and wait dinner for me, so that when this business is settled with the help of God, I can come and dine with you.'

While this conversation was going on Andeiro, suspicious, gave orders for his men to arm themselves, and the queen, looking at the Master's armed comrades broke out into the exclamation:

'Saint Mary; what a good way the English have: in time of peace they never carry arms but are dressed in fine clothes like ladies; but when war breaks out they then put on their arms and know how to use them too, as everybody knows.'

'Madam,' replied the Master, 'that is true enough; but they do that because they are mostly at war and seldom at peace; but we are mostly at peace and seldom at war. If we do not carry arms when we are at peace we shall not be able to carry them when at war.'

While he was saying this he was glancing now at the favourite and now at his fellow conspirators. The Count of Barcellos left, unwilling to be present at the consummation of the tragedy. Andeiro, pale and green with fright, was growing impatient at

the slow way in which his men were arming, and in a tremulous voice said to the Master:

'You, sir, anyhow, must have dinner with me.'

'I will not dine—I have done so elsewhere,' was the answer.

'Yes; you shall dine,' said Andeiro, 'and while you are talking I will tell them to get dinner ready.'

But the favourite was to dine no more, nor had he any intention of doing so with the Master: his motive was flight, and as he was attempting to get out of the room the Master caught hold of him by the wrist.

'Don't go,' said the Master, 'I want to tell you something first—now it's time for dinner.'

The conspirators took their leave of the queen and dragged her favourite into an adjoining apartment, where the Master of Aviz struck him on the head with his dagger, and as he was struggling to get back to the queen's apartment Ruy Pereira laid him dead with a sword thrust.

The palace gates were then closed and word was sent about the city for the people to run to the help of their popular favourite the Master, who, it was given out, was being murdered at the palace.

Another scene in the tragedy was the murder of the Bishop of Lisbon, but to understand this we must take a glance at a certain religious dispute going on at the time, namely, the question as to whether allegiance should be given to the Pope or to the then anti-Pope.

In 1378 there died at Rome, soon after he had arrived there, Pope Gregory the Eleventh, the last of the rightful line of Popes of Avignon, and the resumer of it at Rome, and Urban the Sixth was elected as the rightful Pope. But an anti-Pope, Robert, Cardinal of Geneva, a Frenchman, was elected by a dissatisfied party, and was recognised by the French as the rightful Pope, and lived at Avignon, under the name of Clement the Seventh—not, of course, the real Clement the Seventh, one of the Medici Popes, who died two centuries afterwards at Rome. There was thus a schism in the Church that affected nations as well, France and Castille holding to the anti-Pope Clement, while Portugal held to the real Pope Urban.

After the murder of Andeiro, Alvaro Paes and his retainers observed that the bells of the cathedral had not been set ringing when the safety of the Master was known, as the other church bells had been. The bishop, a Castilian, who had taken the side of the anti-Pope Clement, had ordered the church door to be shut, and had gone up into one of the towers, but the mob burst the door open, got up into the towers, and threw the bishop out into the street, the Prior of Guimaraens and a notary also perishing at their hands. The dead body of the prelate was dragged along the streets into the Rocio, where God was praised for the 'justice Our Lord ordered to be done to Pope Urban the Sixth against their schismatic and Castilian traitor because he did not go along with Holy Mother Church.'

Urban subsequently issued a brief pardoning the foul business of the murder of the bishop and prior on account of their schism.

The Master of Aviz was eventually set up on the throne of Portugal as John the First, and had to make good his right, or rather his want of it, by force of arms. The Portuguese were eventually successful in the decisive battle of Aljubarrota. In the long military operations, exclusive of Aljubarrota, we have an opportunity of confirming the statement of Ranke, that the wars of the Middle Ages were usually carried on in a desultory fashion in comparison with the more decisive butchery of quite recent times. He is amused at the spectacle of two Italian armies, in some petty squabble, each manœuvring so as to get out of the way of the other. The more warlike races of the Peninsula did not go in that direction so far as unwarlike Italy; they did get near to one another, but a great deal of time seems to have been spent in mere raiding and foraging and long sieges without proper appliances for assault: an instance of this is to be found in the siege of Lisbon by the Castilians in the war that broke out through the King of Castille asserting his claims against the Portuguese usurper. Both were named John, each being the first of his name on his respective throne—John the First of Castille and John the First of Portugal.

The Castilian lines are described as an 'improvised city.' The king had his head-quarters at Lumiar, about five miles from the then city of Lisbon, and from the centre of the modern one, and

had an army of twenty-five thousand men under Prince Charles of Navarre and the Master of Alcantara. They made light of the business they were upon, and music and festivity resounded throughout the camp. There were money changers, plenty of booths for the sale of drinks, and whole streets of loose women—'just as in a town,' the author somewhat quaintly remarks, perhaps as illustrative of one of the Middle Ages, when organisation in the direction in question seems to have been well advanced in more countries than one. The army had plenty of everything they did not want. For instance, they had plenty of rose-water, but were badly off for shoes. Moreover, 'Nobody thought of assaults; it was almost like a pleasure encampment in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, a magnificent plot of land, an incomparable sky, seductive landscapes, a sunny spring, play, banquets, women, looking on with folded arms at the inevitable collapse through hunger. Not even did they bring any materials for a siege, and scarcely any ladders and mantlets for assaulting the town.'

Horrors there were, but they were not those of battle, but of famine and pestilence.

'They had expelled from the city the useless mouths, the Jews, and the women of the town, whom' (the latter we presume) 'the Castilians received amicably.' The usual privations of siege arrived, and the author has given us the price to which provisions rose in the city: worked out in British money at the present rate of exchange we get about the following;—

Wheat, £5 16s. a quarter.
Wine, 1s. 1d. to 1s. 9d. a pint.
A hen, £1 14s.
An egg, 10d.
An ox, £65.

The price of wine does not at first show any great apparent extravagance, but when it is remembered that the price of wine at Lisbon is, and very likely was, about that of beer in London, the price it rose to during the siege becomes more conspicuous. It must also be remembered that money then went quite ten

times as far as it does now, and that to obtain the equivalent modern prices we must multiply the above by ten, let us say.

If the condition of the besieged was bad, that of the besiegers was not to be envied, for all their feasting and gaiety. They were smitten with the plague. It was of the bubonic kind; the symptoms were violent pains in the head, the eyes turned glassy, the speech was tremulous, and the walk hesitating like that of a drunken man; then came nausea and vomiting, the eyes got bloodshot all over, and the features deformed: this took several weeks to come on. As the attack got worse and the fever hotter, hæmorrhage and gangrene of the lungs set in, and then a general stupor in which the *black death* came on with tumours under the knee-joints and elsewhere. After death the body was found to be in an indescribable degree of dissolution that poisoned the atmosphere.

The plague was bad in July, but in August it assumed the proportions of a huge epidemic. At first only the rank and file took it, but it now began to spread among the officers, and the attacks became sudden. The admiral, the grand chamberlain, and the marshal that died were cut open, salted, and exposed to the sun, or had the flesh cut away from their bones, and were then sewn up and taken home to be buried. By the end of August the Castilians were dying at the rate of two hundred a day, the total loss amounting to two thousand. The Castilians therefore found themselves obliged to raise the siege both by land and river, and the Constable was able to come to the relief of the city from Palmella on the other side of the Tagus.

To what causes was the pestilence due? Was it to the insanitary condition that a camp of the Middle Ages may reasonably be supposed to be in, added to the torrid summer heat of Lisbon? No; causes there were, but not these. There were two causes at work—at least in the belief of the besiegers. One was an eclipse of the sun, from which the astrologers predicted mortality to the court; and the other was that God was vindicating the rights of the Church against the Castilians, who had invaded them by taking the schismatic side of the anti-Pope, the so-called Clement the Seventh. Such were the causes of the abandonment of the siege of Lisbon.

The hardships were not those of battle, though they were those of war. The desultoriness of the greater part of the campaign, combined with a certain chivalrous element that formed part of the character of the Peninsular from the avidity with which its inhabitants then read the books of knight-errantry, that Cervantes afterwards assigned to the secular arm of the housekeeper to light the fires with, has an illustration towards the close of the campaign of which the siege of Lisbon was the first operation.

'Nun'Alvares, now better' (from an illness) 'went to Evora, and wrote to the Master of Santiago and the Hospital, and to the Admiral and to all the vassals between the Tagus and the Guadiana to meet together and hinder the Castilians from entering the district. He knew that the Master of Santiago of Castille was threatening him with two thousand lances. Nuno had two thousand lances and crossbows on horseback, and five hundred infantry and foot crossbowsmen, and on the northern frontier the king had twice as many. While the Castilian general was getting ready, a letter arrived from Nuno informing him of the intended attack, according to the then chivalrous notion of war. As the invaders advanced, they had a series of skirmishes with the reapers who were getting in the harvest from the cornfields where the Portuguese were foraging and capturing. Remembering the critical day of Valverde, Nuno kept his eye constantly on the high ground on the horizon, and in one place saw the dark grey of the mountains dotted over with white. It was the tents of the Castilians, and soon a trumpeter came from the Master of Santiago to the Constable, who was seated on his camp-bed.

'"Senhor," said the messenger on his knees, "the Master of Santiago, my master, and Don Pedro Ponce and other lords and knights who are with them yonder at Feira, a league and a half off, send word that you may get ready for battle, and that it is approaching, for they themselves are ready."

'"Welcome with such news," was the answer.

'Nuno sent an esquire to the enemy, and the trumpeter came back to say that the Master of Santiago was waiting for him, but Nuno would not risk an attack on the heights or on the castle.

'"Why so many questions and answers," he said angrily, "if they want battle, it must be there on the flat ground in the valley of the Almeida, that they were treading on."

'The battle did not get to much beyond skirmishing, wasting the lands of the Master of Santiago, and pulling down and burning his olive trees, Nuno marching three leagues off to Zafra while the skirmishing was going on. Here there was a disturbance from the wine the foot-soldiers had drunk, and Nuno lost his mantle while quelling it. On the eve of Corpus

Christi he went and encamped at Burguillos, where the enemy had seven hundred lances, and celebrated the feast with a procession in his camp, just as if he had been at home instead of close to the enemy.'

There was evidently much of worldly prudence in the character of the Constable, who would not attack the Castilians at a disadvantage to himself. He had shown it earlier in the campaign, when attacking walled towns before the break of day was a favourite stratagem of his.

The battle of Aljubarrota, however, was by no means desultory, the contending parties coming to hard knocks. The two Johns were now face to face to try the question between Spanish right and Portuguese nationality.

Both kings were present in person, but John of Castille was ill, and could hardly be said to be in command; his actual commanders at the front were the Marquis of Villena and the Masters of Alcantara and Calatrava. John of Portugal was himself in command on his side, under him being the Constable and Mem Rodrigues and Ruy Mendes. The Spaniards had immense advantages, including that of sixteen pieces of artillery, the first brought into action in the Peninsula. They laboured, however, under an important disadvantage, as understood at the time; they were in spiritual allegiance to a schismatic Pope—a defect that not even all the artillery of Woolwich could have atoned for; and the artillery decided this, for out of the first three men that it killed one was an Englishman, and two brothers, Portuguese and esquires, killed by the same stone ball, had been known to kill a priest while saying mass, so that the cannon-balls did little but demonstrate that they were instruments in the hand of God and the Church, who could not allow them to be effective weapons in the hands of schismatics against those who followed the lawful Pope. The Archbishop of Braga, moreover, clad in armour, and wearing his rochet over his coat-of-mail, and an image of the Virgin for a plume on his helmet, went about the field of battle confessing and absolving, in the name of the rightful Pope, Urban, and recommending the soldiers to repeat the words, *et verbum caro factum est*, the last three words of which, *caro factum est*, they irreverently translated in *caro feito é este*, meaning *a dear business this.*

The spiritual precaution, too, had been taken to vow the foundation of two monasteries, one by the Master—or King, as we must now call him—and one by the Constable.

King John made good his word by founding the Convento da Batalha, or Battle Abbey, upon the battle-field. It took eight architects about a hundred and fifteen years to build it, and was never finished; indeed, one of its chapels is called the Capella Imperfeita, or Unfinished Chapel. It was given to friars of the Dominican order, the Black Friars.

The Constable also made good his vow by building the priory and church of Nossa Senhora do Vencimento, or Our Lady of Victory, commonly called the Carmo, for the Carmelites or White Friars, upon a rocky eminence above Lisbon.

Both churches have now an air of melancholy grandeur about them. The Battle Abbey is tenantless and destitute of internal use or ornament; it stands in a little village as a monument of departed greatness. An occasional pilgrim comes to inspect it from the point of view of its being, like the Carmo, a choice specimen of Gothic, the two churches being the only Gothic ones in Portugal, but there are no friars there now to offer him hospitality. He will have to seek the little inn, with the bush over the door, and will have to eat his dinner in the little inn-parlour, amid occasional visits by the hens and chickens, the dog, the cat, and the pig. In the Carmo he will see even greater wreck. It is the only building now standing in Lisbon that bears traces of the celebrated earthquake of 1755. The rubbish that was cast down has been cleared away, but with this exception, the building stands just as it did after the earthquake, and the visitor, standing at one end of the nave, and looking up through where the roof once was into the blue sky of Lisbon, and noticing the remaining delicate early English arches, can trace the direction of the waves of the earthquake; where they were in a transverse direction to the arches, the latter have been shaken down or had their stones more or less displaced, but where the earthquake went in the same direction with the arches from pier to pier, the stones that are still standing have not moved from their original position. Both the Battle Abbey and the Carmo tell tales of former power and greatness, and present [illegible] and desolation.

Let us see how the money was got that built the priory and church of the Carmo. John and Nuno, in the course of their warlike patriotism, had not neglected number one. Indeed, it had been hinted that they meant to divide the whole kingdom between them. Property poured in upon them, the causes of its acquisition of it being not invariably very clear. The confiscation of that of Portuguese, who had cast in their lot with the Castilians, who, after all, were in the right, and of that of the Moors, who appear to have been still in the possession of lands near Lisbon, seem to have been two chief sources of acquisition. A Jew, too, seems occasionally to have had an eye to the main chance kept upon him. The Carmo was endowed with, among other property, the goods that Alvares had got from John's murder of the favourite, Andeiro; this inheritance seems to have troubled his conscience, and the donation of it to a priory would help to cover the sin of his friend and master. Another piece of property that went to the new priory had been that of a Jew named David Negro, and was the first that John had given Nuno.

In 1745 there was published at Lisbon the *Chronica dos Carmelitas*, the Chronicle of the Carmelites, by Father Joseph Pereira de Sant'Anna, an authority from whom Senhor Oliveira Martius draws a portion of the information so ably embodied in his book: among other passages is one referring to the endowment of the Carmo, which runs in English as follows:—

'He ordered to endow and to make donation to the said monastery of certain goods and legacies that he possessed, that by the rents of it the said monastery he ornamented with the ornament that for it were better, and for the repair of the fabric of the Church of the said Monastery for the friars or other Religious or women who in it might be for them to always have maintenance and clothing that be suitable for them, the which legacies and goods are those which hereinafter follow. First the governor's house within the district of Ourem and with the properties of Pombal and of Leiria and of Thomar and of Ourem with all the other houses and rents and dues and properties which to the said house pertain, and the properties which were from David Negro, and the water-mills of Corroyos by the house of Ayres Paes that are in the district of Almada, and the salt-marshes of Algonor and of Amora and of Arrentela and of Corroyos, the which sa[illegible] works and lands be said be had from his Lord the King.'

Our own countrymen come in for a good share of the history making by John and Nuno. John sent news of his victory t England, where his ambassador, Ferninand de Albuquerque, an Lourenço Fogaça were enlisting troops and negotiating a alliance. From this we gather one more evidence that Englan was then coming forward as a power in the world. Note fo instance the chance expression of Queen Leonor as to the wa the English used their arms.

On the Castilian side succour had been asked from the anti-Pope Clement, and in answer to the request the King of Franc promised to send two thousand lances; but at the moment thi news reached the Castilians there arrived on the field befor Chaves, which John and Nuno were besieging, an Englis messenger who had landed at Oporto with a request for mor transport ships, as John of Gaunt was getting ready in force and orders were forthwith sent to Lisbon for Affonso Furtado t sail for England with six galleys and twelve ships to fetch the English troops: this was at the beginning of 1386.

Not that John sincerely wished for victory by the Englis over the Castilians: he wanted to play one party off against the other, to use the English to oppose the Castilians but not to se up John of Gaunt upon the throne of Castille, where he would become too formidable. John was circumspect; 'it was necessar to preserve the Castilian throne, but weakened, in the hands o the present possessor, and for that purpose it was necessary t hold out his hand to the English, but to restrain their ambition.

There arrived at Lamego about the end of July John Gil o Oporto and the esquire Gomes Eannes, bearers of letters from the duke, who had landed at Corunna a few days before. There had arrived Affonso Furtado's squadron that had conveyed t England the news of the battle of Aljubarrota, and along with it there had come a great fleet of powerful ships with some thousands of men-at-arms. The military force is variously stated at from five to ten thousand. There were altogether a hundred ships, each with a hundred and eighty to two hundred oarsmen.

John of Gaunt is described as 'a man in the prime of life, tall and upright as a pine; but he was said to be the most libertine creature in England.' He had brought with him a numerous

court in attendance upon himself and his daughters, who were destined to sit as queens upon the two thrones of the Peninsula. Of the difference between the grandeur of the court of John of Gaunt and the simplicity of that of the Master of Aviz we have the following description :—

'The splendid court of the English and the plain host of the Portuguese met on a plain formed by the widening of the Minho. John had with him five hundred lances, two thousand men and forty horses in apparel of state, their trappings embroidered with the arms and device of the king. Jackets of white fustian with St. George's crosses in blood colour were worn by the horsemen to cover their coats of mail, that had got rusty and dilapidated in the exigencies of a long campaign, poorly and rudely decked with designs and coats of arms of very primitive device ; or they wore jerkins of tanned leather or scale-armour enough to cover the trunk but without any attempt at splendour or ornament, a common uniform of that small, tawny, and inexperienced people, accustomed only to the hardship of war and yet ignorant of the pleasures and civilities of life. Only John, in complete armour, but substituting for a helmet the bonnet then worn in the Peninsula, wore a mantle of silk. On the other hand the English, the flower of the knighthood of the world, had fifty herculean barons and knights in blue and yellow, with three hundred men-at-arms and six hundred horse and foot archers under the command of the Constable John. The splendour of the cloaks and mantles, made of velvet from France and cloth from Flanders, broidered and edged with gold and silver over the shining armour; the imperious attitude of their heads, on which stood erect plumed helmets, and the patronising superciliousness of their looks, filled our people with envious reticence, aggravated by the forced separation imposed by mutual ignorance of each other's language.

'This same day the Duke invited the King to a dinner in a tent erected for the purpose, but so resplendent with hangings and tapestries that one would think the feast was being held in one of the opulent palaces of the English. In the banqueting tent crossways at one end appeared the royal table over a carpet of flowers and under a canopy of flags of gold brocade, on which were quartered the arms of England, France, and Castille, lions, fleurs-de-lys, and leopards. The sideboards were loaded with dishes and table furniture guarded by gigantic archers holding bows of the height of a man ; and behind the sideboards were seats, on one row of which were trumpeters and drummers, and on the other singers and minstrels who performed alternately during the dinner ; thundering with the sharp stridour of the metal and the dull beat of the drum, or lulling with the chorus of the singers and the Arab-fashioned songs of the troubadours. In the centre of the high table, raised above the rest, sat the king, and by his side, but lower, the Duke of Lancaster. At their table sat the Bishops of Braga and Oporto and another, and the Constable Nun'Alvares and

John of Holland. Lopo Fernandes Pacheco was cup-bearer to the King, and Sir Thierry de Saussaire of Hainault to the Duke.

'Along the length of the tent were arranged one on each side, perpendicularly to that of the king, two tables for the court. In the centre of the right, as the place of honour, were the Portuguese military orders, though their Masters were absent, the Master of Santiago had died on return from England on the completion of his mission, the Master of the order of Christ lay ill at Thomar, and the Master of Aviz was there as King; but in place of the Masters there were seated Ferdinand Rodrigues, commandant-major of Aviz and future regent of Portugal during the expedition to Ceuta, and old Diogo Lopes Pacheco, now let loose through the revolution from the exile in which he was expiating the murder of Iñez de Castro. One of his sons was on his right, and the other was cup-bearer to the king. On the opposite side were seated Vasco Martius de Mello *the old*, Lopo Dias, whose grandfather died at Aljubarrota, with the chief standard-bearer Gil Vasques and others, old men with their white locks hanging down from their heads, and boys in the heyday of youth, the remains of the Portugal of the past, and the churning-up of the new nation that on that day, shining with the lustre of victory, took its place at the table of the nations of Europe.

'The table opposite to them was for the clergy, presided over by the Abbot of Alcobaça, John de Ornellas, the powerful seigneur of fifteen towns and two castles and the warder of four ports on the coast. There were also seated the Prior of Santa Cruz at Coombra and several noblemen as well as clergymen. Round the table the English lords waited upon their Portuguese guests, offering them the huge dishes that had been prepared, and through the openings of the hung tapestry entered the pleasant light of an autumn afternoon in the rich plain of the Minho, where the country-folk, unused to such a sight, were elbowing one another, their eyes staring with greed and envy, crowding, listening, sniffing at the fanciful richness and the successive dishes that were offered, extravagant cookery in which the refinement of civilisation was incongruously mingled with barbarism at that undecided and confused epoch between the traditions of cultured antiquity and the practical recollections of the lawless living derived from war and depredation. The grotesque—a type of the Middle Ages—was to be seen in the greediness with which the onlookers received the jokes of the buffoons, calculated to effect digestion in overladen stomachs.

'The Duke ordered a hundred gold nobles to be distributed among the jesters, and the poor people outside were allowed to consume the remains of the sumptuous banquet; then the duke's major-domo entered, and at the sound of the trumpet advanced towards the royal table and cried out "Great! Great! From the most high and mighty seigneur, John Gaunt, King of Castille and Leon, Duke of Lancaster," which words echoed in chorus by all the trumpeters and minstrels. The sha

evening now began to come on, the nobles left the tent to digest their repast, and the people entered in a crowd to devour the remains.

'The following day it was the turn of the Portuguese to entertain their friends. The tent of the King of Castille, which had been captured at Aljubarrota, and had served for conferences, had not arrived, but an improvised one was constructed in the form of an arbour made of branches of trees by the side of the river. Instead of opulence, there was picturesque simplicity. Nuno was the controller of the arrangements, and the feast, though simple, was excellent.'

This description is drawn by the author from the Chronicles of Froissart and those of Ferdinand Lopes. Lopes describes 'John, Duke of Alencastro' as a man of well-made members, tall and straight, and 'not with the amount of flesh that the size of his body required.'

A treaty was concluded by which John was to marry Philippa of Lancaster, the Duke was to renounce all right to Portugal, the King was to advance troops to the Duke, and the Duke was to cede certain towns in Spain—when he got them.

The greater part of this little arrangement did not come off, and John never intended that it should. He seems to have been a consummate politician, not particularly scrupulous, but wise enough to see that if he was to get on himself, he must help others as well, or at least pretend to. 'There can be no manner of doubt,' says Senhor Oliveira, 'that John never believed in the ultimate success of the attainments of the crown of Castille by the Duke of Lancaster.' Nor did he care much for Philippa, though he was wise enough to accept the match. His vows as Master of Aviz did not need to stand much in the way. They had been already partly broken by his relations with Inez, daughter of Pedro Esteves, by whom he had a son, afterwards made Count of Barcelloe and Duke of Bragança, and Beatrice, afterwards Countess of Arundel, and he could be dispensed by Pope Urban from what was left of the vows.

The expedition did not do much towards putting the Duke of Lancaster on the throne of Castille. The military operations were conducted with the usual loitering, and when the summer set in, the heat of the climate and the intemperance of the English played havoc among them; the archers usually went to bed drunk. Twelve barons of England, quite eighty knights,

and two hundred esquires, all gentlemen, and of 'archers and such sort' of people, more than five hundred died.

The net result of the expedition was tolerably satisfactory to both England and Portugal, and is ably summed up by Senhor Oliveira :—

'The two English sisters being queens of the principal states of the Peninsula, contributed largely to the establishment of the new dynasty of Aviz, at first raised upon the shields of the national will by the heroism of the Constable and the tact of the defender of the kingdom. In spite of the accidents that befel John of Gaunt, it did not fail to be profitable, on the whole, to himself, because he got crowns for his two daughters, and to us because the royal sisterhood put an end to a state of tension that had existed for long years, and the fortunate marriage of John the First produced children who reflected credit upon their country.'

The last is an allusion to John's four sons—Duarte, the painstaking and conscientious, if somewhat too narrow-minded king; Pedro, the soldier, scholar, and traveller; poor Ferdinand, the hostage to the Moors; and Henry, their persistent humbler, the setter-down of their piracies, and the sender forth of explorers to the west coast of Africa that preceded the immense colonisation affected by their countrymen. Our English John of Gaunt was the grandfather of the father of maritime discovery.

The rise of the dynasty of Aviz had domestic consequences as well as foreign. The war against Spain had indeed been right against right, for the Master of Aviz was a mere adventurer, but his might was raised upon the rights of his people, and the king could not and did not forget them. 'The throne of John the First, raised by a democracy through the necessities of war, laid its foundations and rested its weight on the ancient institution of the national Cortes.' We accordingly find the rise of law, and of a standing army centralised in the Crown, as consequences of the union between king and people; and, as another consequence, the decadence of the feudal aristocracy. The transition lets in light upon some curious ways in the Peninsula in the fourteenth century :—

'Of the ancient aristocratic society, whose roots could be traced deep down into centuries long past, even up to the remote ages of the conquest by the Visigoths, of that court of barons and knights whose supreme system of rule was a nobility constructed out of brute violence, it might

be said that nothing remained after the dissolution of the former monarchy in the folly prevailing at the court of King Ferdinand. Instead of the dissolute habits of the feudal society in its last process of spontaneous decay, there arose the austerity of new customs, and in place of the disorder and violence of the authority of the feudal nobles of the past, there now arose a royal authority claiming to govern the whole country with texts out of codes of law. Arms had to give place to the toga, and the king, who in the olden times was merely the chief or general of the barons, now appeared in a new character clothed with judge's ermine, and presiding in a court full of lawyers. Government did not now mean just how to fight or to manage a feof; it meant the ultimate and absolute authority of the Crown over all lands and all vassals.'

This legal constitution that was brought about, Senhor Oliveira calls *the new society*. It was not, though, to the taste of the Constable Alvares, who loved kings and knights, and chivalry and war and heroism. Like Don Quixote, he had read books of chivalry in his youth; his king must be an ideal one, and he felt the loss of that ideal. He accordingly felt that he was no longer wanted, and the lofty ideal that his chivalric habits had conceived, were no longer to be realised in this world, and that he must accordingly find it in the next, so Nuno Alvares betook himself to the Carmo, and became first prior of it.

In the priory he often imagined himself in conversation with the Virgin of the Assumption and the Prophet Elijah. He dedicated his sword to Elijah as the warlike prophet, and as the patriarch of the Carmelites, who had been for so many hundred years waiting at the head of the armies of the Lord to descend upon the earth to exterminate the unclean and fearful anti-Christ. His over-wrought imagination figured to him sins to be remitted and crimes to be expiated, and those, too, in a life that had been stainless in its private character, and violent only in so far as it had been passed in the adventures incident to practical loyalty and patriotism.

One day the ambassador of Castille visited the new prior in the Carmo. The prior, in his habit, looked as though dressed in grave clothes.

'Shall you never take off that shroud,' said the ambassador.

'Only if the King of Castille again go to war with Portugal,' replied the prior; 'and in that case, if I am not in my grave, I

shall serve at the same time both the order I am professed in and the land that gave me existence.'

At last the end of the Constable arrived. It is graphically related by Senhor Oliveira from Sant'Anna's *Chronica dos Carmelitas* :—

'It was Allhallows' Eve, and the bells were ringing in the Feast of All Saints. The community was praying in the church. By the bedside of the dying man a friar was reading the Passion from the gospel of the beloved disciple. Outside was the populace, who had already considered the Constable as canonised, congregated together in grief in the precincts of the priory, and sobbing when they heard the bell tolling. The clangour of the metal opened up latent thoughts, and a flood of sympathy inundated all hearts. There was the utmost anxiety. Within the cell there were already gathered John and his children. Duarte had been to see him every day. The King was sobbing violently; as soon as he had entered the cell, he had thrown himself upon the bed and cast his arms around the emaciated form of the dying man. Nun'Alvares rose on his pallet; his emaciated face seemed like wax, and his beard fell down on his breast like snow. The embrace of the two friends was long, and of the one that was dying and the one that was living, it was the latter that appeared the sufferer, bathed in tears, with his broad and powerful face agitated, his breast heaving and brain wandering as there came rushing in the crowd of images of the critical moments and the pleasant hours of the long campaign that had made him into a king. He owed the crown to this poor monk in miserable agony on his pallet; he owed him everything, and yet he himself was left living, looking on at his friend dying like a beggar, like those beggars at the gate and in the cloister and church of the monastery, in rags and tatters, halt and lame, who were mourning aloud the loss of their Constable. . . The friar by his side was reading the Passion in a melancholy tone, and when, at the moment when Jesus shows his mother to the beloved disciple, he came to the words, *ecce filius tuus*, the head of the Constable fell upon his breast, which gave one last sigh, and the end came.'

The Constable had played his part well in life, and had, moreover, helped to bring about more than he had intended, even what he did not approve, the new society, or legally constitutional and centralised government in place of the feudal.

'The throne of John the First, raised by a democracy through the necessities of war, laid its foundations and rested its weight on the ancient institution of the national Cortes, which having acclaimed the king, were recognised as the origin of sovereignty. The lawyers, bringing forward this point of support in order to subdue the old aristocratic society, pro-

ceeded with conscious astuteness, and then claimed as their own, without the necessity of further discussion, the absolutist conclusion almost religiously arrived at in the schools of Italy, where law had long been taught.

'It was a singular thing that after a war lasting ten years, a throne contracted on the battlefield, steeped in blood, and raised on shields and lances, was not an aristocratic and military one; from which it is to be seen what were the native forces at work at the time, while there is also to be seen the natural political insight of the king, who knew from what direction he ought to make it appear that it came. The revolution cast aside once and for all the former animalism of the Middle Ages, and the laws based upon relationship. Portugal rose out of the war inspired by the new spirit, which saw by the light of increasing knowledge the State as an ideal edifice constructed by the art of man. It was a dawn breaking upon the mediæval night.'

One new element was the foundation of a standing army instead of having to trust to the mercy of vassals. John got together on a permanent footing three thousand two hundred lancers, and fifteen thousand efficient men. The permanent force was not entrusted to the nobility; its commanding officers were mostly esquires, while some had the rank of captain; and three hundred, taken from the existing military orders, were naturally under the command of their own masters or priors. Similarly the suits of armour, which were deposited in armouries scattered over the kingdom, were mostly entrusted to the masters and priors of the military orders or to the higher clergy.

Under the heading of *the new society*, there is sketched for us an exceedingly interesting picture of the re-construction in Portugal, as in other countries in the west of Europe, of society out of the violence and barbarism of feudalism. The feudal state came to an end in one way or another, and a centralised Government, able to enforce a law of its own all over the country, came into operation, the king being not merely a sort of chief baron, a mere primate among equals, but the real head of the State. In England the feudal period may be said to have ended with the Wars of the Roses, late in the fifteenth century, but in Portugal it ended nearly a hundred years earlier, at the rise into power of the Master of Aviz. It was then that the civil law got firmly established over the kingdom, though it had been making its way into the country long before, and we are accordingly introduced

to the evolution of the civil law of the land from the canon law of the Church.

From the very beginning of the monarchy in Portugal, the European schools of law had some influence there through the favour shown by King Affonso Henriques to one John the Peculiar, as he was called, Bishop of Oporto, and afterwards Archbishop of Braga, who was said to be learned in *utroque jure*,—that is to say, we presume, in the law of the Church as well as that of the State, though the law of the land was not yet emancipated from the canon law, 'nor had the teachers of it abandoned the Church, or the students of it the cloisters.' Affonso Henriques also had at his court one Alberto, *Professor of Law*, and his successor, Sancho the First, sent to Milan for the celebrated lawyer, Leonard, whom he made his counsellor, and his successor continued the practice of Sancho; but under John the court of law attained a much higher organisation.

'In the two courts of Justice, or Relations, the judges appointed by the King were the superior ones, and between them sat Doctor Mangancha. . . . Besides the councillors and officials of the Courts of Relations, the body of legists also counted the licentiate, John Gil, procurator or minister of ways and means; Bachelor Alvaro Pires, canon of the cathedral of Lisbon, who exercised the office of common-law judge; Doctor John Mendes, chief magistrate, and his assistants, Ruy and Vasco Fernandes. Such was the personal staff of the court that was the successor of the Aula Regia of the warriors, before whom the Jewish treasurer crawled on his knees like a fawning spaniel.'

Under John—

'The reform of the military institutions, of which Nuno did not disdain the paternity, brought implicit consequences which he had perhaps not foreseen. As soon as the army became permanent and paid by the king, instead of being the contributions of contingents by the vassals, who were more or less kings themselves in their lands and titles, the military power had to be separated from the civil and both centralised in the king. Hence there came for the civil power the institution of *assizes*, by which the body of judges spread over the kingdom to try cases in the king's name; and on account of the payment of the army it was necessary to augment the revenues of the crown, hitherto limited to the rents of the crown lands and to fees on certain privileges such as seigneurage on the coining of money: hence also the institution of the excise, which became permanent in the crown, to provide for public expenses, also an increase in the land tax, a tax on salt, and legacy dues on the inheritances of the Moors, also

the revision and assignation of the revenues of vacant bishoprics. Meddling with the rights of property, the sacred base of aristocratic society and foundation of sovereignty itself, the temptations increased, and the appetite got whetted through the imperial notions of antiquity, and the idea of annulling the exorbitant donations granted during the war made the mouths water of builders of the new monarchy.

'From this origin came the *lei mental,* excluding from successorship to the royal grants all but the male first-born, and determining the reversion to the crown in default of such. . . . With the institution of the excise came the abolition of internal custom-houses for foreign goods, which could now be freely transmitted over the whole kingdom, centralised economically in the crown. With the *lei mental,* which diminished lordship over property, came the abolition of personal labour by the sons of the farmers. . . . Such was the body of legislation that the chancellor codified during the hard blows of the Castilian war. The legal notions of antiquity had their way, and the new monarchy rose upon a reformed society. The Roman law served as the text book for pleadings ; the King sent to the chamber of Lisbon two books containing the Institutes of Justinian and the Comments of Bartolo, *that by them it might be acted and sentence given.* They were enclosed in lead, and hung by chains to the wall as real treasures.

'Military service was detached from ownership of land. The nobles still enjoyed the rents of their lands, but military service, sovereignty, and vassallage were the exclusive appanage of the crown, and to allow nobles to have private vassals would be to re-enter into the olden times with their train of disorders that had just been recovered from. King there must be, one sovereign over all vassals and commander-in-chief of the kingdom. The relations of the nobility to their tenants in all matters such as rents and leases were referable to the law of the land, and must drop all old notions of sovereignty.

'A lease at that time was an assignment paid for in kind, not merely with a fixed and agreed upon rent in money, but also in yield, which rents and yields were collected by the lessor for his own use and profits. It was a civil agreement in which signorial right was recognised in tithe : but to sanction the sovereign and feudal character of this along with military service as the constable wanted, was a thing that could not be.

'The donations of the king were of two classes, allodial or merely signorial ; they were *devised* or *reverting to the family.* The first were granted with perpetual and irrevocable title with right to dispose of them by will, or *inter vivos ;* they were *hereditary,* and in them the lord alone ruled the inhabitants, and took a part of their produce fixed upon by custom or according to the register. The other grants were called *loans, commanderies, honours,* and were rarely *feofs* (for pure feudalism never existed among us), words significant of eventuality and conditions in the holding or participation in it by another. All sorts of properties and

rights were granted *hereditarily*, lands, lordships over towns, crown-land rents, commanderships of towns, also of fortresses, though for some time the tendency of the kings had been to grant these last only on *loan* or *lease*, because military authority, the basis of sovereignty, was already getting along the road to the point it now reached of exclusive possession by the crown. . . . If property was granted, as it often was, without express stipulation of reversion, the grantees soon became hereditary, although their titles to the properties did not specify it.'

It is curious to see how war and feudalism—though not perhaps 'pure'—worked out the destruction of the latter. John had laid his hands on all the property he could get, and had shared it with Nuno, who in his turn had scattered gifts among his followers. Patriotism paid the pair of them very well. At the end of the war, an immense booty in the shape of landed property was found to be in the hands of the leaders. There had been vastly too much plunder in the whole thing, and John, as soon as he was pretty firm on his throne, saw that a good deal of it would have to be disgorged by the grantees of the property. Hence the support of the courts of law, or civil power, by the king against the power of the nobles.

Among the means found by the chancellor, John dos Regras, to get back some of the property, was that of purchase by the state of grants made hurriedly during the war, and this was one of the proposals made by the king at a convention of his nobles at Paço da Serra, and many of the nobles were expropriated of their properties by purchase. The prices paid for some of them are recorded :—John Fernandes got 8,000 doubloons, or about £5,000, and his brother Lopo 1,500 doubloons, or about £938, and Martin Vasques, father-in-law to the chancellor, got 7,000 doubloons, or about £4,375. Reckoning their not more than ten years' service during the length of the war, and the then probably tenfold value of money, the above amounts represent the respective payments for the services rendered, and give £938 to £5,000 a year, not bad pay for military officers, even though deferred. As soon as these three worthies had realised their booty in cash they went over and joined the Castilians.

It sounds curious to describe a book written before another as a sequel to the latter, yet such we may fittingly term *The Sons of Dom John*, though written by the same author before *The*

Life of Nun' Alvares. The Sons of Dom John narrates the events in the reign of the Master of Aviz as John the First, including those of the greatest period of European geographical discovery, in which Henry the Navigator, one of his sons, played so important a part.

The two books together show an interesting picture of the rise of a modern state out of the ashes of feudalism.

C. J. WILLDEY.

ART. III.—MR. GROSS ON SCOTTISH GUILDS.

The Gild Merchant: A Contribution to British Municipal History. By CHARLES GROSS, Ph.D. 2 Volumes. Oxford. 1890.

AMONG the institutions of the Middle Ages, few were of greater importance, and are more deserving of careful study than the *Gilda Mercatoria* or Merchant Guild. Though by no means exciting, its history is intensely interesting, and throws a flood of light upon the social as well as upon the industrial and commercial life of mediæval Europe. In our own country it has not attracted that amount of attention which it rightly deserves. Though the list of authorities which Mr. Gross has printed at the end of his first volume is somewhat formidable, the number of works it includes which have been written by English authors on the history of Guilds in general, is remarkably small. On the Continent the institution has been more fortunate. In France and Germany and elsewhere there is a fairly large literature in connection with it. Among others may be mentioned the contributions of Wilda, Gierke, Karl Hegel, Georg von Bulow, and Vander Linden. Across the Atlantic, also, the subject would appear to be attracting a considerable amount of attention. Mr. Gross himself, though his work issues from the Clarendon Press, and in its original form appeared at Göttingen, is the Instructor in History at the

Harvard University. Mr. Ashley, however, who has written two most admirable chapters on the Merchant and Craft Guilds in his *History of Economic*,* though a professor in the same University, belongs to Oxford.

Mr. Gross's principal theme is the English Merchant Guild. With his treatment of that we do not propose here to deal, but, in passing, one or two remarks may be ventured upon it. For the first time, Mr. Gross has made easily accessible to students a large mass of materials in connection with the ancient Guilds, chiefly in the shape of charters and ordinances, which were previously widely scattered or published only in fragments, and which for the study of the subject are indispensable. The theories of Professor Bretano respecting the origin and early development of Guilds,† he has effectually dissipated, and rendered doubtful some of the speculations which have been founded upon them by Mr. Herbert Spencer. In opposition to Messrs. Merewether and Stephens, Mr. Gross has shown that the Merchant Guild was not a mere mercantile association, devoid of public functions, but was at one time an organic and constituent part of municipal government. On the other hand, in contradiction to Mr. Thompson, he has shown that while a constituent element in the civic government, the Merchant Guild did not cover the same area, but was included in it as a part of the whole. It may further be remarked that Mr. Gross's volumes have been extremely well received, and have come to be looked upon as the standard work on the subject.

Our purpose here has reference to the Guilds of Scotland. These are treated of by Mr. Gross in an Appendix,‡ which fairly bristles with notes and references, and has every appearance of accuracy; and, as it is likely to be regarded as a standard authority on the subject, if, indeed, it is not already so regarded, what we propose in the following pages is to examine it, and afterwards to give the reader some idea of the

* Two Parts. London, 1893-4.
† Toulmin Smith, English Guilds, E. E. T. Society, 1870.
‡ Vol. I., pp. 199-240.

Scottish Guilds as they seem to us to be presented in the authorities we shall have to refer to.

The first section in Mr. Gross's Appendix is on the inception and distribution of Merchant Guilds in Scotland. Its contents are, among other things, a number of remarks on Scottish municipal law, and a list of the towns in Scotland in which Merchant Guilds are said or known to have existed. Over the first we should have preferred to pass, but as they bear more or less upon our subject, some reference to them is necessary.

After observing that 'Scotland seems to have borrowed some of her burghal laws'—which she certainly did—'from England,' * Mr. Gross goes on to add, 'The general development of her municipal history in the Middle Ages resembles that of the Continent more closely than that of England,' and then adds, 'This was probably due partly to the weakness of royal authority, and in part, perhaps, to the intimate relations existing between that country and the Continent. After the thirteenth century Scottish burghs sought precedents in France and Flanders rather than in England.'

These statements are cautiously made, and are therefore all the more deserving of consideration. Let us take the last first. Notwithstanding the confidence with which it is apparently made, it may be safely said that after the thirteenth century precedents for municipal government in Scotland were not 'sought in France or Flanders rather than in England.' As a matter of fact, they were not sought at all, for the simple

* As a matter of fact, the 'Code of Scotch burghal regulations, though collected in the reign of David [I.], and sanctioned by him, was the result of experience of the towns of England and Scotland'—Cosmo Innes, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, 154. Professor Innes further remarks: 'It is curious how close a resemblance those charters of Winchester bear to the privileges of Scotch burghs conferred by King David. Everything shows us that there was at that time a general movement in favour of the privileges of towns; and no feelings of hostility yet interfered to prevent the inhabitants of lowland Scotland and of England . . . from adopting together the steps of a system which offered to the oppressive power of the armed feudal lords the union of numbers in each town, and the combination and mutual support of the trading communities of the whole island.'—*Ibid.*, 155.

and sufficient reason that they were not wanted. By the date mentioned—the end of the thirteenth century—all the great typical town charters—Perth, Aberdeen, Stirling, Elgin, Berwick, and, perhaps, Edinburgh, Rutherglen, and Inverkeithing—had already been granted, and the law had become fixed. From this down to after 1532, when the Court of Session was instituted, and when the Merchant Guilds, though they continued to be multiplied, were riding for a fall, the developments in municipal law were slight. All the changes that occurred were the legal recognition of the Crafts or Trades, the concession that in each burgh they should send one representative to the Town Council, and that strange law of 1469 by which the Town Councils were made self-elective. The last can scarcely be regarded as a development. The other two may fairly claim to be such. At any rate, they put the Crafts upon a legal footing analogous to that upon which the Guilds were placed, and at the same time gave to the Crafts a legal representative upon the Town Council. Whether a majority of the Deans of Guild were there by the same or an equal title is doubtful.

Mr. Gross's statement that the general development of municipal history in Scotland during the Middle Ages resembles that of the Continent more closely than that of England, is open to very serious objection. In Scotland the conditions of town life were altogether different from what they were on the Continent. There were no contentions with feudal lords, and no powerful superiors with interests conflicting with those of the burgh. In the few burghs of regality and of barony, which were not without parallels in England, the superiors had too much interest in their welfare to be on any other than the most friendly terms with them. As a rule they were rather their protectors. Their help was freely sought as a shield against the encroachments and pretensions of the royal burghs, and was as freely given. It was through their aid that the non-royal burghs acquired their privileges. Whatever development there was in the municipal history of Scotland, it resembled rather that of England, but with this difference that municipal life being much more active in

England than in Scotland, the development in the latter was much slower than it was in England. Nor can this be attributed, as Mr. Gross suggests, to the weakness of the royal power. Whatever weakness that power may have shown in dealing with the nobles, down to the time of the Reformation at any rate, in its dealings with the burghs it showed none, except that of the want of statesman-like sagacity. Every year the burghs were reminded very decidedly of the existence of the central authority, when they were visited by the Great Chamberlain. Nor was his visit one of mere ceremony. Besides collecting the cess, or royal rents, he instituted a searching inquisition into the way in which the laws of the kingdom, and particularly the burgh laws, had been observed, and inflicted fines and punishments whenever he found that they had been violated or neglected. Even the Court of the Four Burghs, and, after it, the Convention of the Royal Burghs, sat and exercised its powers under Acts of Parliament, and down to the year 1500 was presided over by the same great officer of State.

The intercourse between Scotland and France and Flanders during the Middle Ages was no doubt considerable, but the influence of that intercourse is to be found in the industrial and commercial life of the country rather than in its municipal organisations, and that for the reason already given, that the latter were borrowed for the most part from England, and had become practically fixed and settled before the intercourse of Scotland with the Continent had become of any great importance. Similar, too, with the influence of Roman law. From the statement that 'Roman law in general had more influence in Scotland than in England,' it might be inferred that its influence is traceable in the constitution and organisation of the Scottish burghs during the Middle Ages. That, however, is not the case. Whatever it may have had since, until after the Reformation Roman law had but a very slight influence upon the municipal law of Scotland. In proof of this, we will cite one of Mr. Gross's authorities against himself. The authority referred to is the late Lord Mackenzie,* who says: 'In Scot-

* *Roman Law.* Mr. Gross gives pages 40 and 41. In our edition, the Fifth, the passage occurs on page 42.

land the Roman law was much more favourably received than it was in England. In consequence of the close alliance that so long subsisted with France, Scotland borrowed many of its institutions from that country, besides importing a large portion of Roman jurisprudence to make up the deficiencies of a municipal law, long crude and imperfect, and which made little progress as a national system till some time after the establishment of the Court of Session in 1532.' According to this, it was not till after 1532, when, as already remarked, the guilds, though multiplying, were riding for a fall, that Roman jurisprudence began to be used 'to make up the deficiencies of Scottish municipal law, long crude and imperfect.' But even then its influence was slight. Practically the municipal organisations of the country remained what they were in the middle of the fifteenth century down to first half of the nineteenth, when they were radically changed.

But if Scotland borrowed some of her burghal laws from England, the municipal institutions of the two countries were not entirely the same. There were differences, but in pointing them out Mr. Gross seems to us to rate them too highly and to make too many. 'The names of the Scottish burghal institutions were' not so 'strange to the townsmen of England,' at least in the Middle Ages, as he appears to suppose. There was certainly 'a provost instead of a mayor,' but the offices were the same; the term 'provost' was not unknown in England, though a provost there was not the president of the Town Council, and 'mayor' was not an unknown term in Scotland. While Berwick was still a thoroughly Scottish town, the president of its Town Council was the 'mayor.' * In some of the Scottish burghs the chief magistrate was designated the Alderman. In Aberdeen he was so designated down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the title Provost began to be used. There were 'Guildries' in England as well as in Scotland, and if there were no 'corporations' in England, there were crafts which were the same things. On the other hand, conveneries of crafts were peculiar to Scot-

* *Statuta Gildae.*

land; but if 'seals of cause,' as a phrase, was not used in England, the process to which it refers was known, as we shall immediately see. A seal of cause, and here we take Mr. Gross's definition,* 'was a charter granted by the burghal authority to any body of craftsmen, specifying their rights and privileges; above all, excluding non-members from using their craft, giving the members the right to make bye-laws, to elect their own officers, etc.' By its seal of cause a craft was therefore incorporated, and became a municipal incorporation; and yet Mr. Gross tells us that 'Municipal corporations were common in England, but almost unknown in Scotland' (p. 201). Here, however, is what he tells us on page 113: 'Generally speaking, this body (*i.e.*, the mayor, bailiffs, and common council of an English town) had the power to establish and even incorporate craft guilds and companies, and after such incorporation retained supervision over these associations. Scarcely anywhere had the craftsmen the independent government and jurisdiction over their trade, though they were allowed to regulate the latter, subject to the general control of the burghal magistrates.' This was precisely the way when a craft in Scotland obtained its 'seal of cause.' It was made a municipal incorporation; it was under the supervision of the magistrates; it had no independent government or jurisdiction over its trade, for though allowed to draw up rules for the regulation of it, they were subject to the approval of the burghal authorities. And yet, though common in England, 'municipal incorporations were almost unknown in Scotland.' The two were as like as can be, and Mr. Gross's statement with respect to them is misleading. Similar to this is his remark on pie-powder courts. They were the subject of at least two Acts of Parliament passed in 1295, and are referred to more than once in the *Statuta Gildae*, of which Mr. Gross furnishes his readers with an analysis; yet on page 200 we are told that, while common in English boroughs, they were in Scotland almost unknown. This is all the more remarkable, since, on turning to one of his references for the statement, Robertson's *Scotland under her*

* Vol. I., p. 202, *n.* 2.

Early Kings—though on the page given there is no mention of them, but on the following (Vol. I., p. 303)—they are fully described, and the statement is made that they were set up whenever the occasion arose for them in every fair in Scotland, and were universally known.

But passing from these matters, let us turn to the list we mentioned. It has three columns. In the first are the names of the towns in which Merchant Guilds exist or have existed, or to which authority has been given or obtained for their erection, or in which anything of the institution may be traced. In the second we have a series of dates, and in the third another of authorities. The dates, one would naturally suppose, are those at which the different Guilds were erected or continued by legal authority; but against any such supposition the reader may be gently warned. Some of them—a few —do represent the dates at which the towns whose names stand opposite to them set up their guilds, or obtained the power either to do so or to continue them, but in a number of cases the figures are delusive, and represent only the earliest dates at which Mr. Gross, after a not very laborious search, has found them mentioned. The references in the third column give the places where Mr. Gross has found, or believes he has found, for some of them are wrong, the places where the Guilds are mentioned. Below we venture to give a list of our own. Mr. Gross has followed the alphabetical order in his arrangement of the names of the towns; we shall arrange them in the chronological order in which their Guilds were erected, or as nearly in that as it has been possible for us to ascertain them. In the second column we give our own dates, in the third are those given by Mr. Gross, and in the fourth the most important or original authorities we have been able to find for the dates we have ventured to set down. As will be seen from our subsequent remarks in respect to the dates, perfect accuracy, especially in regard to the Guilds of some of the more ancient or important burghs royal, is not always possible. The letter *a* preceding a date shows that at that date the Guild was in existence, and that presumably it had then existed for some time. A mark of interrogation (?) indicates doubt.

Edinburgh	1209 ?	1403	
Perth	1210	1165-1214	Acta Parl. Scot., i. 76; M. C. Scot., ii. 299.*
Dundee	1165 ?-1214	1249-1286	M. C. Scot., i. 229, 238.
Inverness	1165 ?-1214	1676	Acta Parl. Scot., i. 78, 79.
Inverkeithing	1165 ?-1214	1598	M. C. Scot. Report, Appendix, 7.
Aberdeen	1222	1222	Acta Parl. Scot., i. 77; M. C. Scot. Rep., Appendix, 6.
Ayr	1222 ?	1428	Robertson's Index to Charters 82, 166; Ayr and Wigtown Arch. and Hist Coll., i. 225.
Dumbarton	1222	1609	M. C. Scot., i. 197.
Stirling	1226	1226	Stirling, Charters and Docs., 6.
Elgin	1234	1234	M. C. Scot., i. 425; Shaw's Moray, iii. 60.
Berwick	1249	1249	Statuta Gildae, Innes Anc. Laws, 66; Acta Parl. Scot., i. 89.
Montrose	1352	1372	M. C. Scot., ii. 237; Hist. MSS. Rep., ii. 206.
Cupar	1363	1369	Acta Parl. Scot., i. 176; M. C. Scot., i. 177; Index, 99.
Irvine	1371	1371	Index to Charters, 95, 302; M. C. Scot., ii. 127.
Forfar	*a* 1372	1372	Hist. MSS. Rep., ii. 206.
Dunfermline	*a* 1395	1395	M. C. Scot., i. 262; Chalmers' Dunfermline, 388.
Rothesay	1400 ?		M. C. Scot., ii. 365; C. B., 91.
Cullen	*a* 1455 ?	1617	M. C. Scot., i. 165.
Kirkwall	1486	1712	*Ibid.*, ii. 173.
Fortrose	1496 ?	1708	*Ibid.*, i. 455.
Dingwall	1497	1497	C. B.,† 98.
Annan	1538	1538	M. C. Scot., i. 63; B. C., 93.
Burntisland	1541	1541	C. B., 84.
Anstruther E.	1541	1541	C. B., 103.
Jedburgh	*a* 1556 ?	1692	M. C. Scot., ii. 133.
Banff	1581	1592	M. C. Scot., i. 99.
Tain	*a* 1587	1671	M. C. Scot., ii. 421; C. B., 122.

* Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Municipal Corporations in Scotland (1835-36) 4 vols. General Report with separate Appendix, and 3 volumes of Appendices. The first is cited under C. M. Scot. Rep., and the volumes of Appendices under C. M. Scot., i. ii. and iii.

† Constitution of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, reprint of the Report of the Committee of House of Commons, 1793, referred to here as C.B.

Anstruther W.	1587	1587	C. B., 85.
Fraserburgh	1588	1588	M. C. Scot., iii. 64.
Nairn	1589	1589	M. C. Scot., ii. 257.
Wick	1589	1589	*Ibid.*, ii. 433 ; C. B., 105.
St. Andrews	*a* 1591	1591	M. C. Scot., ii. 377 ; Acta Parl. Scot., i. 176; Privy Council, v. 61-63.
Sanquhar	1598	1598	M. C. Scot., ii. 392 ; C. B., 93.
Dunbar	1603	1603	M. C. Scot., i. 219 ; C. B., 117.
Glasgow	1605	1605	Charters and Recs., Pt., i. 218, 605-622 ; Bell's Glasgow, 23.
Kinghorn	1611	1611	M. C. Scot., ii. 149 ; C. B., 85 ; Index to Charters, 49, 2 ; 75, 87.
Lochmaben	*a* 1612	1612	M. C. Scot., ii. 234 ; C. B., 109.
Renfrew	*a* 1614	1703	M. C. Scot., ii. 355.
Rutherglen	*a* 1617	1617	M. C. Scot., ii. 371 ; Acta Parl. Scot., i. 76.
Stranraer	1617	1617	C. B., 97.
Inverurie	1619	1619	M. C. Scot., ii. 121.
Dumfries	1621	1827	M C. Scot., i. 214 ; MacDowall's Dumfries, 310, 615 ; Recs. Conv. R. B.'s.
Peebles	1621	1621	Charters and Records of Peebles, 85.
New Galloway	1629	1629	M. C. Scot., ii. 266 ; C. B., 94.
Brechin	1641-1668	1601	Reg. Privy Council, vi. 391; Recs. Conv., R. B.'s, iii. 603.
Inveraray	1648	1648	M. C. Scot., ii. 79 ; C. B., 95.
Lanark	1656	1631	Charters and Records of Lanark, 156.
Haddington	1658	1655	Recs. Conv. R. B's., iii. 452.
Dornoch	1628	1648	M. C. Scot., i. 193.
Culross	1588-1659	1588	C. B.., 89, Beveridge, Culross, i. 297 ; Recs Convt. R. B.'s., iii. 484.
Selkirk	1694	1694	M. C. Scot., ii. 395.
Campbeltown	1700	1700	M. C. Scot., i. 146.
Linlithgow	*a* 1709	1709	M. C. Scot., ii. 227 ; Misc. S. B. Record Soc., 168.
Inverbervie	*a* 1709	1709	M. C. Scot., ii. 87.
Forres	*a* 1711	1711	M. C. Scot., i. 449 ; C. B., 200 ; Misc. 213.
Arbroath	1599-1725	1599	M. C. Scot., i. 3 ; Recs. Conv. R.B's., v. 149, 160, 368, 374.

Edinburgh, Dundee, Inverness and *Inverkeithing.*—For the guilds of these towns, it will be observed that we have given no definite date for their erection. For Edinburgh Mr. Gross has given 1403. That, however, is merely the date of the first printed record of it—a record which shows that at the time the guild must have been long in existence. The date we have ventured to suggest is the year in which William the Lion passed an Act ordaining that the merchants in every burgh should have their own merchant guild. Edinburgh was then a burgh royal and the capital, and it is scarcely conceivable that at the time there should be no guild in it. It is not unlikely that there was one there, and that it was taken as the example of what a guild should be. For the Dundee guild Mr. Gross gives 1249-1286, that is, during the reign of Alexander II.; but in 1327 the Chancellor and Chamberlain of the Kingdom who had been appointed by Robert I. to enquire into the extent of the privileges which had been enjoyed by the burgesses of Dundee in the reign of his predecessor, Alexander III., reported that after a careful inquisition a jury had found, among other things, that there had been a merchant guild in Dundee not only during the reign of his predecessor, Alexander III., but also during the reigns of his predecessors the kings of Scotland— et temporibus Regum Scottorum predecessorum suorum*—a passage which Mr. Gross altogether overlooks, though he professes to cite the finding of the jury.† Inverness and Inverkeithing are in a somewhat similar case to Edinburgh. The date given by Mr. Gross for Inverness is 1676, the date of the first sett given to the burgh by the Convention of Royal Burghs! Of the date of the guild it says nothing. The burgh itself is one of the oldest in the kingdom, and received no fewer than four charters from William the Lion, the monarch who, as before remarked, enacted the law that every burgh royal should have its merchant guild. These charters were confirmed time after time, by Alexander II., Alexander III., Robert I., David II., James I., and James II., etc., each of whom also granted to the burgesses additional immunities and

* *M. C. Scot.*, i., 238. † Vol. I., 204, note 2.

privileges. There can be little hesitation, therefore, in assigning the origin of its guild to the time of William who, in the first of his charters granted to the burgesses all the usual privileges, and in the fourth 'ratified some of the remarkable privileges conferred on burghs by the statutes of David, his grandfather.' * Inverkeithing, like Inverness, is one of the oldest burghs royal. The earliest of its charters known was granted by William the Lion. A notorial copy of a charter granted by James VI., confirming a number of others, was exhibited to a Committee of the House of Commons in 1793, and bears the date of 1598, which is the date given by Mr. Gross.

Perth and *Aberdeen.*—The charters of these burghs, though not the most ancient of the burghal charters existing, are the oldest in which a license is granted 'to establish, or, more properly, to continue and uphold, a merchant guild, (gilda mercatoria), or confraternity of merchants.' † Certain other privileges are conferred on the burgesses of these burghs by their charters, but attention will be called to these in another connection. The date of the original charter granted to Perth by William the Lion is October 10th, 1210.

Ayr.—The earliest charter of Ayr was granted by William the Lion in 1202, but though numerous privileges were conferred in it upon the burgesses, no mention is made of a guild; ‡ nor is there apparently in the charters of confirmation granted by Alexander II. in 1222, and by David II. in 1365. § The date given by Mr. Gross is that of the first notes relative to the proceedings of the Guild Court of Ayr, printed in the first volume of the *Archæological and Historical Collections for the Counties of Ayr and Wigtown.* From these notes it is evident that the Guild there had been in existence for some time. The same may be inferred from the dispute referred to in Robertson's *Index*, and though there is no mention of a royal license, it is not unlikely that the merchants of the burgh had their Guild when the charter was conferred upon the inhabitants of the town in 1222.

* *C. M. C. Scot.*, ii., 97. † *M. C. Scot. Rep.*, 11.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 7. § Robertson's *Index to Charters*, 82, 166.

Dumbarton.—The date given by Mr. Gross is the year in which the rights of the burgh were confirmed by a charter of James VI. In the reign of Alexander II., however, Dumbarton, along with the castle, passed into the hands of the Crown, and soon after, in 1222, the town was erected into a free royal burgh and granted extensive privileges, which 'appear to have been at variance with those of a similar kind conferred by the same monarch on the city of Glasgow.' * A notorial copy of that charter was exhibited to the Committee of the House of Commons in 1793. †

Elgin.—Mr. Gross rightly differs both from Shaw and the Commissioners of 1835 as to the date of the Elgin guild. Shaw, who translates the charter of erection, gives the date at November 28, 'in the 20th year of our reign,' which makes the year not 1236 as he gives it, but 1234; the Commissioners, on the other hand, who cite part of the charter, but not its date, set it down at 1269. ‡

Berwick.—The Statuta Gildæ show that in 1249 there were then in Berwick, which at the time was the chief port in Scotland, several guilds, apparently with conflicting interests, and that in that year a resolution was passed by the magistrates and town council with Robert Bernham as mayor, abolishing the 'particular guilds,' and forming them into one 'general guild,' and forbidding the formation of any other. §

Cullen received its charter of erection from Robert I., which was confirmed in 1455 by James I. Its guild, therefore, probably dates from the reign of the first named monarch.

Irvine.—The earliest charter belonging to this burgh is believed to date back to the year 1308 and to have been granted by Bruce. In 1371 Robert II., after an inquisition which was ordered in consequence of a dispute between the burgesses of Ayr with those of Irvine, confirmed the latter in their boundaries and privileges, and gave them the right to have a guild. ||

---

* *C. M. Scot.*, i., 197. † B. C., 86.

‡ Shaw's *Moray*, III., 60. *C. M. Scot.*, i., 425.

§ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, I., 90; *Anc. Laws and Customs*, 62, 63.

|| Robertson's *Index*, 82, 166.

Montrose and *Forfar.*—For these guilds Mr. Gross's date is 1372. It is correct for neither. Montrose obtained a charter from David I. which secured to it all privileges and freedoms 'adeo libere sicut bona villa mea de Perth de me tenetur.'* The town appears as a royal burgh in the reign of Malcolm IV., and was confirmed in its privileges by a charter of David II., granted in the fortieth year of his reign (1352). Mr. Gross's date (1372), marks the year in which, on September 1st, 'a convention was entered into by the Brethren and Burgesses of Gild of Montros on the one part, and the Brethren and Burgesses of Gild of Forfar on the other part, so that the Burgesses of Montros should have in the said Burgh of Forfar, free entry and exit, and liberty of buying and selling all merchandise pertaining to Gilds, and the Burgesses of Forfar should enjoy the like liberty in the Burgh of Montros.'† In 1372, therefore, the guild of Montrose was already in existence, and the probability is that Montrose receives its royal license to have or continue its guild from David II., in 1352. When Forfar received its license is not clear. All the same Mr. Gross's date is correct for neither. The Forfar guild was at the date given already in existence, and had been for some time in 1372.

Cupar.—A remark similar to that just made may be used in respect to the guild of this burgh. At the date given by Mr. Gross a case was being tried before the Parliament at Perth which had arisen between the merchants of the guild at Cupar and the bishop and citizens of St. Andrews respecting certain privileges of the former.‡ How long the guild had then existed the report of the case does not say, but as the earliest charter of the burgh is that granted to it by David II. in 1363, this date is preferable.

Dunfermline.—This guild was obviously in existence before 1395, for in that year John, the abbot of the monastery, confirmed to the guild brethren the whole rights and privileges of a free merchant guildry, and the house belonging of old to

* *M. C. Scot.*, ii., 237. † *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, II., 205, 206.
‡ *Acta Parl. Scot.* I., 176.

that fraternity; but how long it had been in existence does not appear to be known.* Dunfermline did not become a free royal burgh until 1588, when it received a charter from James VI.

Rothesay is not in Mr. Gross's list. The earliest charter was conferred by Robert III., and is dated 12th January, 1400. A charter of confirmation and Novodamus was granted by James VI. on 19th February, 1584. In the Sett † there is no mention of a dean; but there was one in 1835, and no change had been made in the Sett since 1819.

Cullen and *Forres* received charters from Robert I. That of Cullen, by which was granted to the burgh all the usual liberties, privileges and advantages, was confirmed by a charter of James I., dated March 6th, 1455. There is evidence that Forres obtained the privileges of a royal burgh as early as the reign of William the Lion or Alexander II.; but its earlier charters and writs were lost or destroyed before the end of the fifteenth century, as is set out in a charter of new infeftment granted in 1496 by James IV. When the burghs received their license to set up or continue their guilds is uncertain.

Kirkwall.—Though said to be 'of great and old antiquity,' the oldest charter belonging to Kirkwall to which the commissioners had access in 1836 is dated March 31, 1486. It ratifies and confirms all previous rights and liberties conferred upon the city. A charter of confirmation was also granted to the burgh in 1536 by a James III. There is no specific mention of a merchant guild in any of them, but power is given to prohibit unfreemen 'to pack, peel, buy, block, or sell any kind of merchant goods,' and generally 'all and sundry other things to do, use and exercise, with all privileges, immunities and liberties whatsoever as freely as any other burgh royal within our said kingdom may.'

Jedburgh.—The early records of Jedburgh were destroyed by fire, and the earliest existing charter appears to have been

---

* Chalmers' *Dunfermline*, p. 388.
† *Misc. Scottish B. Rec.'s Society*, 220.

granted by Queen Mary in 1556. It contains a new clause of erection, and continues to the inhabitants the same constitution, privileges, etc., as they had formerly possessed. The likelihood, therefore, is that the guild there existed previous to 1556.

Banff.—The origin of Banff as a royal burgh is said to be very ancient. William the Lion gave a toft and garden in it to the Bishop of Moray. Its privileges as a burgh were confirmed by Robert I., but the earliest charter believed to be extant, is one granted by Robert II., dated October 7th, 1372. What is deemed the governing charter was granted by James VI., and is dated May 9th, 1581.

Tain.—In 1671 or 1675 Tain obtained a charter from Charles II. which confirmed the rights and privileges secured to the burgh by a charter granted by James VI., in 1587. Tain lays claim, however, to having been a royal burgh in the time of David I.

St. Andrews was erected into a royal burgh in 1140 by David I. It was then a place of considerable trade, and in order to the better regulation of its affairs the King sent Maynard,* a Flemish merchant burgess of Berwick, to take charge of his newly erected burgh, and appointed him provost. Acquainted with Berwick and the Low Countries where merchant guilds already existed,† it is not unlikely that Maynard would introduce the institution into St. Andrews. Whether he did or not, there is nothing to show; but if he did, it soon disappeared, for in the case argued before the Parliament at Perth in 1359 there is no mention of it. While Duncan Balfour the 'alderman,' and three burgesses who were 'brethren of the guild within the burgh,' appeared for the town of Cupar, the bishop appeared for himself and the church, and only 'some citizens of the city in their own name and in the name of the other citizens of the city' appeared with him on behalf of St. Andrews; and nothing is alleged as to the existence of a guild in the latter place. The city would

* *Acta Parl. Scot.*, I., 75. He is styled 'prefectus.'

† Vander Linden, *Le Gildes Marchandes dans les Pays-Bas*, 6.

appear to have received its license to erect or uphold a guild in or before 1591.*

Glasgow.—The guild of Glasgow was erected previous to the city becoming a free royal burgh; but then not without difficulty. Its erection, though urged by the Convention of Royal Burghs, was strenuously opposed by the Trades. The first indication of the matter appears in the Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs under date July 1, 1595, where a missive is directed to be sent 'to the Provost, bailies, and council of Glasgow in the name of all the burghs, showing that the said burghs are not a little offended that they conform not themselves to the comely order of other free burghs in having a Dean of Guild and electing of guild brethren,' etc. It was not till ten years afterwards that an agreement was arrived at between the Magistrates and Town Council on the one hand, and the Trades on the other, and that the guildry was erected.

Lochmaben.—1612 is the year in which a charter was granted to Lochmaben, a place of considerable antiquity, by James VI., confirming all the earlier charters. The probability is, therefore, that the guildry was in existence before this date.

Renfrew.—Renfrew, with its barony, was part of the ancient patrimony of the Stewards of Scotland, and was erected into a royal burgh by Robert III., in 1396. Its guild, however, does not seem to date back beyond August 14th, 1614, when James VI. granted to the inhabitants of the burgh the right to choose a Provost and Dean of Guild, and to have a 'merchant guild with guild court as in Edinburgh.' Mr. Gross's date, 1708, is the date of a late charter granted by Queen Anne. The probability is that a guild had existed in the burgh prior to 1614.

Rutherglen.—Charters were granted to this burgh by William the Lion, Alexander II., and Robert I. That of the last named monarch is dated April 20th, 1323, and recites and confirms previous charters. There is no guild clause in any of them, but it is not unlikely that the burgh was in possession

* *Privy Council*, VI., 61-63.

of a merchant guild as early as Inverness or Inverkeithing, or any other burgh in the kingdom. The charter of James VI., 1617, confirms the then existing privileges.

Dumfries.—This case is peculiar. The town was erected into a burgh royal by William the Lion, and during the thirteenth century became a place of great importance. Additional privileges were conferred upon it by Robert III. in 1396, and again in 1415 by James II. The original guild, if there was one in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and it may be presumed there was, appears to have fallen into decay. Permission to have a guild, however, was granted by James VI. in 1621.* The charter was not lost sight of or unknown as is asserted by the historian of Dumfries,† as the following facts will show. In 1657 a petition was presented to the Convention of Royal Burghs 'craving that a Dean of Guild be elected within the burgh in respect that there was ane unanimous consent thairto both of merchandis and treadsmen of the saide burghe.'‡ It would appear, however, from sundry entries in the Records that the consent on the part at least of the Tradesmen was far from unanimous. The Deacon at first strenuously opposed the introduction of the guild; but a compromise having been arranged the Dean was chosen and the guildry set up in 1664.§ The burgh, however, does not seem to have taken kindly to it, for in the report made to the Convention of Royal Burghs respecting the sett of the burgh, the clerk wrote, 'the burgh has a dean, who is not a dean of guild, it not being a guild town.'‖ 1827, the date given by Mr. Gross, is the year when the town procured a confirmation of the charter of James VI., and proceeded to give effect to it in other matters as well as in that of establishing a guildry,

---

* Macdowall's *Dumfries*, 310. † *Ibid.*

‡ *Recs. Conv. Roy. Burghs*, III., 445. § *Ibid.*, p. 574.

‖ *Misc. of Burgh Rec. Soc.*, 180. Mr. Gross's note on this point is somewhat misleading. The natural inference from it is that the references to the Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs bear upon the clerk's return, whereas their relevancy is to the erection of the guild.

Brechin did not become a free royal burgh until 1641, when it obtained a charter from Charles I., which, like other charters of that period, does not seem to have been acted upon for some time.* The charter contains a clause respecting a Merchant Guild, but the inhabitants of the burgh were apparently in no hurry to avail themselves of it, and it was not till 1663 that the merchants appealed to the Convention of Royal Burghs. As usual at this period, the erection of the Guild was opposed by the Trades, and a dispute soon afterwards broke out between them and the Guild, but all difficulties being apparently overcome, the Guild was instituted in 1668.†

Lanark.—The charters of this burgh contain no Guild clause. The movement for the erection of a Guild there originated with the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1656, but meeting with strong opposition among the Trades, the 'Act aneut the Gildrie' was not passed by the Town Council until April 3, 1658. On the 6th May following, the burgesses were ordered to give in their names to the Town-Clerk for their enrolment as Guild brethren. Against this the Deacon Convener protested, but the Act was ratified on the 31st of the following August, and Alexander Tennet appears in the record as Dean of Guild.

Haddington.—The charters of this burgh go back to the time of King Robert the Bruce. In his charter of 6th December, 1318, given under the Great Seal, he confirmed to the burgesses all the rights and privileges which they had hithertoo enjoyed. There is no Guild clause, and no Guild appears to have existed there before the middle of the seventeenth century. On July 10, 1654, a petition was presented by the merchants of Haddington to the Convention of Royal Burghs, and on October 24, 1657, that body ordered the Magistrates and Town Council to proceed to the erection of a Guild at the next election, under pain of a fine of a thousand merks. ‡

---

* C. Innes, *Registr. Episc. Brech.*, I. p. xix.

† *Recs. Conv. R. Burghs*, III., 568, 578, 588, 602.

‡ *Ibid.*, III. 452.

Culross.—Its charter bears the date 1588, but the Guildry was not established until 1659.*

Arbroath.—Permission to establish a Guild was obtained by the inhabitants of this burgh in 1599, but no action was taken upon it until 1715, when the Convention of Royal Burghs was petitioned by certain of the inhabitants to appoint some of the adjacent burghs 'to settle such a plan as might be most convenient for the common interest of their burgh, so as they may proceed to elect a Dean of Guild and Council.' A Committee was appointed in the same year, and the Commissioners appear to have erected a Guild in the burgh in opposition 'to the inclination of the inhabitants thereof.' In 1716 the Act was rescinded, but in 1725 the Convention was again petitioned to ratify an Act of the Town Council for the establishment of a dean of guild and guildry, and the whole of the inhabitants having apparently concurred the Act was ratified and the guild established.

Mr. Gross also sets down in his list Rosehearty, Maybole, Thurso, Kelso, Greenock, Stonehaven. In 1835 Maybole had neither a guild nor a dean of guild. As for the rest they had no guilds, and the deans they had were not representatives of societies enjoying exclusive privileges like the guilds of the Middle Ages; they were simply municipal officials, whose duties were sometimes no more onerous than that of adjusting weights and measures.

As will have been observed from the remarks just made the dates given in the first column are in several cases conjectural only. Some of the oldest of the burghs it will also have been noticed were among the latest to obtain licenses or charters for their guilds. It by no means follows, however, that previous to obtaining charters containing the guild clause, no guilds existed in the burghs. The probability is, as already hinted, that the charters simply gave documentary sanction to what had existed in all likelihood from the earliest times. The obscurity surrounding the subject is great, and suggests the necessity for carrying out the proposal made to the Govern-

* Beveridge, *Culross*, I., 297.

ment by Dr. Stuart that steps should be taken by the Historical MSS. Commission to calendar the documents and records in the possession of the different municipal authorities throughout the kingdom. Much that is illustrative of the industrial and social as well as of the general history of the country may be gleaned from them. At the present moment many of these records and documents are practically inaccessible.

Art. IV.—THE VAUNTS OF MODERN PROGRESS.

'Whether to see life as it is will give us much consolation, I know not.' —*Samuel Johnson.*

THE 'Diamond' Jubilee year of our most gracious and well-beloved Sovereign has come and gone. The roll of drum, the fanfare of trumpet, the peal of joy-bell, certifying to the consummation of a reign of unexampled duration, have discharged their last echo. The blaze of myriad commemorative bonfires, pyrotechnics, and festive illuminations, have long since flickered out. The pæans of a nation's thanksgiving, the acclamations of countless millions throughout a world-wide Empire, have resounded in full chorus to the ends of the earth. And all the civilised conclave of foreign States and kingdoms have turned their eyes to England, and added their felicitations to do honour to our Queen and Empress in this unparalleled prolongation of the term of her regnancy.

The year 1897 has indeed been both to Great and Greater Britain one fruitful of jubilation, and, for many reasons, rightly so. That there has been an extraordinary advance in material prosperity and general well-being during the Queen's long reign has now become the tritest of truisms. Our monarchy is the best and cheapest in the world. Our volume of commerce, and with it our mercantile marine, has in the past sixty years prodigiously increased. The inauguration and development of our railway system have changed the face of the country, and the very habits and intercourse of the people. Personal

wealth has grown and diffused itself to an unprecedented degree. The increased consumption of necessaries, and more especially of luxuries, among the masses, tells its marvellous tale. Our people are better governed, better protected, better housed, and, up to a certain point, better educated. Wages are higher, food and clothing cheaper. Deposits in the savings-banks have accumulated. Crime, as known to the law, has diminished, personal freedom been enlarged, many legal penalties been removed from the statute book. The gaoler's hand has been gloved, the sick are better nursed, the insane better cared for and safeguarded. And in view of the great movement towards Imperial federation of our Colonies which has set in, we may justly agree with the Chancellor of the Exchequer's recent assurance that 'The golden link of the Crown was never so valuable as now, when it unites an enormously extended Empire.'

These results of the progress of our age and nation are indisputable, and are matter for just pride. It is certain we are in no danger of overlooking or minimising them; rather the other way. The literature of Her Gracious Majesty's record regnal year is plethoretic with jubilations in the major key, in such wise that we have grown something weary of the one reiterated and unvarying optimistic tune. From Diamond Jubilee hats to Diamond Jubilee appeals from all and sundry in the newspapers to advance this or that particular cause in commemoration of that particular year, 1897 has shouted in high glee its plaudits on the amazing contrast and superiority it exhibits to poor '37, when the royal tiara first flashed upon the brows of the youthful Victoria. We have thus little call to traverse here ground so oft and so thoroughly trod, or to expatiate upon the heights of super-excellence to which the disciples of modernity are for ever assuring us we have attained.

The popular note of the day is, above all things, to believe in ourselves, and to over-appraise the present at the expense of the past. It is almost in the nature of a heresy in this our day to question the value of any item of our so-called modern progression, or to venture to doubt whether everything we

have evolved at the close of the past four or five decades is better than what we possessed at their outset. In its public utterances—social, political, journalistic, literary—the world of this date postulates its grand and triumphant advance beyond its antecessors, not alone in material things—as it might do justly—but likewise in the domain of the moral and intellectual. The age has constituted itself a mutual self-gratulating Association, and the forlorn condition and antiquated ideas of the earlier years of the reign have been derided in clarion-clang from the multifarious mouthpieces of the latest vogue. No doubt but we, on the threshold of a new century, are the people, and wisdom, though it may not perhaps die with us, is yet so transcendently above the wisdom of our fathers and forefathers, that we can for the most part afford but a smile or a shoulder-shrug for their ways and thoughts and achievements.

Acknowledging, then, the vast access of comfort, convenience, and material advantages that have accrued to us moderns within living memory, we may make the further admission that in certain social and ethical aspects distinct amelioration is to be noted to-day. Mr. Kidd, in his *Social Evolution*, becomes almost wearisome in his insistence on the altruistic development of our modern western civilisation. Yet, undoubtedly, the recent multiplication of charitable undertakings amongst us in aid of the sick and destitute and downfallen, which has received so conspicuous an impulse during this last year of rejoicing, may fairly be cited in support of this contention. Another count to the credit of the age is the drawing together of the classes. 'The leading feature,' wrote the late Dean Vaughan at the '97 Jubilee, 'of the Queen's long reign has been the approximation of man to man, class to class, peer to peasant, churchman to non-conformist,' which in a sense is no more than the truth. The democratising spirit of the day has partly brought this about, and we welcome it. So, too, in the matter of organised humanity to our fellow-men and prevention of cruelty to animals, credit may justly be given to the present age for a beneficent change of sentiment.

Yet another direction in which latter-day progress is indeed signal, is the growth of thorough self-denying work and of spiritual life within the Church. Even from the mouth of an extreme Radical and Liberationist we may gather this. In the short-lived parliamentary discussion (9th February, 1897) upon Mr. Samuel Smith's motion for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church, Mr. E. J. Morton had the candour to speak as follows:—'Of all the progress made during this long reign, none had been more remarkable than that made in the spirituality of the Church of England. Everyone would admit that in the last sixty years the Church had greatly increased in earnestness, efficiency, and excellence.' Mr. Balfour added his testimony in the same debate. 'So long as the Church of England possesses, as it now possesses, a clergy who are on the whole devoted to their labours—so long as it possesses a clergy whose work is not merely or chiefly among the rich and the well-to-do, but among the poorest and most helpless of the population—so long as the great body of Bishops are men of untiring energy and great spiritual elevation—so long the Church which has survived for centuries will have a perfectly secure position.' The Anglican Church 'is doing incalculable good by its efforts to stir the great body of the people.' The noble self-renunciation and unremitting labours of its clergy in such terrible moral wastes as say the Bishop of Stepney's diocese in the east-end of London, or the purlieus of our greater provincial towns, are solid facts beyond dispute. Nor, assuredly, can we deny to the hard-toiling priesthood of the Roman faith, nor yet to the pastors of multinominal Non-Conformity, our meed of admiring recognition for their strenuous zeal and ardour in the cause of the Exalted Master. They of the altar throughout Christendom are for the most part not backward in holding up before the eyes of the too heedless rout those loftier things, in sight of which alone life is worth living. But as to the response in the lives and consciences of the possessors of our higher civilisation, this is another matter, to which we will now turn.

A favourite vaunt of the 'genial optimist' of to-day is the alleged vast upward step achieved in the drinking habits of

the civilised world. Viewed in one way this boast may be legitimate. But in other aspects it would seem to be little more than a half-truth. That visible overt excess in the use of inebriating drinks among the upper classes has abated is undeniable. The page-boy under the dinner table to loosen the neckcloths of the gentlemen after sitting over their wine is a very old story of the past. Nor does society permit its male members now-a-days to stagger into the drawing-room hiccupping or thick of speech, saturated with an undue *mélange* of liquors. The day of bachelors' wine parties, which we of a certain age can call to mind, is nominally gone by, though we might probably find their congeners differently named in many a restaurant and pavilion in the resorts of our big cities. Still, it may be conceded that rampant drunkenness has been shamed out of society, and stalks about less blatantly to 'the man in the street' than it did of yore. Nevertheless, the statistics of drink are very curious and puzzling. It is over sixty years since 'Dicky Turner' of Preston originated the eponym of teetotalism. To-day there may be more total abstainers, but with all the Bands of Hope, Blue and Red Ribboners, Leagues, and other Temperance Associations, ramified throughout the country, the aggregate of the drink bill instead of diminishing seems ever to be on the rise, even allowing for the normal increase of population. It may be that the enhanced wages of the masses, and the greater diffusion of wealth among the commercial classes, means that a greater number of persons can now afford to consume alcoholic beverages. Certainly, the enormous multiplication of public-houses, and the huge profits netted out of them, do not point to diminution in what the teetotalers call the 'drink traffic.' A further grave fact is alleged by a well-known champion of her sex, Lady Henry Somerset. In her evidence (May, 1897) before the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the working of the Liquor Laws, this lady stated she had taken a great deal of interest in the Temperance question, and she was able to say that unquestionably there had been a considerable increase of drunkenness among women.

Take next the question of modern gambling. The tre-

mendous and accelerating development of this scourge of the human race towards the close of this century is matter of common knowledge. An eminent judicial authority recently pronounced it doubtful to which of the twain we should attribute the major share of the crime of the country—the gambling infatuation or strong drink. Betting and gaming are well-nigh as old as the human race, but the evil at this present has eaten its poisonous way deep into every class rich and poor, the like whereof has never been before. Statesmen, people of title, gentlefolk, the man of commerce, clerks and employees of every sort, artisans and operatives—to all these the study of the betting 'odds,' and the acquisition of 'tips' to facilitate the pocketing of other people's money without giving anything in return, are a serious business of their lives. The turf has been not inaptly called the Working Man's Stock Exchange. The Racing Calendar and other literature of the race-course, 'two-year-old' stakes, handicaps, 'double events' and 'grand nationals,' absorb the often scanty enough leisure of tens of thousands of the humbler households, and hardly a newspaper one takes up but has its sporting columns to cater to the imperious demand of a nation of gamblers. A well-known American, Mr. Chauncey Depew, declares that in England 'the present passion is the horse, the race-track draws unprecedented crowds, and all ranks, classes, and conditions bet.' Even the fair sex have caught the infection. A smart London Society paper well 'in the know' assured us a year or two ago that 'a feature of society as it is now is the fervour with which all the young married women have taken to racing.'

Nor is this wagering of money confined to the horse-racing ring. The turf book-maker, so lately raided by the Anti-Gambling League, is charged by that body with having sacrificed the true interests of sport to professional betting. He has helped, they contend, to make any small local race-meetings, which might have been sources of wholesome enjoyment, a terror to the neighbourhood. And latterly he has been extending his operations to such games as football and the like, which he formerly spared. Plainly, then, it is no

exaggeration to say that 'the extent to which betting is carried on at the present time threatens to corrupt the whole nation.' And here, at least, is a *fin-de-siècle* decadence, vast, gross, and palpable, whereat the veriest vaunter of latter-day progress must surely hang his head.

Nor is this all the gamester of our date has to answer for. In the speculator 'on Change,' the dabbler in 'margins,' he has a very near kinsman—both alike actuated by the hope of accumulating wealth without the labour of genuine industry. It is the lament of the hour that such as these are on the increase: men like one who, described as a financier pure and simple, 'never had the satisfaction of knowing that he was aiding in the world's actual production of useful commodities, whose business was to run stocks up and down, to buy and clear out at the *psychological* moment,' and whose gains meant somebody else's equivalent losses. Even the agriculturist in these latter days has taken to gamble in the 'futures' of his growing crops.

'Supposing it to be true,' says the *Athenaeum* (29th May, 1897), 'that cards and wagers are less general or usual than they were among the rich, is it not certain that betting on horse races and on football has enormously increased among the humbler classes? And is it not also certain that the evil, considered not as a class evil, but as a national evil, is extending every day?' What has the apologist of modernism got to answer to this? It is idle to felicitate us on the asserted improvement in London society, and to ignore or blink the opposite tendencies among the masses of the people.

Still pursuing our contrasts of the ethics of the civilised world, as they were understood a generation or more back, with their complexion to-day, let us pass to the institution of marriage. Since the enactment of the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857, the untying of the nuptial bond in this country has increased by leaps and bounds. But in Great Britain, at all events, the grounds for release from the connubial contract are carefully restricted within the narrowest limits, which approximate very closely to those prescribed in

the Sacred Evangel. Still, with the advance of the century, the number of divorce suits has been augmenting. Divorcees are encountered in society in large numbers, and the civil law interposes no bar to the re-marriage of the transgressors among them, though the Anglican Church, with practical unanimity, refuses its sanction to such re-unions. Nay, more, we have the unsavoury spectacle of guilt with foregone connivance, and not always detected collusion, of interested individuals with a view to bring about a dissolution of the conjugal tie. And all these scandals are dished up to the million readers of the newspapers, to the obvious depravation of public morals; in extra full detail should the case be one of those *causes célèbres* of which, alas, this age provides too many examples. In the earlier part of the Queen's reign we were spared all this.

To be sure, if it be much of a consolation, we can at least in this matter claim that many other civilised nations are in worse case than ourselves. From some statistics recently compiled by Mr. Henniker Heaton, the figures of comparative divorce in European States ranged between one divorce to 577 marriages in England, where the ratio is lowest, and one to twenty-one in Switzerland, where the proportion stood highest. A curious fact adverse to the morals of large cities as contrasted with the country at large was that, while the divorces in Germany numbered one in sixty-two marriages and in France one in eighty-seven, Berlin showed one in seventeen and Paris one to every thirteen.

These figures cast a somewhat sinister light on our boasted Western civilisation. But they are altogether thrown into the shade by the startling condition of things in the great English-speaking Republic over sea, if we are to accept the recent disclosures of an American lady, contributed to one of our leading periodicals.* 'Divorce,' she writes, 'is rampant in the United States. It is steadily on the increase. . . To-day divorce is the rule, and the motive-power of the divorce market is woman.' Some statistics are given us. In a

* See article, 'Divorce in the United States,' by Gertrude Atherton, *Contemporary Review*, September, 1897.

majority of the States, it appears, the number of legal grounds admitted for divorce range between six and twelve, while the qualifying antecedent period of residence for a suitor seeking relief is in some States as low as six months, three months, and even thirty days. New York and South Carolina, however, are notable exceptions. In the latter, 'No ground whatever is recognised as justifying divorce, and divorced people who have married again are liable to arrest for bigamy on entering this State.' Contrariwise, we are told that 'A San Francisco weekly newspaper recently, with no thought of humour, congratulated its readers that, as against the two thousand odd marriages of the preceding year, there had only been six hundred and forty-one divorces!' One divorce to thirteen marriages in Paris is bad enough, but what are we to think of this trans-Atlantic community in which something near *one-third* of the marriages contracted had come to be dissolved. Eight, nine, and twelve pleas for putting away one's espoused, among which we have to include imprisonment of either party, and, in some States, even incompatibility of temper. Marvellous departure, indeed, from the one sole cause for divorcement suffered by Holy Writ.

'The divorce revolution,' says Mrs. Atherton, 'has been brought about and is maintained by women. The typical woman of the United States to-day is a mental anarchist. . . She is a product of experimental democracy. . . She lives in an electrical atmosphere. She is a spoiled child. . . Her independence has begot an abnormal amount of individuality. Is it a matter for wonder that, finding the man she has married unsatisfactory, she tosses him aside and begins life anew?'

Here, again, we have a strange object-lesson in the evolution of the present era, and in the working out of the advanced woman's theories touching the duties and responsibilities of wedlock. Unhappily, our American sisters are not alone in their electrical and 'anarchistic spirit.' We have not a few amongst us in these islands of like sentiments, to whom the solemn words of our marriage rite, 'For better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love, cherish, and obey, till death us do part,' have lost their meaning. It

needs but to dip into current literature to find this out. For this kind of woman in the American Federation, 'The past,' says Mrs. Atherton, 'when disposed of has no further concern. The present is theirs; the future, a condition to be moulded by their imperial will.' And then we have the moving-spring of it all revealed:—'Moreover, the women of the present two generations, who dwell in great centres, have in large measure thrown off the shackles of conventional religion. . . In *less progressive times* the religious spirit—a common interest—kept the family together. It still does in remote districts; but this paper has to do with the tendencies of *a rapidly developing civilisation.*' (The italics in both cases are mine). 'The situation,' adds this lady writer, 'seems to be hopeless at present; it is not likely that any reform will be worked in this generation.'

Furthermore, one is told that in some of the Protestant German States disruption of the marriage bond has been made scandalously easy; *e.g.*, the divorces granted by the Unitarian authorities a few years back at Klausenburg, in Transylvania, were notorious. But if we are to believe Henrik Ibsen, as interviewed by a writer in the *Humanitarian* of January, 1897, who reproduces the substance of some conversations he had with this sombre psychological dramatist, the laxity of democratic Norway in respect of divorce made easy, and its reprehensible environments, caps all the rest:—

'Christiania,' Ibsen is represented as saying, 'is the most immoral town in Europe. . . Marriage is practically non-existent here, due in part to the ease with which, thanks to recent legislation, divorces can be obtained in Norway. . . . A man or a woman can now get a divorce in a few weeks by a mere application to a magistrate, who decides the question administratively—that is to say, without any civil process—and who never refuses to separate a couple who may have got tired of each other. . . . Again, where society is so thoroughly immoral as it is in the towns of Norway, and here in particular (Christiania), woman enjoys more power than she does where the virtues are practised. . . . People marry, divorce, remarry, and after re-marriage return to a kind of *union libre* with their divorced spouses.'*

* 'Henrik Ibsen,' by R. H. Sherard. It would seem that Ibsen found fault with this interpretation of his views, but in the February *Humanitarian* Mr. Sherard stuck to his guns, and adduced further testimony in support of his previous statements.

Closely allied to this modern loosening of the sanctity of marriage is the steadily growing audacity of the school which openly disseminates its pestilent doctrines of 'the free union,' and the free sovereign rights of husband and wife to discard one another at pleasure. We have had the 'woman who did' and does presented to us in the latest fiction on this side the water: while our Diamond Jubilee year has wafted over to us from the Occidental Republic another novel with an eminently concrete expression of the same idea. In a story entitled *Rose of Dutcher's Coolly*, by Mr. Hamlin Garland, we are given what purports to be a realistic picture of rural and urban life in the great Middle-West States of America to-day. To Rose Dutcher, a Wisconsin farmer's daughter and erstwhile university graduate,—the heroine of the tale,—a delectable wooer of Chicago, journalist and *littéraire*, one Warren Mason, addresses a written proposal of marriage. After unfolding his pecuniary prospects, this is what the lover is made to say to her he desires to make his wife.

'If at any time I find a woman whom I feel I should live with rather than with you, I shall tell you of her with perfect frankness. . . . Men and women change, grow weary of things, of bonds, of duties. . . . On the other hand, let me say I exact nothing from you. I do not require you to cook for me, nor keep house for me. You are mistress of yourself; to come and go as you please, without question and without accounting to me. You are at liberty to cease your association with me at any time, and consider yourself perfectly free to leave me whenever any other man comes with power to make you happier than I. . . . I do not claim any rights over you at all. You can bear me children or not, just as you please.'

Elsewhere in the story this cynical Chicago editor, a slow large blond man, with a beautiful voice, discusses the outlook of matrimony in the same strain.

'I am troubled by the "possible woman"—I mean the woman who might, quite possibly, appeal to me in a more powerful and beautiful way than the one I have. . . . When the glorious "possible woman" comes along I want to be free. So the woman might reasonably want to be free when the ideal man comes along.'

The beautiful and attractive Rose after the frank avowals of Mason's letter accepts the man who, according to the tale,

appears wholly to fulfil her aspirations. Yet she is portrayed to us as a sweet, strong, pure-souled young woman, combining a splendid physique with intense imaginative vigour and charm prepotent for malekind. True, this is a man's painting, and we may venture to trust that most women, even in the transpontine land of the free, would promptly send such a wooer about his business. Nevertheless, Mrs. Atherton is forced to acknowledge that this story of Mr. Garland's is 'one of the latest and most flatteringly received of the "veritistic novels," and that the pith of the suitor's letter written in all sincerity, despite the fact that it reads like a burlesque—is that the men of the United States are at the dawn of comprehension of their women, and making their initial effort at adaptation.' Too truly in the words of a high-class serial, 'in these days many who ought to know better are gravely questioning the morality of marriage, and advocating free love as the higher and purer way.' A portentous and monstrous phase indeed of the much belauded new 'gospel of social duty' we hear so much about, which is to replace the old-fashioned precepts of the Decalogue.

In respect, then, of the ordinance of marriage and cognate sex relations, our complacent optimist of to-day will hardly deny that the times have changed lamentably for the worse as the century has worn on to its close.

Turn we next to the domain of religion. In the vehement march of the age during the last two or three decades, how has it fared with the religious spirit, and where stand we to-day?

We have already noted the noble work which is being performed by the Christian pastorates. But is this work correspondingly seconded and brought to fruition in the spiritual and moral elevation of those for whose welfare it is expended? What echo do the hebdomadal exhortations from tens of thousands of our pulpits awaken in the hearts and understandings of the auditories; what proportion of the vast masses of the people are ever reached at all? What though the fervent zeal of the Christian sower wax stronger, and the travail of his soul deeper. Are not the cardinal verities of the Faith

scouted on every side, while the Sublime Central Figure of our most sacred adoration is being persistently dethroned from its supernal majesty by humanitarian theist, agnostic, and materialist, whose thin frigid phantom-substitutes for a life-giving cult are flaunted before our eyes in the pages of innumerable prints and periodicals in broadcast circulation. The apotheosis of evolutionised humanity is preached to us in place of the real Deity. The regeneration of society is at hand; the gates of life are to open; the race is ever advancing in wisdom and morality; and it is to the socialist and humanitarian that we are to look for the consummation of these results. Your socialistic neologist has little faith in the churches. He thinks 'the influence of the Church upon the social movement presents the greatest occasion of dread for the future.' Along his way alone lies the renascence of the world.

These iterated prognostications of the modernist are, it is to be feared, not borne out by the hard facts of the hour. The clergy of to-day, writes an influential Church paper (3rd September, 1897), both in country and city, are aware 'of the great change passing over religious life, a change which includes neglect of Bible-reading, indifference to matters of conviction, and a loosening of the general obligations of religion.' Only last Session, from his place in the House of Lords, the Prime Minister of the Queen warned us that 'there is a great danger of Socialism in the present day; it is an inclined plane down which we are tending to move; it is a snare which we should avoid in all our legislation.' * Again, from a recent article in the Netherlands Review, *De Gids*, by M. Cyriel Buysse, we may learn what the spread of Socialism has done for the Flemish peasantry, formerly a soberly devout people, but whose ancient faith is now quite undermined. So great is the success of the Socialist propaganda that the writer sees little hope of averting some final sanguinary crisis like that of the Septembrists in the French Revolution. Naturally,

---

* Speech by Lord Salisbury on the Workmen's Compensation for Accidents Bill—29th July, 1897.

the outlook is gloomy. And this is how Gustave le Bon in the *Revue Philosophique* (November, 1896) characterises the leading sociological note of to-day. Socialism, he says, comes now with its promises to modern societies, in which discontent is fiercer than ever. Riches are the god of our day. The lower strata of society are full of hatred and envy: the middle classes are greedy and corrupted by their gains: thinkers are in despair: the old religious beliefs and social standards are vanishing away. And to come very near home, Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet, who I believe has for years devoted herself to useful work in the east of London, and knows the poorer classes intimately, tells us in her recently published book *Rich and Poor* that the masses of the metropolis have practically no religious belief whatever.

In one of the ablest and best reasoned books of mark of this decade, *National Life and Character*, the author (the late Charles Pearson) has drawn for us a solemn and impressive picture of what the Puritan religious spirit meant for our forefathers, and how it held on to the earlier part of the Victorian era. But he goes on to say—

> 'The Puritan tradition of family life is dead, and cannot be revived. . . . What it seems most reasonable to apprehend is . . . that while family life in general will be as inviolable as heretofore, it will lose the sense of religious sanction. . . . If these changes ever come to pass . . . the family as it loses its influence, will cease to transmit the tradition of a consecrated household life.'

How well we who can look back to a previous generation are able to endorse this view. We recall the daily family prayer in the home circle, the evenings sociably spent by its members, the more general reading of wholesome literature, the domestic habits of the women, the simpler home recreations; the regularity and punctuality, each inmate of the household acting as the unit of a little social State where all were mutually concerned in its orderliness—in short, a general atmosphere of thoughtful amenity and homelikeness prevailing, to the advantage of the individual and to the economy of the ménage.

To-day all this is too often laughed down and voted dull,

not exciting enough. The pampered appetite for outside shows, theatres, music-halls, and such like, will not be denied. The men, young and old, spend more time in the smoking-room or the club. The women are left more to themselves and to the thrills of the latest *baroque* novel. A something of reasonable seriousness is perished from out of us. There is little quiet or time for reflection in the universal rush and whirl and racket. 'Is there not,' said the Bishop of Ripon to last year's Church Congress, 'a tendency to a religion more shallow than that of former years. Has the wide and liberal faith' (so-called) 'of to-day the depth of other days. Is there not a feverishness and harmful love of excitement amongst us.' Doubtless, as his brother of Lichfield summed up, 'Our material progress is undeniable. But are we better as a nation? Are we better as so many separate individuals than was the nation at the beginning of the Victorian era, or twenty or thirty years later? Are Englishmen stronger, more honest, more faithful, more trustworthy? Are Englishwomen more pure, more closely associated with their domestic ties; are they setting an example of what womanhood should be to a greater extent than they were a generation ago?' In looking back to the pious home-centres of bygone days, 'We could not,' he added, 'but see how in the home itself was provided a great deal of what tended to form beautiful and strong characters,' while 'Now it seemed to him that the old family life was very much broken up.'

Nor has the Christian Sunday escaped the general disintegration of things consecrate. Church-going among our countrymen has notably fallen off, too many of them regarding both public and family worship as a bore. In this regard the other sex set a laudable example to the male folk, though there are who contend that emotionalism and fashion have something to do with this differentiation. A recent French writer, M. Gabriel Mourey, characterises our British Sunday as a day '*de repos malgré soi*,' which, though at first irritating, grows after a while full of charm. To him, familiar with the common-day bustle and frolic and merchandising of the Gallic *Dimanche*, our Sunday interval of repose, '*un calme sain de*

vingt-quatre heures,' seemed an immense benefit. But, beyond all doubt, there is amongst us less and less of this regard for sober Sunday quietness. It was Mr. Gladstone who said that 'The religious observance of Sunday is a main prop of the religious character of the country.' With the present increasing vogue of dominical dinner-parties and other private entertainments enlivened by recreations, neither the domestics nor those they minister to get much Sabbatic rest, while the movement to sweep away everything of a religious character specialising the Sunday grows apace.

It is to be feared, then, that the religious spirit has distinctly declined among the laity in the present generation, and that the claim of progress in this direction cannot possibly be maintained.

The truth is, we may fairly describe a vast deal of the vague incompact creeds of our epoch as 'The study and practice of Ethics of a more or less altruistic kind as a sort of substitute for the Christian religion.' It has been well said that an ideal is essential to the very existence of morality, and this is an age conspicuously without ideals. Another truth should be equally plain, though the trick of the day is to controvert it. It is impossible to construct a science of ethics without postulating a supreme personal Deity. Thousands are affirming to-day their belief that the moral law, without any religious sanction whatever, suffices to safeguard the progress of human society, and so—

> 'We help the blatant voice abroad
> To preach the freedom of despair,
> And from the heart of all things fair
> To pluck the sanction of a God.'

'A man,' said Boswell, apropos of theological faith, 'can live on thick air, but perishes in an exhausted receiver.' Even so, better the somewhat heavy but devout atmosphere of the early Victorian days, than the emptiness and negation of religious belief so rife now.

Take next the case of commercial and political morality. Who can dispute what a Right Reverend prelate justly emphasised the other day: the enormous increase of bogus

trading companies in this country, the adroit falsehoods of prospectuses, the facile falsification of accounts, the readiness to lend honoured names for a consideration to mercantile directorates, without a due realisation of the public responsibilities involved. 'We confess,' writes a London 'daily,' commenting on a recent case of conspiracy by Directors to defraud their shareholders, 'that we entertain little hope of any effective legislative cleansing of the Augean Stables of Company enterprise in Britain until a very different mental attitude is observed by large sections of the community, if not indeed by the public as a whole, towards the immorality and dishonesty with which much of our Company administration is honeycombed.'* Nor does M. Proal, of the French Judiciary, lead us to infer from his recent book on *Political Crime*, that things are any better on his side of the Channel. Again, cross over to the States of the great American Federation, and what an object-lesson we have there of latter-day retrogression. It is but two or three years since a Governor of Massachusetts—the late Frederick Greenhalge—thus characterised the politicians of his nation:—'The meanness of men has no limit. I find no real pride, no self-respect, but fawning, threatening, lying men, where offices are in question.' As to the unscrupulous plutocratic despotisms of that country there is a consensus of accumulatory evidence. Says the New York *Review of Reviews* (August, 1897):—'The power of monopoly, of gigantic combinations of private capital . . . has now become menacing in its arrogance, its usurpations of the Government functions, its irresistible might in legislative corruption. Witness the Senate at Washington, the Illinois Legislature, the Chicago Council.' And, it might have been added, to go but three or four years back, the notorious junta of Tammany Hall. And now Tammany is re-installed for another quadrennate of civic rule. 'This country' (U.S.), writes the American correspondent of the *National Review* (August, 1897), 'is almost a seething volcanic mass of human passions, ready for an eruption at any moment.' 'It is,' says

* *Morning Post* editorial, 21st Feb., 1898.

another high authority, 'certainly mortifying to find, after more than a century has passed away, corruption and Mammon enthroned, and the very principles on which the (U.S.) Republic is based trampled under foot.' The operations of such huge combinations as say the 'Standard Oil' and 'Sugar' Trusts, the 'rings,' 'deals,' 'corners,' 'pools,' and the like 'bossing' manœuvres, are known to all the world. Nor, when we look over the Continent of Europe, with the Great Powers armed to the teeth and in the general scramble for the remnants of the earth watching one another in an atmosphere of mutual jealousy and mistrust, does the ideal of Christianity appear to be making much advance.

Another instructive way of feeling the pulse of the age is through its literature. In this vehicle of public morality today do we see elevation or the reverse? If ever there was a time when, in the people's interest, written productions should be pure, bracing, and conscientious, it is now; for never before 'Have such vast masses of untrained readers been let loose on literature by elementary education and cheap books.' But is it so? Of the total amount of printed matter turned out week by week to swell the shelves of our libraries and strew the tables in our drawing-rooms, an enormous proportion consists of tales of imagination. An American librarian only the other day declared that over the water the percentage of fiction asked for in the library had risen to 90 per cent. of the books issued. But more than this, it is the character of so many of these fictional outpourings that is so reprehensible. Everybody knows and pretends to deprecate it, yet everybody reads the books. Continental fiction of the erotic type is probably worse than our own; but, veiled in a foreign tongue, it is happily less accessible to the English reader. We have heard enough of the works of the 'graphomaniacs' abroad, realists and *verists* of that Parisian school which has been described as evincing 'A passionate partisanship for the immoral and the disgusting.' Nor have we far to go to find their imitators among our own novelists; the last septennate has been prolific of them. Then, too, not only is it difficult

nowadays to get people to read anything but fiction, but the more sensational and *risqué* the book is, the more it is run after.

Sooth to say, we live in an age so exhausted by overdone athleticism and excessive stimulants of every kind, that the mental tastes and faculties are becoming enervated and enfeebled and incapable of thinking out any serious subject necessitating the smallest brain effort. The craving is for entertainment sole, for pleasurable titillation of the fancy, for reading to amuse or excite, but neither to instruct nor to improve. Herein we have the explanation of the *fin-de-siècle* leaning towards the brief journalistic paragraph—the very short story—the abridged attenuated magazine article—the society paper with its 'collections of bumptious snippets' disparted by asterisks. The intellectual weakling of these days is too indolent to keep his attention fixed upon any written composition, save perhaps a high-spiced romance, for much more than a consecutive *quart d'heure.* His queasy appetite must be tempted with peptic condiments by the spoonful, rather than with full portions of sound strengthening meat. The same symptom, alas, is showing itself among our schoolgirls and young women-students, according to one of the best authorities. 'The power of attention,' says Miss Beale, Principal of the Cheltenham Ladies' College, 'to subjects which are unexciting seems to have been almost destroyed in many cases by the unlimited indulgence in sensational and worthless literature, and real mental application rendered almost impossible.'

A like downward trend is visible throughout European literature. Even Russia, which has of late years supplied us with so much originality and intellectual vigour, appears to be developing a new school of writers inspired by the literary tenets of Gustuve Flaubert, Baudelaire, and Théophile Gautier. With these innovators, says Monsieur Golovin ('Orlovski'), 'there is no need for an idea to spiritualise the whimsical creations of fantasy. . . . If only the picture reproduced be bright and beautiful, there is no need to look into its meaning, to demand from the artist a true grasp of life or a power-

ful work of intellect, and still less a sensitive heart.' And now in Russia 'has been enthroned the absence of ideas, and a kind of middle-class egoism is being cultivated.' The present day is a period of decay in literature, but this tendency is not, M. Golovin opines, altogether the fault of the writers. It is 'created by the public, and insignificant superficial productions are called forth by the unexacting temper of society—in a word, the reader himself is responsible for the demoralisation in literature.'

In the matter of literary style and rhetoric, opinions may perhaps differ as to how they fare in these days. While the higher class of periodicals and a small minority of books turn out excellent, vigorous, and scholarly writing—entitled to rank with the best models in the language—we have at the same time been inundated throughout the last decade with specimens of the superfine and the affected—of mysticism, paradox, and preciosity—a kind of literary tinfoil which soon loses its glitter and flavour of newness. Long ago in Tudor days a prospective Dean of Durham gave this sage counsel to certain precursors of our modern 'Parnassians' and euphuistic stylists. 'Never affect any strange inkhorn terms . . . neither seeking to be over fine nor foolish fantastical. . . . I know them that think rhetoric to stand wholly upon dark words.' The pointed, virile, and lucid diction of our lettered forerunners—Addison and Steele, Swift and Johnson, Macaulay and Sydney Smith, Froude, Darwin, Newman and Thackeray—is too dull and *borné* for our latter-day mannerists. The days of the literary Coryphaei are gone by, both in prose and verse, and we have failed to replace them. Prose writing is mainly either journalism or fiction, about the only two branches of the craft which pay. While, as for poetry, Shelley, Byron, Tennyson, and a roll of distinguished others—with '*poetarum seniorum turba*'—are not: and, though poetisers abound, in this matter-of-fact intensely prosaic epoch only a select few of the reading public ever look at verse. A generation back, when there was some sentiment and romanticism abroad, the poets living and dead were studied and prized and recited in many a British home.

Another unhappy degeneration, we may note, is seen in the slipshod looseness of expression, the abounding Americanisms, the copious use of sporting lingo and all kinds of slang, which disfigure so much of the writing of the English-speaking race to-day. A well known authoress has humorously suggested for a remedy the extinction of nine out of every ten publishers and ninety-nine out of every hundred writers. She would also restrict the chief-sinning nationalities to a three years' study of the Psalms, the essayists, and the Elizabethan dramatists. Another popular *littéraire* justly deplores the 'vile vulgarisms and unauthorised innovations which day by day pass muster with the hasty public for literature and correct English writing.'

It would seem, then, that though the great spread of our State-aided education may have augmented the number of those who can write up to a certain standard of very commonplace mediocrity, literature in our day as a whole stands not where it did either in elevation of tone, dignity and distinction of style, or purity of composition.

In discussing the different aspects of the enquiry how far we of this generation have changed for the better or the worse from the times of our immediate predecessors, a word is due to the manners of the present day. A noble earl not long since, discoursing on this theme, came to the conclusion that manners are steadily deteriorating in Great Britain. 'Amongst a set of persons in London,' he says, 'whose social position gives them an influence far in excess of their merits, it is actually considered the "smart" thing to be brusque, loud, and self-assertive.' The younger men in 'society'—and this I fear is extending to the middle classes—are notoriously wanting in courtesy and deference to women. Down to the 'seventies' men with any pretension to good breeding put on their best behaviour in the presence of ladies. Nothing indeed was held to stamp the true gentleman so much as his considerate politeness and 'gentle' bearing towards the other sex. And unquestionably the instinct of true manliness is to treat all women thus, whatsoever their social grade, garb, or circumstance. When we see a well-dressed male hand out an

old apple-woman and her bundles from a railway carriage, or bestowing some little thoughtful attention upon this or that fair one, neglected and perhaps elderly, whom he may chance against at a ball, conversazione, or other social resort—we want no better credential of his genuine good breeding. It is a constant admission of women themselves that the best manners lie with the older men: the fascinating charm, the polish, the courtliness of deportment, of the old school of gentlemen are fast dying out. The younger men have been reared up in the prevailing laxity of home discipline: the *salons* of 'grandes dames' no longer afford them a training-ground in which to learn the punctilios of politeness.

In this particular, however, society itself is largely to blame. The fashionable world is at its wit's end to gather together for its entertainments a sufficiency of malefolk. The immediate consequence of the run upon the men is to increase their arrogance and affectation, and to make them virtually masters of the social situation. That this is so is matter of common talk. Ball-giving ladies will positively tout for men. This and that friend will be asked to approach somebody else who knows certain girls who have an eligible brother, and this brother will be bidden to the rout without his sisters. Instances, too, might be cited of almost incredible discourtesy towards hostesses in smart sets on the part of the modern young gentleman. Invitations left unanswered, or engagements accepted without an idea of fulfilment. Refusals at a dance to be presented to any of the entertainer's lady-guests, or again, the 'cutting out' of partners—but this is practised by both sexes. Dining at a friend's house, accompanying his wife and daughters in their carriage to a ball, and then never coming near them for the rest of the evening. Such are some of the amenities of the young bloods of society to-day.

Another potent factor in the degeneration of the manners of the man is the change of attitude assumed towards him by the modern woman. The brusque, shrill-voiced, hard, self-asserting, aggressive type of female, who travesties male habits, and claims equality and comradeship with her men friends, has killed their deference and respect for her sex. Even in a

minor matter, such as the art of dancing, deterioration has long set in, and, as a gentlewoman of position has expressed it, what we moderns of the better classes want is 'More of the dignity of our great-grandmothers, and less of the tomboy and romping element which it is a libel to call dancing to-day.'

'It has become a commonplace,' writes Max Nordau, 'to speak of the constant increase of crime, madness, and suicide.' In respect of mental aberration, while the Lunacy Commissioners hesitate to admit 'any important increase of occurring or fresh insanity,' their last Report states that, whereas in 1859 the number of ascertained lunatics, idiots, and persons of unsound mind in England and Wales showed a ratio of 18·67 to every ten thousand of the population, this ratio had risen on 1st January, 1897, to 32·00.* As to self-destruction, Professor Nordau's view derives corroboration from some quite recent statistics from Paris, quoted in the *Matin* (24th July, 1897). In France, it seems, with a population about stationary, there were in 1880 6,638 suicides; in 1892 the number had increased by more than a third, and by 1897 they had mounted to a total of 9,703. 'These official figures,' adds the *Matin*, 'are much below the real facts.' Moreover, from a statement lately published by the Italian Statistical Office, we learn that within the last ten years the number of persons who in Italy have died by their own hand has increased fifty per cent. It is further declared by Nordau that several new nervous diseases, exclusively a consequence of the present conditions of civilised life, have appeared within the last twenty years. For some further facts pointing to physical degeneration in the race to-day, the same writer cites the authority of certain experts. Thus, says Sir James Crichton Browne, people age sooner now, and both heart and nerve diseases are more prevalent; while, according to an eminent oculist—Mr. Critchett—spectacles for defective eyesight are resorted to earlier in life. Dentists, again, find more prematurity in the decay of teeth, and the hair grays sooner

* See 51st Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy—Appendix A., Table II.

than it did in former days. All these results, contends Nordau are to be traced to 'the vertigo and whirl of our frenzied' modern life!

Regarding another plague of our time—the advertising mania—one might pen a separate article. I do not mean merely the flaring posters, or the hideous medley of flaunting trade-placards which decorate our railway stations and other public places; nor the handbills on rural gateposts in lane and highway; nor even that apogee of abominations, the huge signboards which, stuck about in our beautiful English meadows alongside the main railway lines, or on the banks of old Father Thames, deform the landscape, and are an eyesore and offence to the passers by. Or, to take one more example, the columns and columns of our newspapers and periodicals given up to brief little stories or novelettes, perhaps cleverly illustrated, which the unwary reader is often tricked into reading, till he comes upon the merits of somebody's soap or syrup or sanitary hairwash. These and such like forms of latter-day puffery tell their own tale, partly of overstrained trade competition, and partly of the persistent vulgarising of the public taste. 'I see a wave,' wrote Matthew Arnold, fifty years ago, 'of more than American vulgarity—moral, intellectual, and social—preparing to break over us,' and was he not right?

But there are yet other forms of pushing, ostentatious advertisement of oneself and one's wares whereof our sires and grandsires knew nothing. There is the vulgar, restless vanity of the seekers of notoriety, which has given birth to a new industry—that of the journalistic interviewer. The craving for petty details regarding people of title and distinction, popular celebrities, or persons thrust for the nonce into conspicuity, is a symptom of an age which catches at trivialities, and is avid for the commodities that minister to a morbid and frivolous curiosity. For, assuredly, our serial literature would not be so taken up with tittle-tattle and fiddle-faddle about the personal habits, sayings, and doings of notables, were there not a public agape for such trumpery. The thing is a growing nuisance. What boots it to be told that such

and such a great patrician has fifty suits of clothes in his wardrobe, that a favourite comédienne's favourite viands are pilchards and *pâté de foie gras*, or that some eminent poet writes, like Horace's Etruscan Cassius, two hundred verses before a meal, and a like number after.

Nor are our fine ladies averse from a new form of advertisement. One constantly sees now tacked on to a literary tale or article, chiefly in the women's periodicals, the portrait and autograph of the writer. Sometimes an editor may ask for this, but, however that may be, the practice is a curious recent innovation. Then, again, in the chronicling of fashionable weddings, what on earth can the general reader find of interest in photographs of the various brides and bridegrooms he never saw, and whose physiognomies, plain or comely or commonplace, as the case may be, can be of no possible moment to him? 'Oh, but they like it themselves,' our journalistic conductor will answer. Just so. It advertises them, bestows upon them a momentary notice, ministers to the overweening personal vanity and thirst for cheap fame that are so characteristic of modernism.

Among a score of other comparisons that suggest themselves between the earlier and later years of the Victorian reign, not exactly favourable to the latter, we might pertinently ask this question—Are the domestic servants of this day—notwithstanding their exceptional privileges, greater liberty, and higher wages—more faithful, steady, trustworthy, more careful of their employers' interests, more appreciative of kindness and consideration from master or mistress, than they were in days gone by? But we must pass on.

I have reserved for my concluding point of contrast in this discursus a subject of the last importance to humankind, without reference to which the argument advanced in these pages would be incomplete—the modern woman.

A nation is the product of its women in more ways than one. A slight declension in woman's influence and refinement may have a disastrous bearing upon the whole community, and especially on the men. How do the younger generation of the

feminine sex to-day compare with their mothers and grandames as to physique, mental accomplishments, womanly graces, and general moral tone? First of all, it is constantly being asserted that the present representatives of English girlhood are taller and of finer development than their predecessors. This may be so, but it is one of those reiterated and broadly accepted theories we have no means of verifying. There are no available gynemetric statistics that I am aware of to show the average height and girth and weight of the maidens who figured in the first half of the Queen's reign, to enable us to compare their build with that of the girls of now. Undoubtedly, one sees numbers of young women of tall stature, but then we who have passed middle life can remember many such in the days of our youth. It is possible and perhaps probable that the increased attention paid to athletics in our girls' schools may have developed the *upward* growth of the woman's frame. But what we have to consider in our comparison is the *ensemble* or general aspect of the female figure. A course of dumb-bells and horizontal bars may be excellent for a damsel if moderately taken. But the endeavour to give her the muscular training suitable for a man is quite another thing. In the present day there is too much ground to fear that athleticism is being overdone among both sexes, but more particularly by the younger women of the upper and middle classes. It stands to reason that your modern girl who takes a long bicycle ride before luncheon, plays hockey or golf or lawn tennis all the afternoon, and finishes up with a dance in the evening, is not unlikely to overstrain her physical powers. Yet this sort of thing with variations is the kind of energetic programme affected by large numbers of leisured girls and women of society.

The pace is altogether too 'killing' for the corporeal capabilities of the normal woman. And the immediate (setting aside the ulterior) results are visibly imprinted upon the figures and faces of those among the weaker sex who thus overtax themselves. Grant that they have put on some inches to their height: do we desire a nation of Penthesileas or female grenadiers? Granted their muscular development may have in-

creased: do we want to see a woman made up of exaggerated thews and tendons? Our mothers prided themselves on their good looks; their full, rounded, and well-proportioned frames, their fine contours of arm and bust, their rose-tinted but dainty complexions, their grace and elegancy of carriage, their charm and bewitchment of manner. That they safeguarded and often retained these attractions into middle and elderly life is evident from the frequent remark overheard to-day, 'How much better-looking is the mother than the daughters.' Now the athletic young woman gives herself up to hard outdoor exercises, but to little else. Tall and exceeding slim she may be, but the true soft womanly lines are too often gone from her. None can have failed to observe the remarkable increase in the number of spare flat-chested young women since the advent of the craze for athleticism. At entertainments where the low-cut dress is worn this is conspicuously apparent: collar bones and angles and hollows showing where in former days all was feminine smoothness and fulness. And then the countenances of these ladies, more particularly those of them who have taken to excessive cycling: tanned perhaps, but weather-beaten if not freckled, and with a certain worn, keen, hard-featured aspect familiar to most of us, which is anything but becoming.

Much of this addiction to excessive bodily exertion among the fair sex is due to the fashion of the hour: much of it is a species of emulous swagger due to the propaganda of the advanced women. Our well-to-do maidens are smit with the desire to compete with and emulate men in the domain of athletism. But it is of no avail; nature and physiology in time take their revenge. Fortunately, in this matter the women of the lower-middle and working classes have as yet escaped much contagion from the ranks above.

The other variety of female, still so much in evidence among us both in literature and on the public platform, is even more alien from the ways of our fore-mothers. Her influence upon her own sex is depressing, and upon the opposite sex repelling. An accomplished authoress declares that, in spite of the comradeship and the breaking down of many social

barriers between them, the sexes were never wider apart than they are now. The Mary Astells and Mary Wollstonecrafts of to-day claim to be altogether superior to their antiquated and benighted sisters of fifty years ago. Are they? Our noble epic singer in the sublimest of his compositions has drawn for us one of the most exquisite pictures of a pattern woman to be found in the language:

> "Not obvious, not obtrusive, but retired,
> The more desirable. . . ."

would have to read '*most* obvious, *most* obtrusive, *not* retired, the *less* desirable,' to fit the latest advanced sample of the sex. With her

> '. . . Those graceful acts
> Those thousand decencies that daily flow
> From all her words and actions mixed with love
> And sweet compliance. . . .'

seem to be fast going out of vogue. A distinguished lady-writer has told us that one cannot attempt to probe to the soul of woman without earning her enmity. If this be so, I fear I am on dangerous ground. Nevertheless, since according to the same feminine authority it is as necessary to set a woman to catch a woman as a thief to catch a thief, it may be safest to look to women's utterances regarding their sex rather than to men's.

'The passion for power,' says Mrs. Roy Devereux, 'is burning the soul of the modern maid away. . . . She has become an intelligence, but she has ceased to be a delight. . . . That sublime faith in love which has been a living spirit in the soul of "Eve throughout the ages" has gone down before the eyes that are at last unbandaged. . . . In the good old days woman was faithful by nature as well as by obligation.'

In her placid soul—

'Only known gods were deified and domestic ideals cherished. Now-[illegible]days the dust lies thick upon all these. . . . The modern woman [illegible]ngers for new perspectives, new aspirations, new affections . . . [illegible]rests with a pulse in them, sensations with a bloom on them. How [illegible]uld the man of her maiden favour fulfil the need of her maturity? To [illegible]very season its book and its bonnet, why not also its love?' *

---

* *The Ascent of Woman*, by Roy Devereux—Lane, 1896.

Surely we might imagine this lady to be writing of the class of American women presented to us by Mrs. Atherton. But no, she is writing of English women!

'For this cheapening of love,' we read on, 'two things seem to be responsible, and of these the first is the decline of religious belief. . . . A certain loosening of the moral tension in women has supervened.' The popularity of marriage, says our authoress, is on the wane: 'a vague distaste to it has shown itself among the young of both sexes.' The maternal instinct fares no better in 'this insensate era.' Modern woman 'has turned the cold light of criticism upon her eternal mission' (motherhood) 'as upon everything else in the universe. . . . She is never weary of declaring her contempt for the other sex and the feminine beauty that *he prizes above all human things.*' (My italics). The result is that man 'regards the present stage of her evolution with dismay and her future with despair.' These strictures, be it noted, are from one who is anything but a reactionary in regard of her sex.

As a pendant to the above views upon the modern woman —which after all, if a trifle exaggerated, are but the substance, put into vigorous and pointed language, of a large volume of thoughtful opinion of the day—I will cite one or two passages from another lady-writer of great ability and discriminating acumen, Mrs. A. Sutherland Orr. The circumstance that it is twenty years since her essay appeared throws a significant sidelight on the intervening progress of the movement for the so-called Rights of Women. Moreover, the author's fairness and her evident sympathy with the cause of female emancipation add to the value of her criticisms.

While admitting there had been need of improvement in the education and position of her sex, Mrs. Orr does not conceal her apprehensions of the then probable future of the women's agitation. 'The evils,' she says, 'attendant on the new social order will not be temporary but permanent. . . . In the first flush of regenerated female life, we may have larger women, and not yet different ones. We may see the utmost expansion of which the female nature is capable: generations may pass away before the fatal bias is perceptible

through which its fair proportions are ultimately to be destroyed.' And again: 'The one fatal result of female emancipation is this, that in its full and final attainment, not only the power of love in woman, but for either sex its possibility, will have passed away. This is the last conclusion which the advocates of the movement are prepared to accept.' . . . In these days of the 'higher education' of women and the feminine thirst for university honours, a further observation of Mrs. Orr's is full of significance. 'That intellect in a woman should conduce to her being loved, that it should even be compatible with it, it must be subordinated to her womanhood. . . . It must heighten, not obliterate, the sense of contrast in which the magnetism of sex resides.' One more quotation will suffice to show how closely this writer's forecast approximates to the views set forth in *The Ascent of Woman*. 'What number,' asks Mrs. Orr, 'of our "regenerate" women will choose to become mothers, and what at best will be the maternal qualities of creatures for whom maternity is no longer a primary object, but a possible incident in life?'*

Numbers of other women, high-placed and insightful, have written to like effect. Even the author of *The Heavenly Twins* has at last turned upon the modern English girl. 'Charm of manner is departing from her.'

> . . . 'She thinks too much of herself, too little of other people. . . . She takes no trouble to make herself agreeable. . . . In her home life she is apt to be selfish, and in society she is only genial when it suits herself. . . . She asserts herself on all occasions, but cultivates none of the gentle dignity, the grace, with which women can add so much to the beauty of life.' †

In refreshing contrast to the votaresses of the feminine 'renascence,' one turns to some delightful Jubilee recollections of the youth of the highest lady in the land. In a private diary kept by the Honourable Charles Augustus Murray while at Court in 1837 he thus records his impressions of our Queen. 'There is something so feminine, so gentle in her manner of

* *The Future of English Women*—*Nineteenth Century*—June, 1878.

† 'The Modern Girl,' by Sarah Grand—*Temple Magazine*, February, 1898.

addressing those about her, that it really is a pleasure to render her the most trifling service, or speak with her on the most trifling subject.' Again, Her Majesty having done the narrator some small favour, he was wholly won by 'the sweet manner and grace with which it was conveyed. . . . The tone and manner were such that I could have knelt down and kissed her feet.' * Mrs. Emily Crawford, whose personal reminiscences date back to the same period, remarks, in mentioning Lord Melbourne, that he 'may have been astonished to see freshness, innocence, maidenly diffidence, and a youthful glow of life associated with the sceptre.' So, too, writes another lady, one of the Queen's bridesmaids at the Royal nuptials—'I look back with respectful admiration to the unostentatious simple habits of those times.' Innocence, simplicity, maidenly diffidence, gentleness, sweetness—feminine graces cultivated in the early regnal years of our beloved Sovereign—are now very much out of date.

Small wonder, then, that so many of us men past our youth turn away from the typical young female of to-day. The woman of our springtime and noontide was a rest and refreshment of soul to the man she loved. The heart of her husband safely trusted in her. She did him good, and not evil, all the days of his life. She looked well to the ways of her household, and in her tongue was the law of kindness. In calling back the vision of *her*, we are wistful 'for the grace of a day that is dead.' We are moved to sigh over the unforgotten bygone years of her resplendence—

> 'As woods in dripping rains
> Sigh over all their fallen leaves.'

And we would fain linger on near her shrine, how poor soever the word of tribute we can offer to it. Somehow, for sure, there is a subtle feminine something one misses now in the general run of educated women, something which drew the men of the forties, fifties, and sixties. Early marriages among gentlepeople were then in fashion; they are so no longer. That—heaven be thanked!—there are still many beautiful

* 'Three Weeks at Court'—*Cornhill Magazine*, Jan., 1897.

and accomplished and fascinating women growing up amongst us, goes without saying. And there is much that is comforting in the epigram that 'Woman is always woman, and never will be aught but woman so long as the world endures.'

But this article has run out to considerable length, and I must stop. We started with a recognition of the manifold progress of the civilised world, and Great Britain in particular, in all that ministers to our material prosperity—in the arts, the sciences, the extension of Empire, the growth of a certain national altruism, the spread of benevolent institutions, in humanity and cosmopolitan *camaraderie*, in the redoubled work of the Churches. But we also saw that the fashion of the day among publicists is too much towards national glorification, optimistic self-complacency, extolling of the present, depreciation of the past. Public speakers and writers are prone to preach and prophesy smooth things, and the people love to have it so. In the year just gone by, it had been an ungracious and churlish task to sound a discordant note amid the chorus of Jubilee plaudits and gratulations. But now, separated as we are by little more than a twelvemonth from a new century, it may be profitable to look around us, and realise the hard facts of the day, rather than the make-believes which the vaunter of modernism so sedulously puts about. Thus it is that the present writer has in no obscurantist spirit essayed to break a lance for the earlier decades of the Victorian reign, which it is now the mode so to fleer at and deride. Common fairness demands that both sides of the case should be presented. One is always being rehearsed to us. *Audi alteram partem.*

It may be that the modern depravations we have noted in our own national life and character, as well as in other sections of Christendom, are to be attributed to a merely temporary backwash in the great onward tide of civilisation. This is the view, doubtless, of those who believe in an unerring main current of advance of the human race. Others of us may incline to agree with Niccolo Machiavelli that the world neither grows better nor worse, but is always much the same.

Others, again, may be disposed to pessimise, and to argue that unless civilised society, man and woman, reform itself from the growing laxities which are now disfiguring it, the outlook for humankind is a bad one. That this century, so near the throes of dissolution, should make a death-bed repentance, is past praying for. But it is not beyond hope that in the next cycle a sane reaction may set in from the fret and frivol and fever of our present conditioning of life. Meanwhile, it lies with the reader of these pages to answer to his or her own satisfaction the question I have virtually propounded—a serious one, indeed, both for ourselves and for our posterity. With all our added knowledge, culture, boasted enlightenment, and opportunities—Are we better than our fathers?

T. P. W.

ART. V.—THE GREEK FOLK AS REVEALED IN THEIR POESY.

'Le plus grand poëte de la Grèce contemporaine, c'est le peuple grec lui-même, avec cet innombrable essaim de rapsodes qu'il engendre sans cesse, et qui s'en vont, en quelque sorte sans interruption depuis le vireil Homère, le premier et l'inimitable, mendiant comme lui, chantant, improvisant, enrichissant chaque jour le trésor de cette poésie dont ils sont les fidèles dépositaires, en même temps que les vulgarisateurs.'—YEMENIZ, *Voyage en Grèce.*

LAST month, an event occurred which may well recall attention to the Greeks. On Monday, the 6th June, Edhem Pasha left Volo, the great seaport of Thessaly, with the last troops of the Turkish Army which has occupied the province since the great *Debâcle* of last year, and was saluted by the French, Russian and British warships in the bay. The retiring but victorious Turkish soldiers cheered repeatedly, and got a hearty response from the British sailors. Nor were these British cheers undeserved, considering what appears to have been the general conduct of the Turkish Regulars both during and since

the war. The entry of the Greek troops then took place amid great enthusiasm. Have the Greeks the stuff in them to make a recovery as splendid as has been that of the French, who were no less beaten to the ground in 1870-71 than the Greeks were last year? To know a people, one must know its folk-poesy. From its culture-poets one can obtain but a very partial, if, indeed, any true view at all, of how the great mass of the people feel and think. If the work of a culture-poet lives in men's memory, it is in general but in the memory of a comparatively small section of the community, and owing to some special originality of thought and expression. But the nameless bards whose utterances are preserved, not in printed volumes, but in the hearts of the folk, and transmitted, as the most precious knowledge of the women, these nameless bards of the people can thus live only in proportion, not so much to their own originality, as to the force and freshness with which they feel and think with the commonalty, and hence, in proportion to the spontaneous truthfulness with which they voice ideas, sentiments, and aspirations, actually and widely cherished. In order, however, thus to know a people through its folk-poesy, it must be collected with representative completeness, and hence, from all available sources, translated with scrupulous fidelity, and then scientifically classified. This I have lately attempted to do, or to see done, in the case of Greek folk-poesy.* In these volumes, however, it would have been irrelevant to my special purpose as editor to point out at any length the inferences to be drawn as to national character from the great variety of documents collected. But the Greeks are still prostrate. And just on that very account, and because, as many think, it would be no less calamitous for south-eastern Europe generally than for just Hellenic aspirations, if the Greeks should be kept thus beaten to the ground, I trust that the following pages, illustrative of the moral characteristics of the Greek folk, as revealed in the three great divisions of their poesy, may neither be considered inopportune, nor found without effect in stimulating helpful sympathy.

---

* *Greek Folk-Poesy.* 2 vols. London: D. Nutt. 1896.

I.

First, then, as to the indications of moral character to be found in the Mythological Idylls and Tales of the Greeks. The characteristic traits of their mythical heroes may, indeed, not be commonly found among the Greek folk. But the character of a man's heroic ideal always affords some indication of his own character, or at least of its possibilities, however far his ordinary conduct may fall short of that ideal. So it is likewise in the case of a people. For tales of heroes and the traits of their character would not be preserved from generation to generation, unaided by the printing-press, did they not depict genuine folk-ideals. In this alone there is some testimony to the character of the Greek folk. Nor, when we come to give illustrations of Greek character from their Social Songs and Stories, and their Historical Ballads and Legends, shall we find generally any very great discrepancy between character as there depicted and as it is depicted in their Mythological Idylls and Tales. The fearless adventurousness of the Greek mythical heroes could be fully shown only by recounting at length some of the stories of their magical adventures. Their other qualities may be more briefly illustrated. And in calling to mind these Greek hero-tales, the first thing, perhaps, that strikes one is how often both heroes and heroines owe their good fortune to sympathetic courtesy. Thus, for instance—

'When the Prince woke up, he saw at a distance an old woman sifting flour into a great baking-pan. But the flour did not fall into the pan but on the ground. When he came nearer to the old woman, he saw that she was blind. Then the Prince said to her, "Wait mother, don't sift the flour, for it is falling on the ground." "But I can't see, my laddie," said the old woman. "Give it to me, mother, and I will sift for you," said the Prince. So he set to and sifted the flour, and put it in a sack which lay near, and said to her, "Where are you going to carry it? Let me help you, mother." The old woman was very much pleased with the Prince, and said to him, "My boy, for the favour thou hast done me, what shall I do for thee?" Said the Prince to her, "Mother, give me your blessing, for you cannot help me in what I am seeking." "And what is it thou seekest?" asked the old woman. "Wilt thou tell me, that I may hear, and see if I cannot perhaps help thee?"' *

---

* *Greek Folk-Poesy*, II., 80. Δελτίον, I., 147.

But the finest and most significant of these courtesy-incidents are those in which one who has been bespelled recovers his or her natural form through the power of a courteous act, and the love from which it springs. Thus, in the hero-tale from which I have just cited a passage, it turns out that the old woman 'was the Good Fate, and the other Fates had blinded her because she had never done evil to anyone, and they fated her never to recover her sight until she found somebody to love and pity her.' And when the prince is informed of this, it is implied that her sight she had recovered through his courtesy, though he had been quite unaware that his kindly act had had such power. So, again, in the story of 'The Enchanted Lake,' the Frog-Princess says—

'A magician foretold to us that if there should be found one to love me and not curse the hour in which he found me, I, too, should become human. I remained a Frog in order to prove thee. Since I see that thou art so good a man I will bring thee good fortune, and we will let thy sisters-in-law mock, if they will."

And again in the story of the Prince who was changed into a Snake we read:—

'But her sisters advised her not to go back, so that he [the Snake] might die. The girl replied, "How could I leave my Beast to die who have received such help from him?" . . . When the Snake saw her, he said, "Hast thou come, my Rose?" When the coffee came for her to drink, the Snake lay down in her lap, and when he said, "Wilt thou take me for thy husband?" the girl replied, "I will take thee." His skin fell off, and he became a Prince. . . . Then the maiden began to ask him what manner of man he was and how he became a Snake. Then the Prince told her that he had loved an orphan, and she had laid him under a curse to become a Snake and never cast his skin until he should find a woman who would consent to marry him.'

It is commonly believed that the conception of love as a power, and indeed as the only power, that can transform from foul into fair shapes is a distinctively Christian idea. But such stories as these are, as every folklorist knows, to be found in folk-poesies little, if at all, affected by distinctively Christian ideas, and no more strikingly in contemporary Greek, than in our own earlier Keltic folk-poesy. And the inference, therefore,

would appear to be that this is a conception of love rather borrowed from, than by, the folk.

With courtesy there naturally goes gratitude. The helpful courtesy of the hero begets equally helpful gratitude in those, whether in human or animal shape, to whom such courtesy has been shown. Indeed, there is a whole class of folk-tales entitled *Stories of Grateful Beasts.*

'Then the Lion and the Eagle say to him, "What favour dost thou ask of us?" He, desiring nothing, said, "What can I expect from you?" Then the Eagle plucked a feather from his breast, and said, "Take care of this feather, and thou wilt not repent it. Whenever thou wilt, thou mayest become an eagle, and when thou wilt a man." And the Lion pulled out one of his hairs, and said, "Keep this hair, and when thou shalt burn it, I will gather together all the other lions, and we will do thy bidding."'

And the heroes themselves, of course, are no less grateful than courteous—

'Then said the King to the Prince, "I rejoice greatly, my boy, that thou hast slain thine enemy. If thou art willing, I will make thee my son." But he said, "I have some business to finish. If you will give me eight days grace, I will give you my answer." Then . . . he went to the Princess who had helped him, and told her all he had gone through, and said that he would take her home to her parents, or marry her, as she pleased. She begged him to take her home to her parents, as she was betrothed. Afterwards he went to the King, and said that he would take his daughter to wife. And the King was very glad to have such a son-in-law.'

Nor, I may add, are such insinuated—though not on that account less effective—lessons in courteous and grateful conduct by any means confined to the hero-tales, but are plentifully found in the lower level of social stories.

With fearless adventurousness, courtesy and gratitude, there naturally goes truthfulness. So far as I remember, the only instances of falsehood and treachery in the hero-tales are on the part of women, even when princesses, or of men of such alien races as Jews, Negroes, and Mongols—the last being, I suppose, indicated by the term Σπανὸς, 'beardless.' For true as well as fine is the reply of a prince to a king who, after being told a wonderful story, says—

'"Consider well, and don't tell us lies, or off will go thy head." "A man," replied the Prince, "who has resolved to deliver a Princess from death, or to sacrifice his own life, never tells lies."'

As instances from the folk-tales of keeping faith notwithstanding the most grievous loss and suffering occasioned thereby, take, for example, the following:—

'There came up the Mother of the Sea on the foam, and said to him, "Why dost thou sigh so deeply? Thy sighs wither the very trees." "I am in despair because for a month or more I have cast my nets without being able to take a single fish. I have no bread to eat, and now my nets are all torn to pieces." "If you will promise me to bring up a son, well taught and well nourished, and when he is eighteen years of age to bring him to me on the beach as a husband for my youngest daughter, you will catch plenty of fish." "But I have no children." "Give me thy word, and that shall be my business." He gave her his word. . . . Months came and months went. . . . The good-wife was full of joy that she was at last to have a son after she had given up all hope of one. But the Fisherman was sad. His wife asked him why. . . . He told her. . . . The woman was much distressed, but what could she do? *he had promised.* . . . When this their only son was eighteen years of age, the Mother of the Sea came out on the foam and said to the Fisherman, "It is time to bring me the boy." . . . So the Fisherman went in his boat to the deep waters to the Mother of the Sea, "I have brought him to the beach, and you may go and take him." The boy escaped. But the Mother of the Sea said to the Fisherman, "You have not wronged me, you shall catch fish as before."'

And again, a 'Beardless One,' desirous of personating a King's son, reduced him to such straits that to save his life he took the oath prescribed to him that '*only if he died and came to life again* would he declare himself to be the King's son.' This oath the Prince kept, though it brought on him endless trials, difficulties and sufferings. At last the Beardless One killed him.

'But the Beauty [whom the Prince had rescued] hastened, took up his body, and by means of Water of Life and some magical words endeavoured to revive him. "*Ach!*" she cried, "I have brought him to life again. Now let come what come may!" "But what?" asked the youth, "was I dead?" "Yes," she replied, "the Beardless One killed thee, and I rought thee to life again." Then at last the boy realised that he was ed from his oath, for he had *died and come to life again.*'

Other trait[illegible] Greek mythical heroes are their honesty, se of fai[illegible] agnanimity. With the readiness to turn

his hand to anything, which is as characteristic of the ordinary Greek of to-day as of the heroes of his folk-tales, an exiled prince had hired himself successively to a swineherd, a shoemaker, and a goatherd.

'One day, as he was driving the goats home to the fold, one goat strayed away from the rest. . . She crossed seven ridges, and finally stopped content. And when the youth approached her, there appeared before him a Wild Man, who embraced him and kissed him and said to him, "My Prince, for my sake thou hast suffered this adversity . . . and now I will make thee the greatest king upon earth. . . So sit thee down and rest thyself." "No," replied the Prince, "I cannot. I must first take back the goat to my master, and then, if thou desire it, I will return, but I cannot stay now."'

In another story the hero, Phiáka by name, finds another called Yiáso, who proposes a trial of strength, on the understanding that whoever showed himself the stronger, should become the master of the other. And Yiáso, on being beaten, cries—

'"Well done, my Phiáka! From this time forward thou art my master, bid me do what thou wilt and I will obey thee." "Then follow me," said Phiaka. "With pleasure," said Yiáso, and they rode together and came to the castle of the forty Dhrakos.'

Nor had even these forty Dhrakos a less honourable sense of fairplay. Phiáka having been discovered 'sleeping like one dead'—

'"That's lucky," said one of the forty, "we shall sup finely to-night." "Never!" cried another. "It is not honourable to kill him while he sleeps. We must first awaken him and fight him one by one." "No," replied the eldest brother, "that will not do either, for one to fight against forty; but we will kill him if we beat him at feats." "Very well," said all the brothers. And the hero having beaten them all in playing at ball, "Our word is our word," said they, and they married him to their sister.'

Let me close these characteristic extracts from the Greek hero-tales with one or two fine examples of magnanimity. A princess having been cruelly wronged by a lying and treacherous slave-girl, the prince who was to marry her determined to hang the slave-girl.

'Then said the Princess, "I do not wish our wedding to begin with slaughter. Set her free only, and let her go her way. For she has sorely wronged me, and I would not mine eyes saw her again."'

And so a prince, who had been driven from home with the cruellest and most unjust reproaches, says to the Nereid who had helped him in his misfortunes, and was now to marry him—

'"One favour only I would ask; let me go to our kingdom to see what has become of my most unfortunate parents and my brothers, and afterwards I will come and live with thee. If I come back glad, we will be joyful; but if I come back sorrowful, thou wilt comfort me."

'"Bravo!" said she, "I am proud of thee, and love thee all the more because thou lovest and rememberest them who drove thee out of thy palace. Go, and come back happy. I will await thee."'

I fear that to the reader, interested in the present very critical circumstances of Greece, I may in the foregoing pages have appeared to dwell too long on these old world stories. But let him reflect that these stories form a folk-bible incomparably more deeply impressed on the hearts, and more frequently on the lips of the Greek folk than that Hebrew-Greek Bible which, until the present generation, many even of their priests could not read, knowing their Church liturgy only by rote. But partial as may, in ordinary times, be the effect on conduct of the noble moral conceptions of this unwritten folk-bible, they nevertheless exist as a latent force, preparing the mind to be stirred by critical circumstances into the most daring and self-sacrificing enthusiasms. I doubt if Scottish Highlanders would so often have shown themselves heroes had they been ignorant of and uninfluenced by the traditional treasure of their Keltic hero-tales. And I think we may better understand the heroic enthusiasm which, but a year ago, thrilled eyery Greek breast if, among other causes of it, we take due account of the character attributed to the heroes of their folk-idylls and folk-tales.

II.

But from the two other classes of Greek folk-poesy—the Social Songs and Stories, and the Historical Ballads and Legends—we may more definitely gather the moral characteristics of the Greeks, not merely in their heroic ideals, but in their practical conduct. Now, in perusing the social songs and stories, one is first of all struck by the testimony they bear to that devoted

affection and mutual aid among members of a family which is, in fact, one of the chief characteristics of Greek folk-life. Very touching in their simple pathos are more particularly some of the Τραγούδια τῆς ξενητείας—'Songs of Exile.' For, poor as their country is, and especially where it is still 'Η Δούλη Ἑλλας, under Turkish dominion, sons, sweethearts, and husbands have constantly to seek in exile a livelihood for themselves and their families. When a youth is leaving for the first time the bosom of his family, it is customary for his relatives and friends to accompany him some distance on the road. Before taking final leave of her son, the mother laments his departure in song, to which the youth responds, bewailing the hard fate which drives him forth from his home. These songs of exile are sometimes extempore effusions called forth by the circumstances which induce or compel the youth to leave his home. Others, more conventional, describe the condition of the stranger in a foreign land, without mother or sister or wife to minister to his wants, or cheer him in sickness and sorrow. In one, which is entitled 'The Last Farewell,' is depicted the evil augury of excessive sorrow at a son's departure :—

' "Mother, arise, and knead for me, with whitest flour, some biscuits ;
With yearning pour the water in, and knead it with affection ;
That speedily from foreign lands thy son be seen returning."
With tears, she poured the water in, with tears, too, did she knead it,
With weeping did she roll it out, and with sad lamentation.
O, sad was Tuesday, Wednesday too, and Thursday was most bitter,
When mounted his good horse the youth, but ne'er was seen returning.'

Fearing a despairful scene, a husband has left secretly, and thus his wife tells her mother of the sad discovery :—

' "On Tuesday night, a bitter night, two hours before the dawning,
My hand I did outstretch to him, but did not find my husband ;
Then to the stable door I ran—no horse fed at the manger.
I sped me to the chamber back—I could not find his weapons ;
I threw me on my lonely couch, to make my sad complaining :
O pillow, lone and desolate ! O couch of mine, forsaken !
Where is thy lord who yesternight did lay him down upon thee ?" '

Nor is fraternal and filial love less passionate. A sister is rescued from Charon himself by her brothers.

'Accursèd may he be who said, "Brotherhood feels not sorrow."
By Brotherhood the hills are rent, and torn the spreading tree-roots,
Out in pursuit goes Brotherhood, and triumphs over Charon!

. . . .

Then by her hair he seizes her; in terror shrieks the maiden.
But see her Brothers follow them among the mountain passes,
They fast pursue old Charon till they've snatched from him their Sister!'

A Brother rises even from the grave to fetch his Sister from Babylon to console their mother—

'And God has heard her weeping sore and listened to her sorrow;
The tombstone cold a horse becomes, and the black earth a saddle;
The worms are changed to Constantine, who goes to fetch his sister.'

In the story of 'The Riddles, or the Devoted Daughter,' a girl 'beautiful as an angel and both clever and witty,' saves her father's life and obtains his pardon and reinstatement in his possessions. In another story called 'Moda,'* the two boys of a poor woman, reduced to the deepest poverty by the absence of their father, pondered—

'"What could they do? What could they do?" At last the elder said to the younger, "Thou must bind me, and sell me as a slave, so that we may get much money, and our mother may live comfortably. When our father comes back fortunate, he will redeem me." The younger wept, and was unwilling. He said, "Thou hadst better sell me, and remain with our mother." "No," said the elder, "because thou hast coaxing ways, and the mother will be consoled by thee, but I am not good at coaxing."'

The next thing that may strike one in these social songs and stories of the Greeks is their singular purity. Passion is, of course, ardently enough expressed in the love songs. But in these, as in the love stories, there is a masculine reticence which foregoes unnecessarily suggestive description. And this is all the more remarkable considering the extreme outspokenness about sexual matters usual in the Levant. And it need hardly be remarked how perfectly in accordance with all above noted with respect to the mutual devotion of members of a family is

* Μόδα = *μόδιος* = the sixth part of the attic *μεδίμνος* = a bushel, the nickname of the hero of the story, as his brother sold him for a bushel of sequins.

the purity which we have found thus conspicuous in the love songs and stories.

But in the social songs and stories a third important feature must be noted—the moral precepts which they convey, not indeed in an explicit and dogmatic fashion, nor after the manner of the hero-tales, but in homely παραμύθια, often of a humourous character. First, we may note the story of 'The Three Precepts,' of which two are identical with those of the Inverness-shire Gaelic and Aberdeenshire Scottish story of 'The Baker of Beauly,' which again are all three identical with the *Tres Sapientiæ* told to Domitian, as related in the *Gesta Romanorum*. The Greek precepts are—

'Ask no questions about what does not concern thee.' 'Change not the direction in which thou hast set out,' and

'Shouldst thou angered be at night,
Wait until the morn is bright.'

And in consequence of complying with these precepts which he had taken in lieu of wages, the poor man not only saves his own life and that of his son, but makes his fortune. This story also implicitly inculcates what is more explicitly taught in the story of the 'Contented Poor Man.'

'Hard by there lived a rich man, and hearing every evening the sound of laughter and dancing in the poor man's house, he wondered and said, "Why am not I, too, as happy and careless as he? All day long he chops wood, and at evening he fiddles. I will give him some money, and see what he will do with it."'

Then we are told how disturbed the poor man was with the question what he should do with the thousand piastres (=about £10) given to him by his rich neighbour. And the story concludes—

'The rich man listened as he passed by one evening, and he turned and passed again, but heard neither fiddling nor laughter nor children dancing. One morning he sees the poor man coming to him—"There, Christian, take thy money, I want neither it nor its shadow." And he went joyfully home again and played on his fiddle, and his children danced as before when the day's work was done.'

Stinginess is reprobated in the humourous story of 'The Parson's Little Pig.' Searching for a man to kill his pig the *Papa* asks—

'"Dost thou eat pork?" The man was cunning and replied, "Never do I eat anything of the kind." "Thou art the man to come and kill my little pig." He takes the man home and he kills it. The *Papadhiá* dresses the fry, and eats it with the *Papa*. For the man they cook a couple of eggs, but his mouth waters when he sees them eating the pig.'

In the end the man carries off not only all the rest of the pig, but the Parson's horse as well.

'So the *Papa* goes still on foot, and all through his own fault. For he grudged that the man who was to kill the pig should eat a bit of it, and got nothing himself but the fry.'

The story of 'The Dervishes' is a humourous one of a thieving Dervish who was robbed not only of what he had stolen, but of all his hoard besides, and of a dishonest banker whose wife, the Vizier's daughter, tricked him out of the deposit he had refused to give up, and then got her father to divorce and exile him. The hero is a poor lad from Athens who goes to Stamboul to endeavour to make some money with which to return and support his widowed mother. And the scene in which he robs the blind Dervishes, one of whose number had robbed him, and sets them all fighting with each other, is amusingly described.

I shall rather, however, give extracts from another Athenian story, called the *Guzel Halvadjí*—'Handsome Halva-seller,' as there are many points in it noticeable besides the moral it conveys.

'The King had a young Counsellor, and the Counsellor gave the Princess lessons, for she was always in her father's study. So fond was the King of her, and so good a daughter was she, that she could neither be happy without her father, nor her father without her. But you see, kings cannot do all that they like any more than their people can. And so there came a message to this King that he must go on a campaign, and he could not but go. . . . As soon as the King had left and gone about his business, the Devil told the Tutor in his ear to ruin the girl. . . . She said to him, "Thou mayest stay in the palace if thou wilt, but let not mine eyes see thee." Then he was afraid that she might write to her father, and wrote himself to the king. . . "She brings youths into the palace to amuse herself with, and afterwards she takes these youths and goes with them into the country, and stays away for days. . . Give me orders, my king, what I must do." When the king received such a letter about his daughter, he was like to lose his wits. . . At last he made up his mind and wrote to the Tutor: "I love my honour better than my life or the life of my daughter. Kill her, and cleanse the palace from shame."

When the Councillor received the letter, he read it to her and said, "Thy life is in my hands, either thou must love me or I will kill thee." And she said, "I am my father's child, and I love my honour better than my life; so kill me that I may escape from thy hands." Then he called one of his own men and said to him, "Take the princess and kill her." So he took the princess, and went far away into the forests, but he said to her, "I have not the heart to kill thee, I will only leave thee here in the wilderness, and may God help thee." . .'

In the end the princess discovers her father, the king, in the country to which he has gone on his campaign, and having, in the guise of a *Halvadjí*, gained a great reputation as a story-teller in the *halva*-shop on the ground-floor of the house, she was called up to distract the sorrow-stricken king, and told him what was, in fact, her own story.

'The king turned and said to *Guzel Halvadjí*, "Tell me, my boy, who taught thee that story."

' "A girl in a shepherd's hut."

' "Is she alive, this girl?" asked the king.

' "The girl is alive, and the evil-doer is alive."

' "And where are they?"

' "Behold the girl," said the *Halvadjí*, and he tore off his clothes and left only a woman's garments. She kissed her father, and then said, "And behold the evil-doer"—("Let me go out!" cried the Tutor)—"and there is he who pitied my innocence and saved my life."'

III.

We come now to what, in view of the certainly unextinguished volcano in the Balkan Peninsula, cannot but be the most interesting division of Greek folk-poesy—the Historical Ballads and Legends. Of these, the most remarkable, and, indeed, so far as I am aware, unparalleled feature is the length and unbroken continuity of the traditional memories of national history to which they testify. Hence these ballads and legends fall naturally into three great classes, illustrative respectively of Byzantine, of Ottoman, and of Hellenic memories—the first dating from what is perhaps the most glorious period of the Byzantine Empire (867-1057); the second dating from the fall of Adrianople (1361); and the third from the Greek War of

Independence (1821-9) down to the present day. But behind these folk-memories of national history, extending over more than a thousand years, there is, in the popular consciousness, a dim background of a far earlier period. This is associated with those vast Pelasgian ruins which are found far beyond the limits of the Mykenæan kingdom, and, in their wide distribution, more than justify the frontiers given by Æschylos * to the Pelasgian dominions. For these vast ruined fortresses and cities are, in these folk-legends, represented as having been built by a gigantic race of men, different from the Greeks, and whom they designate Ἕλληνες οἱ ἀνδρειωμένοι—'The Heroic Hellenes.' Only, however, thus indicating these dim memories of the Hellenic foretime, let me endeavour, in extracts from some of the more notable ballads and legends of the last thousand years, to bring home to the reader the unconquerable vigour of Greek national life as testified to by these inextinguishable memories of the vicissitudes of Greek history.

The heroes of the earliest of the definitely historical series of Greek folk-ballads have, as might be expected, assumed more or less of a mythical character. The group of Byzantine ballads I refer to are those which have been not unnaturally classed as the Andronikos or Digenes Akrítas Cycle. Formerly believed to be mere fabulous personages—Greek demi-gods of the Classical Period transformed by the popular imagination—the heroes of these ballads have been shown by M. Emile Legrand to have been historical personages of the tenth century. Andronikos was Andronikos Doukas, a member of the reigning Byzantine family, and governor of a province in Asia Minor, and Digenes Akrítas was the son of the beautiful Areté, the daughter of Andronikos, who had married Mansour, the Arab Emir of Syria, who had for her sake abjured Islam. And Basil, the son of this romantic marriage, was surnamed Digenes, Διγενής—'of two races' —from the fact of his parentage, and Akrítas from his occupation as guardian of the eastern frontiers of the Empire. But in the popular ballads he is exalted to the rank of a demi-god, and the character of the exploits related of him appears to witness to

* *Supp.*, 246-255.

the influence of the old myths connected with the names of Herakles, Perseus, and Bellerophon. In the following lines from the ballad of 'Andronikos and his Two Sons,' the Emperor Nikephoros II., and three other historical personages, are mentioned:—

'Forth goes he, and his fame is great, and no man him can daunton,
Not even Peter Phokas, no, nor even Nikephóras;
Nor Petrotráchilos, who makes the earth and kosmos tremble,
Nor Konstantíno does he fear, should he in fair fight meet him.'

According to a folk-ballad, which is corroborated by an epic poem, translated by M. Emile Legrand, *Les Exploits de Digénès Akritas*, this grandson of Andronikos died at the age of thirty-three, in the year 979. And a Cretan ballad thus describes his death:—

'The throes of death seize Dígenës, and earth with dread is trembling;
And heaven, too, is thund'ring loud, and upper kosmos quaking;
How can the cold grave cover him, how cover such a hero?'

In another Cretan ballad, however, the death of the hero is represented as the result of a wrestling match with Charon:—

'Long time they wrestle, but, as yet, not one has thrown the other;
And Charon thinks within himself by treachery he'll conquer,
Then trips he up young Dígenës, and on the ground he throws him,
And his poor mother, left forlorn, the draught of poison swallowed.'

Very significant of the turbulence of the great vassals of the emperor are the concluding lines of a ballad from Amorgos relating the imprisonment of a certain Konstantino, of whom the other nobles were jealous. His father hears of this, and, releasing him from prison—

'His son he seizes by the hand, and to the king he leads him.
"O see'st thou here, my lord the king, see'st thou this Konstantino?
If thou should'st do him any harm, or if thou should'st destroy him,
Then will I slay thee, O my king, yea, with thy queen I'll slay thee,
Constantinople town, that's thine, with herds of swine I'll fill it!"'

So far as they have been as yet collected, the historical ballads are more numerous than the historical legends. But of one of these last, belonging to Thrace and to the approaching end of the Byzantine Empire (1370), I must give at least some outlines in a few brief passages. It is a story of the betrayal to the

Turks of the castle of a Greek prince, betrothed to a daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople.

'There had come to Stenemacho from beyond the Balkans a Bulgarian family who gave out that they were relatives of the Kral of Bulgaria, but having found the Ottoman yoke unsupportable they had left their country to seek an asylum with the Christian King of Kalé. Some doubted the truth of this story. . . . The King, however, received the strangers kindly, and promised them his protection. The family consisted of an old man, whose lips were never seen to smile; a young and beautiful woman; and a fair-faced youth. . . . Twice had the Moslems besieged the fortress of Kalé, and twice had the waters of the dammed-up torrent that rushed below the castle swept away the besiegers, strewing the Thracian plain with their dead bodies. The Ottomans at length seemed to be outworn, their camp was broken up, and they retired from Kalé towards the East. . . . Mass was chanted by the priests, and the people gave heartfelt thanks to God and the *Panaghia* for their deliverance from the enemy. But before the service was over . . . a messenger arrived breathless at the foot of the tower, and was drawn up by a rope. He brought a letter for the King containing these words: *Beware of the Bulgarian woman—she is a spy!* Looking up, and across the ravine, the King beheld, standing on a jutting rock above the torrent, the figure of a woman who, with outstretched hand, pointed out to the enemy the secret path. "Accursed be the Bulgarian!" he cried. And at the same moment a well-aimed arrow pierced him to the heart. As the soldiers standing near received the dying hero in their arms, and looked with rage and grief in their hearts towards the traitress, they saw that the King's curse had indeed fallen upon her. For what had been the figure of a woman was now but a black and motionless pillar of stone. And there, to the present day, above the rushing torrent, stands the *Anathematisméni*.'

Coming now to the ballads of the Ottoman Period, I must first give an extract from 'The Death of Konstantine Dragases,' as he is called, the last of the Greek Emperors, Constantine XIII. Palæologos. Amidst the swarm of Turks who followed the gigantic Hassán the Janissary, in storming the walls of Constantinople 'the Emperor who accomplished,' says Gibbon, 'all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen, and finally lost. . . . The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple: amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain.'* It is thus his memory is commemorated in the folk-ballad—

* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, VIII., p. 171.

'Thousands of Turks had entered in by the Romano gateway;
And Konstantino Dragases is fighting like to Charon.
He strikes to right, and strikes to left, and naught can stay his ardour;
Amid the Turks he throws himself, and death he sows around him;
Like a dark cloud he falls on them, and no man can escape him;
'Twould seem as he'd the Turks destroy, and save Constantinople,
Until a Turk, a stalwart Turk, at last slew Konstantino.
O weep, my brothers, weep amain, weep for the orphaned city!
Our Konstantino they have slain, slain him who was our standard!'

But another ballad of 'The Taking of Constantinople,' ends thus—

'A message came to them* from heaven, by mouths of holy angels,
"Cease ye your psalms, and from their place take down the Holy Objects!"

. . . .

And when the Virgin heard the words, all tearful were the Icons.
"O hush thee, Virgin! Icons, hush, mourn not, and cease your weeping;
Again, with years, the time shall come when ye once more shall dwell here!"'

And the passion with which this prophecy is still believed in may possibly accomplish its fulfilment. I cannot here give even a list of the number of historical events still fresh in the memory of the Greek folk, and commemorated in their ballads of the Ottoman Period. And with space to give an extract only from one more ballad, I shall let the circumstances of the time decide me to give it from the Cretan ballad called 'How the Turks entered Sphakià' (1770).

'It was the morn of Friday, and it was the first of May,
When into Sphakià came the Turks, and sword in hand came they.
Cursed be the hour in which the Turks thus into Sphakià came,
They ravished all the country round, and set the towns aflame.

. . . .

'When up into the market-place the Turks had won their way,
A Herald to the Sphakiots they sent these words to say:
"Come now, and your submission make the Sultan's feet before,
That he may favours grant to you, and give you gifts galore!"

. . . .

'"Your gifts we're well acquainted with, with tears they aye o'erflow;
For ye have given them full oft to men of Crete ere now;

* Those carrying the Icons.

And rather than accept your terms, we one and all will die;
Rather than our submission make—life with dishonour buy."

. . . .

'"Then, then, ye Sphakiots, my troops to fall on you I'll send;
Nor shall they leave your land again till summer hath an end.
Your children 'mong the rocks you've hid, lest evil them betide;
But I will find and take them, and with me they'll ever bide."

. . . .

'"Take, then, our wives and children all, our maidens young, take, too,
Belike ye may the victors be, for miscreants are you!"
And so the parley ended, and began the battle's din,
The fighting fierce and terrible the earthworks from within.'

The historical ballads of the Hellenic Period relate partly to historical events, but chiefly to klephtic exploits in the guerilla war which has been kept up continuously since the partial emancipation of Greece in 1829. The following lines are from a Thessalian ballad celebrating a victory of the famous patriot Rhighas Pherraios, a life of whom has lately been published in this country.*

'What is this evil that's befall'n, and what is this great tumult?
Rhigha Pherraio has fallen upon, and beaten yon Moustam Bey.

. . . .

'As many Beys as heard his words donned straight their mourning garments.
The Sultan, too, that wretched Prince, still crying is and shouting:
"O cease ye from the battle, boys! O cease ye now the firing,
And I will grant to every one the boon his heart desireth!"'

Here the ballad very significantly ends. Distrust of the fulfilment of Ottoman promises of reform could not be otherwise more scornfully expressed. And those who complain of the perversity of the Greeks in not thankfully accepting all the fine things promised them, may profitably reflect on the distrust of promises, which has only too justifiably been ingrained in their hearts and expressed in their ballads for the last hundred years.

My next extract shall be from a ballad commemorating the last 'Rising on Olympos' (1878). In the charming way so common in Greek folk-poesy, an eagle and partridge are interlocutors, and even the decapitated head of a hero:—

* By Mrs. Edmonds. T. Fisher Unwin.

'Three Partridges did tell the tale, they wept and sadly sang they;
And on a ridge far, far away, an Eagle sat and asked them:
"Tell me, thou little Partridge mine, why wailest thou and weepest?"
"What shall I, golden Eagle mine, what shall I now relate thee?"

. . . .

"Far better on the rocks to die than by Turks' hands to perish;
The bitter tears the branches burn; the sobs, the wailing anguish,
The very earth do rend, and run with Insurgents' blood the torrents."
The Eagle heard it, and he cried, "O head! O head of Hero!
I saw thee, wounded as thou wert, thy dear dead brother carry;

. . . .

O head, dear head, what hast thou done that they have sent thee rolling?"
"As, golden Eagle, thou hast asked, to thee I fain would answer:
Aweary grown of slavery, I shouldered my *tophaiki*,
'Gainst Turkey I rebelled and fought, and Liberty I sought for.
Here, high on old Olympos' side, here is our native village,
Where e'en the women bravely fight, and gladly strive for freedom.
And Turkey, 'mid the battle fierce, and with my gun beneath me,
Did slay and stretch me on the earth, and she my head sent rolling."'

As a last extract from these ballads of the Hellenic Period, I shall give three stanzas of the famous Ζήτω Ἕλλας—'Long Live Hellas!'

'O thou, my Sword belov'd, so keen, I gird!
And shoulder thee, my Gun, my flaming Bird;
O slay ye, slay the Turks again,
The tyrants scatter o'er the plain!
Live thou, O Sword I gird!
Long life to thee, my Bird!

'And when, O my good Sword, I hear thy clash,
And when, O my black Gun, I see thy flash,
That strew the ground with Turkish slain,
And "Allah!" cry those dogs amain,
No sweeter music's heard,
Long life to thee, my Bird!

. . . .

'The hour has come, and loud the trumpets sound;
Now boiling is my blood, with joy I bound;
The *bam*, the *boom*, the *glin, glin, gloun*
Begin, and loud will thunder soon!
While Turks around me die,
"Hellas! Hurrah!" I cry.'

The forces of national character are but little studied by statesmen, and with the consequence that the elaborate schemes

on which they plume themselves are constantly shattered to pieces by the forces they vainly despise. But I trust it will have been made clear by the foregoing pages that such ignoring of the forces of national character would be especially inexcusable in the case of the Greeks. Peasants and artizans, sailors and traders, whose mythical heroes are such as we have seen them to be in the mythological idylls and tales; whose family life is so exceptionally strong and pure in its mutual ties, as we have seen it to be in the social songs and stories; and whose political memories are of such an unparalleled vigour as we have seen them to be in the historical ballads and legends, are certainly not a folk who can be justly, and hence with impunity, crushed. What is the situation? Turkey in Europe is now but Turkey in Macedonia, and Mohammedan Turkey is still in Macedonia, by no means so much because of her own imperial interests as because of the divergent national interests of Christian Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece, and only partially Mohammedan Albania, and still more decisively because of the divergent despotic interests of the Christian Powers — Russia, Germany, and Austria—who would fain vassalize these Christian nationalities. A more far-seeing and resolute, or rather, less blind and vacillating, policy on the part of Great Britain, might long since have brought these rival nationalities to terms with respect to their reversionary interests in Macedonia. As it is, their only hope is in the opposed ambitions of their would be tyrants. Russia at Constantinople would suit Austria as ill as Austria at Salonica would suit Russia. But either the one or the other would mean the crushing out of the national life of the Balkan peoples. That would suit neither British interests nor British principles. For the happy characteristic of British interests, political as well as commercial, is that they are not only in accordance with, but are best served by the equally free trade and free political institutions of other peoples. And the menace, therefore, to the free development of the Greeks and the other Balkan nationalities should be felt to be a menace to all that our race, in the New World as well as in the Old, all that our English-speaking, Norse-Keltic race holds to be most dear.

J. S. STUART-GLENNIE.

Art. VI.—LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND.

1. *The Local Government (Ireland) Bill.*
2. *The Parliamentary Debates on the Bill.*

THE Irish Local Government Bill may have become law before these pages shall have seen the light. This measure will effect an immense change in Irish Local Government and Administration, and will place the whole system on a new foundation; I shall briefly examine its main outlines. It is, doubtless a very bold experiment, to a certain extent a 'leap in the dark'; but thoughtful Irishmen have long ago acknowledged that Local Government and Administration could not continue in Ireland upon its present basis; and in this, as in too many other instances, it is to be regretted that an important reform has been deferred for too long a period. The late Mr. Butt brought in bills on the subject, between 1874 and 1877; but Parliament, angrily resenting his Home Rule policy, turned a deaf ear to what he proposed; and the labours of a Committee on the taxation of Towns in Ireland, and on their Local Government came to nothing, twenty years ago. The delay, however, is by no means to be altogether laid to the charge of Parliament. The troubles caused by the Land and the National Leagues, and the frightful disasters which were the result, retarded the progress of moderate Irish reforms; and these were afterwards forgotten in the political conflict, which grew out of the Home Rule movement. It was not until 1892 that Mr. Arthur Balfour addressed himself to the question of Irish Local Government and Administration. The measure of which he was the author, passed a Second Reading in the House of Commons by a large majority; but though its principles were excellent, it was, no doubt, open to criticism telling and even damaging; it was denounced as a 'mockery, a delusion, and a snare' by the Opposition and their Irish satellites; and, in these circumstances, it was unfortunately dropped, a decision I have always thought a mistake. After a lapse of six years, the present Bill, analogous to that of 1892, in many respects,

but differing from it in important points, has been laid, by Ministers, before Parliament; it embodies a policy of which the main features have been long approved by the Unionist party. I wrote on the subject generally in this *Review*, as far back as October, 1891; I may refer my readers of 1898 to that article, and to the qualifications, set forth in it, which I happen to possess to examine this question.

The circumstances in which the Bill came before Parliament have given it, to a considerable extent, its character and must, therefore, be borne in mind. Acts were passed in 1896 which relieved agricultural land, in England and Scotland, of half the burden of local rates, through a contribution on the part of the State; this mitigated, in a certain degree, the results of the distress, which British agriculture has felt, and which has been so serious to the British farmer and landlord. Corresponding relief ought to have been given to Ireland; but the Government in 1897 refused this; they were unwilling, there is every reason to believe, to countenance, even in any way, the well known Report of the Childers' Commission, which declared that Ireland was greatly overtaxed, and had a considerable claim, in this respect, on the State. This was a complete and unfortunate mistake; it was condemned even by writers in the Press, who denied that Ireland had exceptional financial rights, and by a few independent public men; a change of front was, accordingly, ere long made. Mr. Arthur Balfour announced that a Bill would be brought in to reform Irish Local Government and Administration, in the then coming Session of 1898; it was to be accompanied by provisions for relieving Irish agriculture, of the same kind as those which had been made for England and Scotland; and these were to be essential parts of the intended measure. The question of relief, however, and the question of finance are not necessarily connected in this matter; but they are inseparably associated in this Bill; its finance, in fact, is almost the pivot on which the scheme turns; it is the means, certainly, on which the Government chiefly rely to make their policy safe and expedient; and this interdependence makes the measure a complicated piece of legislation very difficult to understand. The interpretation

of it, I venture to predict, will trouble and perplex the Irish Courts of Justice as it has troubled and perplexed Parliament.

Before considering the changes the Bill will effect, I must shortly glance at the existing arrangements of Irish Local Government and Administration; I shall, in the first place, refer to Irish County Government. Antiquarians have traced the first beginnings of the system still in force to the days of Strafford; but this was not permanently settled until the reign of William III. when Ireland was completely and finally subdued. Irish County Government was, from this time forward, placed under what is known as Grand Jury management, in the administration of local affairs. The Grand Juries, in each Irish County, had the criminal jurisdiction of the English Grand Juries; that is they could consider offences and deal with Bills of Indictment; but they acquired a large civil jurisdiction besides, which the English Grand Juries have never possessed; they were made fiscal rulers and directors of the Irish counties. This power was given them partly because they were representatives of the domination of sect, which was the type of all Government in Ireland, through the eighteenth century; and partly because three-fourths of the Irish community was a conquered race, in a state of subjection, without a local organisation of any kind, such as that of the Parish in England, and in fact, had no experience in self-government. The Grand Juries were, from the first, composed of the higher landed gentry, in the counties, of the rank of commoners; the members of each were only twenty-three persons; and they were nominated by the Sheriffs of their counties, that is practically by officials of the Central Government, all popular election being unknown. They were thus local oligarchies of the most exclusive type, divided from the people and independent of it; and the few Catholic owners of land in Ireland were not entitled to have a seat on them until after 1793. The Grand Juries, however, had almost unchecked control over the local business and arrangements of their counties; and they had a right to raise and levy a tax, still known by the name of the County Cess, to defray the charges. This tax was imposed on the occupiers of the land, that is, in the great mass of cases, on

the subject Catholic peasantry; owners, if not occupiers, were exempt, and those were, for the most part, Protestant landlords of the men from which the Grand Juries were drawn, a striking example of unjust administration of class, and of taxation divorced from representation.

The traditions of this system are not extinct; they are brilliantly enshrined in Miss Edgeworth's novels. It was a mark of high social rank and distinction to hold a prominent place on a Grand Jury; the position was coveted, not seldom fought for. The Irish landed gentry of that day were much better off than their despoiled descendants; their meetings at the Assizes, twice in the year, were scenes of rustic pomp and careless extravagance. The Grand Juries formed goodly processions in their four-horse coaches, and with their trains of tenants, to wait on the Judges in the County Court Houses; they entertained their lordships in high state; and it is on record, in an old book of my County, that a Chief Baron, a friend of Swift and Berkeley, was unable to endure these mighty potations, and even appeared 'on the Bench dead drunk.' The business of the County was done, as the Assizes went on, and while wretches hanged and jurymen dined, there was much jobbery, waste, and even misconduct. Roads were designed to suit a great peer's demesne; contractors fared well who could gain a Grand Juror's ear; work was sometimes paid through County Cess, that found its way into the pockets of favoured tenants; there was much that is expressed in the proverb 'scratch me, and I'll scratch you.' There was, however, another and better side to the picture; and this was creditable to the Irish Grand Juries. This order of men had a stake in the country, it had an eye to its local material interests; it was composed of the class in power in the Irish Parliament; and it co-operated with that Assembly in doing excellent work, such as making canals, main roads, and navigation works, the evidences of which are manifest to this hour. The Grand Juries appointed the County Police; and though this force, confined to the Protestant caste, was probably often harsh and unjust, it kept the peace remarkably well, and put Whiteboyism down. And Arthur Young wrote with not-

able praise of the excellent condition of the roads of Ireland, all constructed and voted for by the Grand Juries.

In the generation that followed the Union, the Irish Grand Jury system was gradually changed. British statesmen directed Irish affairs more completely than had been the case before; they disliked the Protestant ascendancy still supreme, and aimed at lessening the domination of the landed gentry; and the bureaucratic rule of the Castle asserted itself, more and more, in the progress of time. Simultaneously the necessities of the country increased; the charge of the county cess was augmented; it became important to restrain, and, if possible, to stop, the jobbery and corruption which, to some extent, undoubtedly existed under the Grand Jury system. These combined influences largely diminished the authority of the Grand Juries in Irish County Government. They were nominated and composed as before; but the Central Government controlled their officers and expenditure in different ways; it abolished their dependent local police; and, at the same time, they were compelled, by a series of statutes, to raise monies in respect of various public works, which the advance of civilisation was deemed to require. They were thus made subject to the Castle, in a great measure; the change certainly checked mismanagement and waste; but it greatly increased the amount of the local taxation, which the ratepayers of the Counties were liable to pay, the cost of the 'imperative' works, as they were called, becoming gradually very large. Yet the incidence of the County Cess remained as it had been; it was still a charge on the occupiers of land only, and not on its owners, if these did not occupy; it thus became a slowly growing burden weighing chiefly on the Catholic peasantry. The Grand Juries had long been empowered to delegate part of the fiscal business of their respective counties, to subordinate bodies appointed by them; and these raised the monies for the works which it was their right to provide for. These bodies, however, were subject to the Grand Juries, and were their agents only; the Grand Juries were responsible for their acts; and, in fact, were to all intents their masters. The system was, therefore, no more represen-

tative than before; but, by degrees, it was, to a very slight extent, brought under a kind of popular control. Those who paid the County Cess acquired a right to challenge votes of monies made by the Grand Juries, at least in certain classes of cases; it is scarcely necessary to add that the Judges of Assize had always a power to question such votes, if they were plainly contrary to law.

The Irish Grand Jury system was placed on its present footing in 1836-7; it has not been essentially changed since; it retains the marks of its peculiar origin. The members of the Grand Juries are only twenty-three in number; they are nominated by the sheriffs, not elected, as they have been for more than two hundred years. They are composed, as of old, of the principal landed gentry; Catholics have had seats on them for more than a century, but they are not numerous on the Grand Juries, for the great majority of Irish landlords are of the Protestant faith. The Grand Juries, in theory at least, continue to administer the local affairs of the Irish counties. They vote the chief public buildings, the roads, the bridges even in most of the towns, within each county; they have the small towns and villages under their care, and, of course, they manage and vote for works of all kinds, at least in the last resort, in strictly rural districts. They have also acquired large additional powers, through Acts of Parliament, comparatively of modern date; the chief of these are a power to vote sums in compensation for malicious injuries, and for extra constabulary in places disturbed by crime. But the Castle has extended its hold over them more and more completely; their accounts are strictly examined by a Castle auditor; their chief officers have long been appointed by the Central Government; they have, decade after decade, been more and more compelled to make 'imperative presentments' for different kinds of public works, such as hospitals, lunatic asylums, and the like, and to vote monies for the charge of these, and also for the repayment of loans to the counties made by the Treasury. In these respects they have become almost Boards of the Castle, but for a long time their work has been subdivided, and given, to some extent, to inferior bodies.

They are bound to appoint a certain number of magistrates and large ratepayers to arrange and vote for the lesser public works in the 'Baronies' of which the counties are composed; this is done at the 'Baronial Sessions,' as they are called; a body, much of the same character, arranges and votes for similar classes of works, with respect to what is known as the 'County at large.' But these bodies are strictly subordinate, as they have always been. The Grand Juries have a right to supervise their acts; and the Grand Juries, besides, must themselves arrange and vote for the principal public works in their counties, especially for those they are compelled to construct. The Grand Juries impose and raise the county cess on the principle which has been established from the first—that is, the tax is charged to the occupier, not the owner of land; it still therefore falls, in the main, on the Catholic tiller of the soil. A judge at the Assizes, however, can refuse his 'fiat' to any 'presentment' not justified by law; and cess payers can 'traverse,' as the phrase is, Grand Jury 'presentments' of some kinds, and can thus indirectly resist this local taxation. But this check, though it exists, is not effective, and if it is popular in a sense, it is seldom put in force.

The Grand Jury system of Ireland, therefore, is a survival of the Protestant ascendancy of the eighteenth century; it is an oligarchic, almost a sectarian, scheme of Local Government; it stands on a narrow and unpopular basis; it imposes taxes on classes not represented in it, it is in opposition to the spirit of the age, and quite unfitted for modern times. I shall next glance at the Local Government and Administration of the Cities and Towns of Ireland. A number of these obtained municipal rights so far back as the days of the Norman kings; indeed, they were as liberally treated at least as the cities and towns of the greater island. But Ireland was for centuries a land of feudal tyranny, of savage disorder, and of tribal conflict; her cities and towns made no progress, nay, in numerous instances, fell into decay, while those of England grew into flourishing urban centres, possessing large popular rights and franchises long before the close of the Middle Ages. Municipal government and municipal life had well-nigh disappeared

in Ireland after the frightful wars of the reign of Elizabeth; they were confined to five or six cities or towns, they showed no sign of development or expansion. When James I. made a real attempt to civilise and to improve Ireland—barbarous and unjust as the means were—he gave municipal rights to a number of Irish towns, but these were nearly all petty and backward villages; they were, in fact, nearly all enfranchised to provide seats for the colonial and conquering settlers in the Irish Parliament. After the Revolution of 1688-92, there were some seventy corporate cities and towns in Ireland, but not ten of these were of any importance, and all became seats of the Protestant ascendancy of the eighteenth century, and mostly were in the hands of the great county families, who made use of them to send their nominees into the Irish House of Commons. It is unnecessary to say that, under conditions like these, their municipal government was as bad as possible; their governing bodies formed a narrow oligarchy of sect; they were seats of corruption, maladministration, and abuses of all kinds. Similar phenomena were not unknown in England at the time; but even in that age of aristocratic rule, municipal government and municipal life in England, were perfection compared to what they were in Ireland.

The large majority of the corporate cities and towns of Ireland lost their Parliamentary representation at the Union. In other respects, however, their position remained unchanged for years; they continued to be virtually appanages of powerful lords and commoners, under a state of government bad and sectarian, in which the interests of their communities were wholly ignored. But when, after the great Reform Act of 1832, municipal reform was applied to England, it became necessary to think of a similar change for Ireland, where municipal government and administration were infinitely worse, and, in fact, had become a reproach to the State. Persons still living can recollect the fierce controversy that raged on the subject during almost the whole of the Melbourne ministry; it ended in a lame and imperfect compromise. Peel gave the Irish Corporations up; they were all abolished except ten, the governing bodies of the principal cities and towns,

and the privileges even of these were largely curtailed. The municipal franchise in these cities and towns was placed at a very high level in order to exclude the Catholic masses assumed to be hostile to Protestant property; it was far higher than the Parliamentary franchise, at least as this at present exists; under these arrangements five-sixths of the towns never had a voice in municipal government, or in the management of their local affairs. In 1854 and following years, municipal franchises, which had been well-nigh extinguished throughout Ireland, were bestowed on a number of Irish towns; about a hundred of these enjoy the privilege. But these towns are, for the most part, small and poor; the municipal rights conferred on them are in no sense popular, and are in themselves restricted, even insignificant, in many instances. In these towns the municipal franchise is also high; their governing bodies are called Town Commissioners, elected by a vote of the townsmen, but the electorate is exceedingly small, and comprises a petty minority only of the inhabitants. The municipal rights of these towns, besides, are scanty; in many respects they are under the Grand Juries; a great number cannot even direct the sanitary arrangements they require; these are under the control of the Boards of Guardians. In a word, they possess little municipal freedom; it should be added that in several points they are subject to the direction of the Central Government, represented by the Local Government Board.

The Local Government and Administration of Irish Cities and Towns is, therefore, oligarchic, exclusive, not popular, as is the government and administration of the Irish counties. I pass on to the last branch of Local Government and Administration which the Bill deals with. It is a most striking proof of the state of misgovernment in Ireland, in even a not remote period, that while a Poor Law has existed in England during a period of nearly three centuries, no corresponding measure was in force in Ireland to compel Property to support Poverty until upwards of a generation after the Union. To this fatal neglect must, in part, be ascribed the terrible Irish famine of 1739-41, described in pathetic language by Berkeley, and also

the even more appalling famine of 1845-7, caused by the aggregation of redundant millions on the soil, a growth unrestrained by a legislative check. The Irish Poor Law was enacted in 1838; it was modelled on the new English Poor Law; it came into full operation just before the Famine. Ireland was divided into a number of Poor Law Unions, which has varied from 130 to 159; these were subdivided into lesser areas, called Electoral Divisions, and, in towns, Wards; these formed the units for the administration of Poor Law relief. The Unions were placed under Boards of Guardians; half of the members of these bodies were elective; they were elected by the ratepayers of the electoral divisions or wards, but through the cumulative, not the single vote, a safeguard, it has always been assumed, for property. Additional security was, however, taken; the second half of the Guardians was composed of *ex-officio* members of the rank of magistrates, but this security has been of little use; the work of the Boards in three-fourths of Ireland has, practically, been done by the elected Guardians. The main duty of the Boards is, of course, to relieve the poor in the Unions, but other duties have been cast on them by various statutes; the principal of these is that they have long been made the sanitary authority in rural districts, and even, we have seen, in a number of towns. The Boards of Guardians are empowered to levy rates in order to give effect to the Poor Law, and also for other local purposes. The Electoral Division or the Ward is the area from which the poor rate is raised, at least to a very considerable extent; the incidence of this taxation is most unequal, being, as a rule, much higher in towns than in the country. The poor rate corresponds to the county cess, in some respects; but it falls very differently on the classes subjected to it. The poor rate on petty occupiers, rated at £4 or less, is charged wholly on the owners of land or houses; they are primarily liable to the entire impost. In the case of occupiers rated at more than £4, the poor rate is charged to them, in the first instance; but they are entitled, as a rule, when they pay their rent, to deduct half of the rate from their landlords. The poor rate, therefore, unlike the county cess, is a heavy burden on the

owners of land in Ireland; these, if occupiers, have to pay it also; it has been calculated that, though as a class, small in numbers, they pay very nearly half the poor rate.

The Irish Poor Law system is the least oligarchic part of Irish Local Government and Administration, the part in which popular elements really alone exist. Let us now consider what the operation of the scheme has been, as a whole, in its complicated, numerous, but always narrow aspects. In some instances public works, especially Court houses and similar buildings, constructed and voted by the Grand Juries, have been too ostentatious and costly, compared with corresponding works in England, a country probably tenfold richer than Ireland. The decisions, too, of Grand Juries, as to malicious injuries, have occasionally betrayed a want of the judicial spirit, and have given proof of prejudice and ideas of class; not very long ago an Irish Grand Jury presumed to lecture a most eminent judge on this subject. But County Government and Administration has, for the most part, been effectively and economically carried out, for a long series of years, under the Grand Jury system. The roads, the bridges, and most of the public works, for which the Grand Juries are responsible, have been admirably and cheaply made; indeed, the exceptions, in the case of some public works, are largely due to the fault of the Central Government. The Irish Grand Jury system, too, has, for at least sixty years, been free from corruption, jobbery, and waste; this is not only caused by jealous and strict supervision, but also by the improvement, which has certainly taken place in the tone of opinion prevailing among the landed gentry. The Government and Administration of the cities and towns of Ireland, has, as a rule, been far from equally good. It has not often been extravagant or unjust; but almost everywhere it shows signs of a municipal system of class privilege, above all, of the want of the municipal spirit. The results appear in a death-rate usually much too high, in the deficiency of pure water supplies, in sanitary arrangements often imperfect, in squalid streets and alleys, in houses in ruin, and especially in the indifference of the mass of the people, excluded from self-government and local rights, to the condition of the cities and towns they live in. As to the

administration of the Poor Law throughout Ireland, it has been, on the whole, not much open to censure. Waste and jobbery, indeed, have sometimes occurred; the spirit of the Land and the National Leagues has entered not a few Boards of Guardians, as it has entered some governing bodies of towns, and much mischief has certainly been done, notably in attacks on the rights of landlords, and in denunciations of this order of men. These instances of misconduct, however, have not been very frequent; they have only appeared in a time of trouble; they have almost ceased for several years; and though, no doubt, they are to be deplored, and even constitute a social danger, still if we calmly look back at the past, the administration of the Irish Poor Law, has not, I think, been, in the main, bad.

I have now come to the present Bill, and to the revolution which it must accomplish in Irish Local Government and Administration, for it will completely change its existing bases, and will transform a thoroughly oligarchic into a thoroughly democratic system. The Grand Juries in Ireland will retain the criminal jurisdiction they possess, in common with their fellows in England; but their civil jurisdiction is taken from them; they will cease to be the governing bodies of the Irish counties. This civil jurisdiction is almost wholly transferred to new governing bodies, in the different counties, which are to have the English appellation of County Councils; the only exception is the cognisance of malicious injuries, which has properly been conferred on the Irish County Court Judges, for it is a matter wholly of judicial enquiry. In composition and character the County Councils will differ as widely as possible from the Grand Juries, small nominated, not elected, bodies formed wholly of an aristocratic and exclusive class. The number of the members of the County Councils is not ascertained by the Bill; they will, no doubt, vary with the size of the counties; but the members of the County Councils, in all the counties, may be composed of men who possess the parliamentary franchise in each, that is, speaking generally, of householders of every degree from the landlord of £20,000 a year to the humblest peasant, the only restriction being that clergymen are not to be members. The County Council, therefore, will be a democratic assembly, in

almost the largest sense of the word; and it will be elected by a purely democratic vote. The electorate, in each county, will be made up of all who have a right to the parliamentary franchise; illiterate voters are not excluded; the vote is to be single, not cumulative, so that every elector will have the same voting power, whatever may be his stake in the country; and peers and women, besides, may be electors.

The County Councils fashioned on this type are to do the administrative work of the Irish counties, with the exception respecting malicious injuries, to which I have before referred. They will, therefore, construct and vote for the chief public buildings, and the main roads and other main works in their districts; they will have small towns and villages altogether in their care; they will have considerable power in the government of even large towns, as far as certain classes of public works are concerned. They will, also, like the Grand Juries, have authority over the subordinate agencies dependent on them, and will be reponsible for what they do and vote; and like the Grand Juries, they will have to make 'imperative' votes of monies for certain public works, and, also, in repayment of Treasury loans. They will, in short, replace the Grand Juries in all this sphere; but additional powers are entrusted to them which the Grand Juries have never possessed. In each county the duty is devolved on them of raising and assessing the poor rate, a duty hitherto belonging to the Boards of Guardians; this rate, as I interpret the Bill, is to be joined to the county cess, if not merged in it; and the double tax is to be imposed and applied to its proper objects by the County Councils. These assemblies, too, will have absolute control over the arrangements for the lunatic poor in Ireland, an unhappy class on the increase of late years, and at present under an oligarchic system, ruled, in the last resort, through the Castle; the change, it is to be hoped, will have good results. In cases, also, of exceptional distress in Ireland—too common along the western seaboard—the County Councils are given a power, on the representation of the Boards of Guardians, to make application to the Local Government Board, to provide for relief of an exceptional kind, to be administered through the Boards of Guardians.

The areas of the counties will be slightly altered by the Bill, in order to suit some of its provisions—a change, which, in Ireland, has found little favour; but the Irish counties will remain nearly as they are; and there will be thirty-two County Councils, of what may be called a strictly county character. Six, however, of the principal cities and towns of Ireland—Dublin, Cork, Belfast, Limerick, Londonderry, Waterford—will each be formed into separate counties, and will each have separate councils of their own, which may be described as City and Town County Councils. The governing bodies of these cities and towns, will form their County Councils as I understand the Bill, and their municipal electorate will have votes to choose them; but the members of these assemblies will be composed of the same elements as the other County Councils, and will be elected by voters of the same classes. They will, therefore, be democratic bodies chosen by an electorate of a democratic type; and they will not only possess, within their respective spheres, the powers of the County Councils proper, that is, of the County Grand Juries, but they will have the existing powers of the governing bodies of the six cities and towns. This will make an enormous change, on a popular side, in the municipal administration of the chief towns in Ireland; but it may be observed that some other towns, which hitherto have had special municipal rights, are apparently to be deprived of these, and to be brought under the control of the rural County Councils. I pass on to the subordinate bodies, which the County Councils are to supervise and control. These are divided into two distinct classes, the Rural District, and the Urban District Councils. The area of the jurisdiction of the Rural District Council is to be, it appears certain, the Union, and as there are now 159 Unions in Ireland, there will probably be that number of Rural District Councils. The Rural District Councils are to be formed and elected in the same way as the larger County Councils; like these, therefore, they will be democracies, resting on a purely democratic basis. The duties of these bodies will partly correspond to those of the 'Baronial Sessions,' under the Grand Jury system; that is, they will propose and vote for the lesser public works in the counties, but always under the control of the County Councils, which

will, like the Grand Juries, be responsible to the State. But the Rural District Councils will have other duties; there are to be no more *ex officio* Guardians; they are to be the Boards of Guardians, within their districts, and will have to perform most of the work of the Boards of Guardians, especially that of the relief of the poor, and of sanitary regulations of all kinds; and they will probably expend a part, at least, of the poor rate, though the assessment and levy of this tax—it may here be remarked that this will now be charged generally on the Unions, not on their sub-divisions, the electoral divisions and the wards, a change that has led to much controversy—will, we have seen devolve, henceforward, on the County Councils. One member at least of each Rural District Council may have a place on his County Council, in order to form a connecting link between the two assemblies, but subject to restrictions set forth in the Bill.

The sphere of the Urban District Council will be the town which has sanitary powers of its own. At present there are only about forty towns in Ireland of this class; for, as we have seen, the Boards of Guardians are the sanitary authorities of many Irish towns, even of some importance and considerable size. The Bill, however, provides, that, under certain conditions, towns in Ireland may acquire sanitary powers possessed hitherto by the Boards of Guardians; there is little doubt, accordingly, that the number of the Urban District Councils will be much more than forty. The governing bodies of these privileged towns, will be the members of the Urban District Councils, and the present electorate will have votes; but the members and the electorate will correspond to those of the County and the Rural District Councils; these Urban assemblies will therefore be democracies elected by democratic votes. The duties of the Urban District Councils, within their spheres, will be to do the work of the Grand Juries, as regards the lesser public works in the towns; but, here again, as in the case of the Rural District Councils, they will be under the control of the County Councils. They will, also, send representatives to the Boards of Guardians, who will, of course, perform the duties that will now belong to these Boards.

The Bill, therefore, it must be again urged, will absolutely

transform the whole system of Irish Local Government and Administration, and will place it on a new and an untried foundation. For the aristocratic and exclusive Grand Jury, it will substitute the democratic County Council, and its dependent the Rural District Council; it will make a thorough change in Irish municipal government, and establish it on a basis altogether popular, by the institution of the councils of the cities and towns, and, in addition, of the Urban District Councils. It will certainly effect a kind of revolution; if we bear in mind the history and the present state of Ireland, this cannot be regarded without misgivings. I shall comment on this subject in a short time; enough here to remark that, under the new system, temptations to extravagance and waste will arise, especially in the administration of the towns, where improvement is so largely in arrear, and that judging from events in the last few years, the rights of the landed gentry and landed proper y would be at least made liable to attack in rural districts. It is impossible to forecast what petty democracies may do; but these dangers unquestionably exist; the authors of this Bill have taken precautions against them, which, apparently, they believe to be adequate. All these assemblies will be subject to the authority of the Superior Courts in Ireland, and may be called to account for different kinds of misconduct; and some machinery is supplied by this measure to effect these objects. The Local Government Board, too, will have a general controlling power; and a special mode of control is placed in its hands, for it will have a right to check expenditure on county roads, and it is given a voice in the appointment of the chief County Council officers. The transition, besides, from the old to the new order of things will be moderated, and perhaps made more safe by provisions of the Bill which may operate as restraints. Each Grand Jury in Ireland will have a right to send three of its members to sit on the County Councils to be first assembled under the Bill; and three of the extinguished *ex officio* Guardians may hold a similar position on the Rural District Councils. But, on the other hand, the judicial and partly popular control on the Grand Juries is not to exist in the case of the bodies which will replace them. A judge's 'fiat' is not to fetter the

County Councils; and their decisions will not be subject to 'traverses.'

The finance of the Bills, however, I repeat, is one of its most distinctive features; it is the main agency to which the Government trust to make the measure reasonably safe and prudent. The first object of the financial part of the scheme is to afford relief to agriculture in Ireland corresponding to that given in England and Scotland; and, with a single omission I shall refer to, this object has been carried out on tolerably fair principles. Agricultural land, as defined by the Bill, is to receive a subvention from the Treasury equivalent to half the county cess and poor rate, and other assistance may be given, but this does not require attention, for grants of equal value will be withdrawn and cancelled. This relief, it is believed, will amount to a sum of £700,000 and upwards, but it is strictly confined to agricultural land; it is not to extend to cities or towns, or even to lands within their boundaries, and it is not to apply to rates for compensation for malicious injuries, or to rates in respect of extra police, for otherwise districts affected by crime would be discharged from part of the burden which, as the law now stands, they have properly to bear. Other rates are also excluded from relief on what appear to me rather insufficient grounds; the Bill ought to be modified in this respect. Parliament will, no doubt, carefully attend to the subject. Assuming, however, that agricultural land is to be relieved in the above-mentioned way, a change is to be made in the county cess and the poor rate, and in the incidence of these local charges. The county cess and the poor rate, I have said, are to be consolidated, if not completely fused; this charge, reduced one-half, it will be borne in mind, is to be imposed on the occupier of the land only, and not on the owner, unless occupier, with a proviso, nevertheless, in the case of existing tenancies, which will certainly extend to a great many instances. The operation of the Bill, as regards relief to agricultural land may be briefly noticed. In the case of future tenancies of £4 and under, the landlord will not have to pay any poor rate, as he has to pay under the present law; tenants of this class will have to pay the half poor rate and half county cess, but this does not apply to tenancies now in being. In the

case of tenancies of a more substantial kind, that is, valued at £4 and upwards, the tenants will have to pay the half county cess and poor rate, but they will have no right, as they have hitherto, to deduct any poor rate from the rents they pay; the landlords will be relieved from this charge. But owners of agricultural lands will, so far as they are occupiers of them, have to pay in the same way as their tenants, that is, they will be liable to half the present county cess and poor rate.

The distribution of relief to agriculture, under these conditions, unquestionably will be very unequal. I may illustrate this by referring to a few cases. A landlord, whose estate is under existing tenancies of £4 or less, will be liable for the whole reduced poor rate, at least to the collector of the tax; he will, therefore, get comparatively little relief, and though, through an obscure provision in the Bill, he may perhaps add this rate to his rent, this practically will be of little use, for it will be almost impossible to recover this sum from a class of cottars. On the other hand, a landlord, whose estate is altogether subject to tenancies of more than £4 will have to pay no poor rate at all; his tenants are forbidden by the Bill to make any deduction, as they had been, when they paid their rent; he will be in a highly favoured position. Again, an occupier of an extensive tract of land, say a great grazing farmer of £1000 a year, whose county cess and poor rate amount to perhaps £70, will be chargeable with £35 only; but a landlord who has his demesne in his hands at a value say of £500 a year, and has a rental of £500 payable by substantial tenants, will have to pay £17 10s. only, at least as I understand the measure. These anomalies certainly are remarkable; they are, no doubt, inevitable to some extent, but Parliament ought, if possible, to make them less striking. I have now reached the second object of the finance of this scheme, the means through which its financial arrangements are to afford a security against mismanagement and to make the new system sound and expedient. With reference to agricultural land, but with reference to agricultural land only, this is ingeniously provided for by the Bill; the check certainly ought to be, in a great degree, effective. The subvention of the State, reducing the county cess and the poor rate one-half, is to be calculated on the

charge levied in 1897, called in the Bill the 'standard financial year;' it is not to vary from year to year, according to the amount of the current charges, which will depend on the new County Councils. Here, therefore, a real restraint is imposed on extravagance and misconduct that ought to be strong, and economy is distinctly encouraged. But this arrangement extends to agricultural land only; it does not apply to cities and towns; as to these, the discouragement to mismanagement does not exist.

These are the main outlines of this remarkable Bill. I proceed to make a few observations on it. Considered as a whole, it appears to me to be framed too much on the English pattern —a common fault in legislative reforms for Ireland—and to be less comprehensive and less adapted to Irish wants than it might very properly have been made. The difficulties and the immense cost of private Bill legislation in Irish affairs, have laid a heavy burden on a very poor country, and have really interfered with Irish progress; they furnish one of the few solid arguments that can be urged in behalf of Home Rule. They might be diminished and mitigated to a very great extent by enabling the County Councils, to be created by this Bill, to take the evidence for private Bills on the spot, and if this evidence were laid before the Irish Privy Council, and that body pronounced in favour of the proposed Bills, these, when reduced into proper form, ought to receive the assent of Parliament, through a summary process, much easier and less expensive than that now in force. This would get rid of a real Irish grievance, and some scheme of the kind, in my judgment, might justly be extended to private Bills for Scotland. Again, the County Councils, under this Bill, are strictly confined to their own spheres; they have no common jurisdiction, as to many matters, with respect to which they might have common interests; they certainly ought to possess this authority. For example, the County Councils of three or four counties would not have a power to combine and to carry out a public work from which their districts would derive a benefit—say a railway or a navigation scheme, in respect of which they could levy rates—this undoubtedly would be a grave hindrance. They ought to be

empowered to effect this object through committees appointed by the Councils, and selected, of course, from their sitting members. In a whole series of cases, too, I think the County Councils ought to have a deliberative voice, which they will not have; for instance, should the ratepayers of any county wish to have a system of Primary Education of their own—and the present national system is not liked in five-sixths of Catholic Ireland at least—and should be willing to pay a rate for it, the County Council ought to have a right to entertain the plan, and to report upon it to the Central Government. Members from County Councils, besides, ought, in my judgment, to be introduced on some of the Boards, now confined to the Castle bureaucracy, they ought, of course, to be paid for their duties. They would infuse a popular element into these bodies, and their advice and assistance would probably be of real value. The claim, however, urged by leaders of the National League that the Irish County Councils ought to have the direction and the control of the constabulary force, has, properly, not been entertained by Parliament; the arguments against it cannot be gainsaid, and there is not one plausible plea in its favour. As to the finance of the Bill, it has been suggested that it is an 'iniquitous dole' to Irish landlords, but if we recollect what wrong has been done to this order of men in the last twenty years, we need not regard a Radical outcry.

I do not undervalue the means proposed to make the Bill, a safe and well-working measure, and to prevent it accomplishing social mischief; but certainly they seem to me far from adequate. The checks on the Grand Juries imposed by the 'fiats' of the judges, and by 'traverses,' will not apply to the County Councils; a hindrance to misconduct, feeble no doubt, but still a hindrance, will no longer exist. The general control which the Superior Courts in Ireland will have over all the local bodies, to be constituted by the Bill, may appear formidable, but will be weak; the 'laws' delay,' and the great expense of legal proceedings in this province, will make this jurisdiction, practically, of little effect. The same may be said, in some measure, of the general control of the Local Government Board; the special control it will possess will be more useful; but it will not apply to many

possible cases of extravagance, waste, and bad management. All these checks, in a word, are of little value; this is remarkable, because, in the Bill of 1892, they were extremely stringent and unnecessarily severe; it is another proof of the optimistic want of forethought, so characteristic of British statesmen, who, because Ireland is for the moment in repose, imagine that she will never be troubled again, and take few precautions against evils, which her whole history shows will recur. The financial provisions of the Bill undoubtedly form the best restraint on the County Councils to be found in the measure; not improbably they will be effective in many instances, and will check improvidence and maladministration of many kinds. But they extend only, we must recollect, to rural districts; they do not apply to cities and towns; they cannot operate, therefore, to prevent mismanagement, in the very places where this is most to be feared. And, after all, they only appeal to self-interest; they can have little effect on popular passion, or on dangerous social feeling; can we not believe that, even in rural districts, they might prove utterly unable to affect democratic assemblies, carried away by a desire to attack aristocratic rights, and to injure classes possessing property, an object of the envy and hate of demagogues?

No impartial observer, who knows Ireland, can deny that two dangers are not improbable, under the system of Local Government and Administration to be formed by this Bill. There will be a strong incentive to extravagance in cities and towns, ruled, for the first time, by purely popular bodies, an incentive too springing from a not discreditable source, a desire to improve where there is great room for improvement; the rights of the landed gentry, as recent experience has shown, may be exposed to injury and spoliation in many ways, in rural districts. I venture to suggest the principles at least of changes in the Bill which would, I believe, remove or lessen these certainly possible evils. The coercive power of the Courts of Justice over the County Councils and the lesser assemblies ought to be increased; the procedure of the Superior Courts, in this matter, ought to be made expeditious and cheap, and ought to extend to all kinds of misconduct, including extravagance and malversation; and the County Courts ought, within specified limits, to have a similar

jurisdiction as to lesser offences, a remedy which would be of immense advantage, for it would do justice quickly and at little cost, on the spot. The powers of the Local Government Board, in this whole province, ought, I am convinced, to be made more effective and searching than they are; and it would be advisable that a strong legal element should be introduced into this Board, for it will have many and arduous legal duties to perform. I confess, however, that I would go farther than this, and without essentially changing the type of the numerous bodies created by this Bill, I would provide securities, in their composition, for the support of order, and for the protection, above all, of property. I would not allow illiterate persons to be electors of the County Councils and their dependents; I would substitute for the single a moderate cumulative vote; I would thus exclude elements from the electorate which it ought not to have, and I would balance elements of an extreme democratic type, into elements that would redress in some measure the balance of power. I should also wish to place on every County Council, and on every assembly of the same kind, a certain number of men of large substance, elected by ratepayers of a high class, who should have a power, like a suspensive veto, to prevent different kinds of misconduct, should in fact, be a little House of Lords; this, I believe, would be of the greatest use; but I know it would not be in accord with the spirit of a democratic age.

It is idle to argue that securities of this kind do not exist in the case of England and Scotland, and, for that reason, ought not to exist in Ireland. Edmund Burke wrote long ago that it is 'the circumstances that render any civil or political scheme beneficial or noxious to mankind;' the circumstances of Ireland, in this province, are wholly different from those of the other two kingdoms. England and Scotland, before the present system of Local Government and Administration was applied to them, had been, more or less, accustomed to self-government; the very opposite was the case in Ireland; the social change, therefore, which legislation of this character has caused in England and Scotland cannot be compared with the revolution which it all but certainly must effect in Ireland. England and Scotland, besides, possess a powerful middle

class, Conservative in its instincts, and law-abiding; this has immense influence on the English and Scottish councils; the corresponding class in Ireland is small and weak; nor can it be doubted that, in Ireland, it will not control the county and lesser councils, and that these must, in a great degree, be swayed by an electorate ruled by agitators and priests, and composed of masses of poor peasants and of the populace of towns. Nor is it possible for thinking people, at least, to forget what has occurred of late years, events intimately connected with this very question. Several of the governing bodies of cities and towns in Ireland have angrily denounced British law and government; have professed the faith of the Land and National Leagues; have shown anarchic and socialistic tendencies; several Boards of Guardians have hounded on an excitable peasantry against the Irish landed gentry; a conspiracy against order and landed property has existed in many Irish counties, nay, is still smouldering beneath the surface. It is an error to say that, in this state of things, it would be absolutely safe to create a system of Local Government and administration which would give enormous power to the very classes which have adopted this course of conduct, if they were not subjected to efficient checks, and if precautions were not taken against the excesses of licence and injustice into which they might run. These restraints, I think, are not sufficient in this Bill; I have, therefore, set forth those which ought to be adequate. For the rest, there is much in the social condition of Ireland which resembles that of France before the Revolution; history tells us but too plainly what were the results of decentralising in the France of 1789-95, a system of centralised Local Government, and of placing this in the hands of poor, ignorant, and easily led peasants.

The progress of the Bill through Parliament has shown that the principles of amendment I have proposed, will probably not be largely adopted, at least until the experiment shall have been made. The measure will, doubtless, become law, not essentially altered from the shape in which it was introduced into the House of Commons, though certainly improved in some particulars. I trust, however, that, sooner or later, it

will be reformed on Conservative lines, and that additional weight will be given to property, and to influences on the side of order and law. It is very difficult to guess, what, even on this assumption, would be the practical operation of this far-reaching scheme. I should be apprehensive, I repeat, of extravagance in the towns; there would be great and sudden efforts made to improve them, and to launch into expenditure for the purpose; especially as the wretched dwellings of the humbler classes require to be almost everywhere transformed. As regards the counties I do not believe that their administration under the new councils would be as economical as it has been under the Grand Juries; there would here, too, be a tendency to spend large sums of money; and the ratepayers might have to learn the lesson of thrift from experience. I fear too, that, in the impoverished parts of Ireland, where the Land and National Leagues have been powerful, where absenteeism widely prevails, and where the land is in the hands of a very poor peasantry, the system to be established would not succeed; socialistic mischief probably would be often the result. But county government, through County Councils, if these were placed on a less democratic footing, ought, I hope, to be efficient and good in the more prosperous and civilised parts of Ireland; these districts would be not unfitted for the change, and they comprise, perhaps, three-fourths of the country. On the other hand, this reform, if made safe, would be probably attended with many good results, and possibly would be a great boon to Ireland. I should hope to see the cities and towns make decided progress of a material and of a social kind; that they would be raised out of their stagnant condition, that the municipal spirit would be active in them. The change, too, would tend to bring the townsmen together, to make them feel, as they do not now, that 'they are all citizens of one city,' that they have common associations, rights, and interests. In county government there would be reason to expect that, certainly in the greater part of Ireland, the same happy results would follow; that this policy might lessen divisions of class; might weaken animosities and feuds of the past; might unite the landed

gentry and the peasantry more effectually than of old; might put an end to the discords which have kept them apart, at least in not a few disturbed districts. It is not at all unlikely that, under this system, the landed gentry, whose habits of business and intelligence as Grand Jurors, are well known, would be often elected for the County Councils; and I believe that, in that event, they might not improbably regain a great deal of the social influence they have unhappily lost. They would certainly try to find places on the County Councils; in any case, they would perform their social duties. Mr. Gerald Balfour need not have told them to do so in language, I must say, of most questionable taste.

The finance of the Bill, I have said, is just, a single particular being excepted. The relief to Irish agriculture ought to have been given in 1896; it ought, therefore, to relate back to that year; the Irish land ought to receive a subvention of upwards of £1,400,000 at once. This concession, however, will not be made; this Government has shown extreme aversion to liberality of any kind to Ireland; it has treated the subject in a narrow way and jealous spirit. But whatever financial relief the measure may afford, this is merely a grant to Ireland for a special purpose, corresponding to grants made to England and Scotland. This question has nothing to do with the much larger question of the financial relations of Ireland, and, I will add, of Scotland, with the Treasury, or, it may be said, with England. The Childers Commission has emphatically declared that Ireland, under our present financial system, has been long overtaxed between two and three millions a year, in fact, since 1853-90; the same observation applies to Scotland, at least to a considerable extent. This claim must be kept before the country; it is impossible that it can be put aside or overlooked. The Government have not yet fulfilled their promise to appoint a second Commission to enquire into the whole subject in any of its bearings. I am surprised at this, because I believe the Childers Commission has not ascertained all the facts required to form a complete conclusion, and because England may in this matter have a counterclaim, and a less important, which the Childers Com-

mission has not fully dealt with. I have examined the question in this *Review* lately; I cannot think that a solemn pledge will be disregarded. I shall not again go over ground I have already traversed. But Irishmen, and Scotsmen besides, ought not to forego a claim founded on history and substantial justice, and, in the case of Ireland, ought not to be satisfied with a small concession, simply an unquestionable right, and, in no sense, connected with a demand of a wholly different kind.

WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 3, 1898).—Herr Gennrich, Privatdozent in Berlin, has the first place here with a series of studies on Paul's conception of the plan of salvation. '*Studien zur Paulinischen Heilsördnung.*' He starts with the question, Had Paul the idea, in a dogmatic sense, that there was a fixed way of salvation planned by God, and carried out in history? If so, what was the basis of it?—The free grace of God, or any foreseen excellency in man? Certainly not the latter, in Paul's conception. Only he had no dogmatic system to propose or to defend. But nowhere does he even seem to allow the possibility of anything seen or foreseen in man operating on the purpose of God. Herr Gennrich discusses the various opinions of modern critics as to the significance of the series of terms employed by Paul in Romans viii. 27-30. The foreknowing and the predestinating, the calling and the glorifying, have all sorely exercised the souls of the critics, and every possible exegesis has been offered and learnedly defended. They are examined here in the light of St. Paul's argument, and in the light of his usage of these terms in his other epistles. The whole article, however, is of too technical a character to be summarised within the space at command. It merits the careful attention of all students of the Pauline theology, and will well reward a patient perusal.—Herr Pfarrer Bang, in Copenhagen, furnishes a series of studies on Clement of Rome's first epistle to the Corinthians. As one of the earliest witnesses for Christianity outside of the Canon, this epistle is of the first importance to the student of early ecclesiastical history. It carries us back to the infancy of the Church, and presents it to us at an interesting crisis of its life. Its authenticity is all but universally admitted, as is also its date, the closing years of the first century. True it does not shed so much, or so clear a light on the controversy in Corinth as could be desired, but Herr Bang examines the letter, not the better to comprehend the merits of that controversy, but rather to discover what Clement has to say about Christianity as he knew it, or to determine, even in a rough kind of way, what was Clement's theology. He had, it is true, no theological system, but our author makes an effort here to trace, as far as possible at least, the theological ideas which

Clement as a Christian had adopted and held. What were the prominent characteristics of the faith he had adopted, according to the epistle under consideration? Submissiveness to constituted authority, and humility, are strongly insisted upon, and the more emphatically, perhaps, because they were the features most lacking in the life of Corinth at the time. The supremacy of God's will is insisted on throughout, and this will is described as gracious and merciful, ever working for the salvation of men. Clement presses the practical side of Christianity, the necessity of its saving power being shown by deeds and not by mere words. In this way Herr Bang brings out the salient features of Clement's teaching all through the epistle.—Herr Pfarrer Albrecht, in Naumburg, calls attention to a hitherto ignored, or insufficiently noticed, song of Luther's. It forms part of a MS. in the civic archives of Naumburg, which was published early in the present year, the writer of this article having had a part in the editing of it. The MS. contains a ritual for the celebration of a religious service for the Whitsunday or Pentecost season. The music for the song, or hymn, is also given.—Professor Rietschel writes on 'Die erste Aufgabe des kleinen Katechismus in Tafelform.'—Professor Ed. König contributes three 'Syntaktische Excurse zum Alten Testament.' They were to have been inserted in his recently published *Historisch-komparativen Syntax der hebräischen Sprache*, but had to be, for want of space, excluded from that volume.—Professor D. Blass has a short note, 'Zu Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte.'—Dr. S. A. Deutsch reviews Zuppke's elaborate work, in two volumes, *Die vorreformatorische Kirchengeschichte der Niederlande.*

Deutsche Rundschau (May, 1898).—This part opens and concludes with two well-written but somewhat sombre sketches, 'Ein Wiedersehen,' by Rudolf Lindau, and 'An Everyday Couple,' by Marie von Bunsen.—'Reisebeschreibung,' by Friedrich Ratzel, describes the phases by which travellers' narratives have reached their present dignity of a distinct form of literature. —Hermann Grimm writes apropos of Leopardi's centenary.—M. von Brandt's 'Twenty Years of British South African Policy,' is a by no means flattering account based on Mr. F. R. Statham's *South Africa as it Is*, which has found a German translator.—The Editor's 'Recollections' are still occupied with Ferdinand Freilingrath.—'Paul Heyse als Lyriker.'—Karl Frenzel gives the usual review of the Berlin stage during the past winter.—(June, 1898).—'The Thessalian War and the Turkish Army,' by C. Freiherr v. d. Goltz, is a military narrative of the events before and during the brief campaign.

Although written by one familiar with the Turkish army, and disposed to favour it, the article shows that the Turkish victory was by no means so easy as had been anticipated, and that the Greeks offered a better resistance than is generally supposed.—'From the Song of Roland to Orlando Furioso,' is a most interesting account of the spread of the French romances to Italy, and the modifications they underwent there, until Ariosto wrote his masterpiece.—E. Hübner gives a number of slight Spanish sketches, dealing mainly with Madrid, which are interesting at the present time.—'The United States and Spain,' by M. von Brandt.—Hermann Grimm discusses the past and future of the Goethe-Schiller-Archiv at Weimar.—'Amalie,' a domestic study, by Kaethe Schirmacher.—(July, 1898).—'Still-leben,' by Adalbert Meinhardt.—A Collection of Letters from Members of the Prussian Royal Household—1822-26.—'The Care of the Poor as a means of Social Reconciliation.'—'Baden in the League and the Empire,' dealing mainly with the statesman Julius Jolly, by A. Hansrath.—F. Blumenbritt has a timely article on Separatism in the Spanish Colonies.—Carl Krebs reviews last season's music in Berlin.

RUSSIA.

RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW (Voprosi, Philosophii i Psychologii) begins its 40th number by an elaborate paper by Prince Serge Trubetskoi on the well-known Jewish philosopher and divine, 'Philo and his Predecessors.' Philo was a typical Hebrew Hellenist and a typical Alexandrian Eclectic, the whole peculiarity of which consisted in the systematic union of Mosaism and Greek philosophy, with the help of his self-formed theology and the allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament Scriptures. His philosophy presented itself to him as divinely given through Moses and the Greek philosophers. The law-giver of his nation, Philo imagined after his own likeness in the person of an Egyptian Jew, taught in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, the Chaldees and the Greeks, illuminated with the light of Divine revelation. Moses expounded the true philosophy in the form of symbols, the Greeks in the form of private teachings. Moses expounded it in its fulness and purity, as Divine revelation. The writer follows the Jewish philosopher through his various treatises. and passes on to expound the allegorical method which, in common with the learned Alexandrians, Clement and Origen, Philo employed.—The next article is by the well-known Russian thinker, Vladimir Solonieff, on the 'First Element of Theoretical Philosophy.' In the second half of the

article he deals with the famous 'Cogito ergo sum,' concerning which he justly says that it might be put in the form, 'dubito ergo sum.' In his critical remarks on Descartes he says, 'It is possible to reproach Descartes for this, that he left behind him the current scepticism of his method, and passed over its difficulties only too hastily.' There is much to be said about this famous utterance of Descartes, and our author has not shortened what he had to say on the subject.—To this article succeeds one concerning the problems of the philosophy of Right, of which M. B. Baldenberg is the author.—We now come to a very lengthened article by M. A. Tockarskie on the 'Fear of Death,' with a most interesting introduction by Turgenieff, who was one in a circle of writers in the house of Victor Hugo. In this company was raised this question as to death, and the representations of it which had come before each of those assembled together; the question came at length to Turgenieff, when he remarked that he had no representation of death except this, that it seems to him very remote and obscure, so that he could not give it any determinate physiognomy!—The only remaining article in the general part of the journal is by the novelist, Leo N. Tolstoi, on 'What is Art?' The article opens with a reference to the great multitude of books and institutions which deal with or present us more or less with forms of Art. These are, indeed, manifold, and well-nigh endless. Our author says justly that war alone competes with Art in its demands on the life of man! and recounts a visit to a theatre where the company were engaged in preparation for the representation of a popular opera, and expresses his astonishment at the manifold forms which this preparation took, and the number of people engaged, and the great number of repetitions, which took no less than eight hours.—In the special part are—A last word to each other from M. Vladimir Solovieff and M. B. N. Tchichérin on the same subject as that found in the last number of the *Voprosi*, and finally the usual 'Critical Notices' and 'Bibliography.'—It is perhaps somewhat satisfactory to find that the writers engaged on the number just completed have been apparently so exhausted by the long winter, which is the special season for work in Russia, that on the opening of the rivers, and the disappearance of the eight months' snow and ice, they find themselves too exhausted to grapple with any very profound subject. We find, accordingly, that No. 41, beginning 1898, contains only two articles in its general part, and both continuations of the previous subjects—Count Leo N. Tolstoi

going on for 137 pages more on 'What is Art?' while Prince Serge Trubetskoi gives us forty-five pages more on 'Philo and his Predecessors.' The Count thinks that a great mistake was made, from the artistic point of view, in taking up the Renaissance with its heathen Art, and trying to jumble it up with the religious Art of Italy, and there is little doubt but that he is right here.—Prince Serge Trubetskoi's second paper on 'Philo and his Predecessors,' takes up the teachings of Philo about God and His attributes. There is also an interesting chapter on the psychology of Philo.—The usual 'Critical Notices' and 'Bibliography' follow.

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (April 16).—The Italian poet, Leopardi, has passed under the scalpel of many Italian psychologists, and here G. Sergi sums up their general verdict as to the psychological origin of the poet's pessimism. The writer protests against the psychologists whom he quotes, and declares that Leopardi's beautiful lyrics could never have proceeded from the misery described by the dissectors of the poet's character. Those lyrics sounded from one sole chord, that of solitude, and express an entirely individual mind; like primitive music, they have a moving and vivid effect, and are a source of profound emotion in the reader.—A. Graf contributes a graceful 'fantasy,' entitled 'The Caliph.'—G. Bozzorera writes on 'Citizens and Public Hygiene.'—V. Morello writes against Ibsen.—Lieutenant Altimari contributes some incidents of his imprisonment in Africa after the Italian war.—B. Odescalchi writes on 'Horse-breeding in Italy.'—Lieutenant E. Barbarich sends a translation of portions of nine poems composed by the Prince of Montenegro. The poems are shortly to be published, preceeded by a sketch of Prince Nicola's career.—A. Bordan sends a short paper entitled 'William Gladstone according to Recent Studies,' quoting mostly from Justin MacCarthy's recent book. The writer concludes the article by alluding to the universal sorrow of the whole civilized world at the report of Mr. Gladstone's illness.—Follows a full account of the concessions made by King Menelik to the Imperial Company of Ethiopian railroads.—An 'Ex-Diplomatist' discusses the quarrel between the United States and Spain, and opines that Cuba in the end must inevitably go to the United States, for 'Riches are now the decisive arms, and the world is to the strong.'—(May 1).—After a paper on 'The Turin Exhibition,' and a novelette, 'Convalescence,' by O. Grandi, we have here an article on 'Professional

Syndicates and Social Politics in France,' by G. Boglietti (in completion of the study on Socialism published in June and July, 1897), in which he describes the new school headed by Fouillée, Bourgeois, and Marion, as aiming not merely at a defensive justice, but at a distributing justice that will correct the inconveniences and iniquities caused by *bourgeoise individuality* in action.—C. Fabris reviews Guglielmo Ferrero's recent book on *Militarism.*—G. Schuhmann writes on 'The Centenary of the *Allgemeine Zeitung.*'—K. describes the 'Condition of Italian Railroads,' and R. Giovagnoli contributes an interesting article on 'The Pontifical Encyclical Letter of 29th April, 1888.'—G. Menasci takes for the subject of a sketch one of the 'loves' of Maurice of Saxony—the actress, Justine Favart.—G. M. Fiamingo writes on 'The Character of American Society,' and L. Ferraris on 'The Subalpine Parliament.'—(May 16).—G. A. Cesareo has a long and learned paper on 'Pope Leo X. and Maestro Pasquino.'—I. Turco commences a novel called 'The Cure of Mannela.'—Countess Lovatelli sends a short but interesting paper on 'The Cult of Stones,' one of the most primitive forms of idolatry.—F. Mariani discusses 'The Reform of Field-artillery.'—A. De Gubernatis reviews the correspondence of Victor Hugo.—Madame Pierantoni-Mancini gives a page of history from 1848 to 1849, describing the part taken by Pasquale S. Mancini in the stirring political events of his time.—P. Lioy writes about 'Laboratories.'—V. Ricco describes 'Cardinal Kopp's Mission to Rome.'—A. Graf contributes a poem on 'The Colosseum.'—M. Ferraris discusses the present condition of Italy, which is very gloomy. He says it needs a calm, strong, and stable Government to gather together the best constitutional elements, and secure to the country the moral and material conditions under which alone national well-being can be achieved.—The 'Bibliographical Bulletin' notices Mr. M. G. Mulhall's *Industries and Wealth of Nations*, praising the usefulness of the book, which is perhaps unique of its kind.—(June 1).—Commemorating the death of Mr. Gladstone by the first article in this number, the Italian deputy, Signor Ferraris, remarks especially on that great statesman's love for and efforts in favour of Italy, his greatness as a reformer, financier, and economist, and the exemplary manner of his private life.—C. Cantone contributes a paper on 'German Universities as Described and Judged by German Professors.'—A well-informed and interesting article is one by R. De Cesare on 'Father Tosti in Politics.'—Taking Captain Mahan's *Life of Nelson* and J. C. Jeafferson's *Lady Hamilton and Lord Nelson*

as his authorities, C. Segrè relates briefly Nelson's career, and especially his acts in Italy, and laments that such a hero, honest and good by nature, should be dragged down by a passion for an unworthy object.—F. Prometti, on occasion of the fourth centenary of Savonarola's death, writes on that reformer.—Leopardi's pessimism, a frequent study with the Italians, forms the subject of a paper by Professor Graf.—Professor Gotti publishes here the hasty Memorandum written by Mr. Gladstone after his interview with the Pope in 1866, prefacing it with a few remarks.—P. Molmenti gathers together many facts of the life of the great painter of Brescia, Alexandro Bonvicino, known as *Il Moretto.*—Under the title of 'Configuration and Form of the Earth,' Professor Porena gives a digest of several English works on the globe.—G. Bettòlo contributes a short paper on 'The Late Admiral Brier.'—(June 16).—G. Mazzoni describes Milan as it was a hundred years ago.—E. Mancini gives a detailed account of all that is connected with automobile vehicles and machines.—'The Poetry of the Cradle' is a pleasant paper on the rhymes, proverbs, and poetry connected with children, by P. Lioy.—G. Menasci contributes a long criticism of Sudermann's works.—U. Pisa writes on 'The Revolt in Milan,' denying that it was the result of an organized plot, but lamenting it as a grave symptom of the bad social, economical, moral, political, and administrative condition of Italy.—General della Rocca contributes a portion of his forthcoming second volume of the *Autobiography of a Veteran*, which is now in the Press.—E. Panzacchi writes on 'Tolstoi and Art.'—Continuing his political articles, Signor Ferraris contributes one on the 'Politics of Labour.'

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (16th April).—R. de Cesare has a short historical paper on 'The Four Statutes of 1848.' From Lombardy, he says, came the hope that the political character of the Italians would be changed and elevated. When this is accomplished, if ever, Italy, in spite of her present misery, will reach the glory and prosperity which were the ambition of the veterans of 1848.—A. Scapi describes, and plentifully quotes from, the numerous poems occasioned by the wars between Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa.—A. Armanni gives a full summary of Mr. Balfour's *The Foundations of Belief*, which book, says the critic, has once more shown how much such studies gain when undertaken by a man in contact with the practical necessities of social life.—U. Pastalozzi translates here portions of the poems of Bacchylides from the book by F. G. Kenyon.—G. F. Airoli writes on 'Amerigo Vespucci,' to whom he denies the title of a true discoverer, saying that the

great services which Vespucci rendered to his country in the science of geography were quite sufficient to gain him an eminent place among the navigators of the fifteenth century. —G. Poggi has an article about recent German works on Dante.—C. del Lungo writes on the events of Nansen's Arctic expedition.—May 1st).—A. Fogazzaro writes on 'Progress as related to Happiness,' showing a deep religious feeling and strong faith in the ultimate felicity of human beings.—'Guide-books to the Holy Land of the 15th Century' is an interesting paper by G. Angelini.—D. Tononi writes on 'Savanarola and his defender Paolo Luotto.'—G. B. Prunai writes on 'Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly.'—The other papers are continuations.—(May 16th).—E. Pistelli has something to say on the Savanarola question.—F. Nunziante contributes a political essay on 'The Crisis of Parliamentarianism.'—F. Donaver takes the Genoa-Piacenza railway for a subject.—A useful pedagogic study is 'Thirty Years of the Popular School in Florence,' by G. Signorini.—'Giuseppe Calza' and 'Father Casara' are biographical sketches by G. Pagani and L. Bernagiotto.—(June 1st).—I. del Lungo sends an interesting paper on 'Dante and Florence.'—Then come continuations of previous articles. —Follows a paper by R. Corniani, describing the tumults in Milan, with the usual inevitable blame of the weakness of the then ministry, and their flirtations with the enemies of the monarchy.—A. Brunialti dedicates many pages to Mr. Gladstone, relating the principal incidents in his career.—C. Marchini, in a brief note, calls the attention of his countrymen to the religiousness of Mr. Gladstone, who had a perennial cult for those constant ideals of Italians: God, family, country.—(June 16th).—'The Savonarolian question.'—'The Crisis in Parliamentarianism.'—'The Genoa-Piacenza Railway.'—'A Note in Memory of Alexander Rossi.'—'Thirty Years of the People's School in Florence.'—'Two Friends of Rosmini.'—'Parishes and Churches.'—'Three Letters by Ubaldino Peruzzi.

RIVISTA D'ITALIA (April 15th)—contains: 'A Great Future Poet.'—'The Psychology of Sentiment.'—'Bramante in Rome.' —'Italians and Slavs outside Eastern Boundaries.'—'The Microbes of Language.'—'The Unstable Condition of Politics in France.'—'Abyssinian Traditions and Legends.'—(May 15th).—'The Religious Thesis of Zola in *Paris*,' by G. Negri. —'Enrico Mayer,' by A. d'Ancona.'—'The Navies of the United States and Spain,' by Jack la Bolina.—'Verses to the Moon,' by I. Beltrami.—'Master George Andreoli, in the 4th Century,' by G. Nazzatinti.—'The French National Aesthetic,' by M. Pilo.—'Dante Mago,' by I. Della Giovanna.—'The

Feasts at Florence,' by I. B. Supino.—'In the review of English Literature,' by Duncan, four modern poets, Watson, Phillips, Nesbit, and Henley are favourably noticed, while the last-named is called 'the most original and personal poet of the last twenty years.'

GIORNALE STORICO DELLA LITTERATURE ITALIANA (No. 1, 1898).—A life of Fra Giordano de Pisa, a preacher of the 14th century, is here commenced by A. Galletti.—Supplement No. 1 contains a paper by E. Bertana on 'Parini, one of the Comic Poets of the 17th Century;' and another article by C. de Lollis on 'The Song-Book of Chiaro Davanzati.'—(No. 2-3). —Besides continuations of previous papers, contains some interesting notes on Manzoni's Shakespearian studies, by P. Bellezza.—In the 'Varieties,' there are papers by G. Marpillero on the 'Suppositi of Ariosto;' by F. Pellegrini on 'The Poetic Tension between Dante and Cino da Pistoia;' by I. Sanesi on 'Geri del Bello;' by G. Boffito on 'A Sixteenth Century Imitation of Cocal;' and by P. Toldo on 'The Comic Dramas of Voltaire and Goldoni;' etc.

NATURA ED ARTE (April 15)—contains: 'Brescia the Strong.' —'Hymn to Spring.'—'The Counterpoint to Sensitiveness' (novellette).—'The Artistic Life of Sebastian De Albertis.'— 'Giuseppe Giusto and Enrico Mayer.'—'Literary Medallions.' —'Romulus and Remus at the house of Numitore.'—'Spring.' —'Leghorn and its Inhabitants.'—'Amerigo Vespucci.'— 'Sonnets of the Violets.'—'The Last Musical Triumph.'— (May 1st).—'The Decorations in the Provincial Hall of Council at Venice.'—'The Dead City.'—'From North to South.'— 'The Italy of 1848.'—'Alfonso Mandelli and Suffering Infancy.' —'Verses: The Meridian.'—'Leopardi Maltreated by a French Critic.'—'The Presidents of Parliament from 1848 to 1898.'— 'Contemporaneous Pigmies.'—'Silvio Spaventa.'—(May 15th). —'The 25th May, 1848, at Naples.'—'The Jubilee of the First Sitting of the Sub-Alpine Parliament.'—'Vanished Artists.'— 'Critical Chats.'—'A Week at Bruselles.'—'The Lady Friends of Robert Schumann.'—'Turin and its People.'—'Little Louis XVIII.; Romantic History.'—(June 1st).—'Savonarola.'— 'To Leopardi.'—'The Wife' (a story).—'Art at Pompei.'— 'Carducci in his Private Letters.'—'At Cuba, slavery in the city and country.'—'Country Miniatures: Verses.'—'The Legend of the Rose.'—etc.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (Nos. 1 and 2, 1896). —The first of these numbers opens with a very well informed

article, which is continued and concluded in the second, on 'Le Droit Musulman.' It is from the pen of Heer C. Snouck Hurgronje, and the translation into French from the Dutch for this *Revue* is by Heer Van Gennep. The original intention of the author was to reply to and criticise a paper written by Sawas Pacha, Foreign Minister at Constantinople, entitled 'Le Droit musulman expliqué.' Heer Hurgronje, however, makes that paper merely an occasion for an independent exposition of Islamic law. He deals with it, of course, but only in a few pages at the close of his article, and shows its author's incompetence as an expositor of Mohammedan jurisprudence, and as a critic of such writers as Dr. I. Goldziher, whom in that paper he had ventured to censure and correct. Our author here laments that so many European writers have essayed to deal with this subject who are little better than amateurs in its study. Their books and essays are, he says, almost absolutely worthless. Mohammedan jurists find four sources for determining 'le droit' ('ouçoul'), viz., the Koran, the Sunnah, the Idjma, and the Kidjas. The Koran was originally, of course, the sole law-book of Islam, but as converts increased, and life became more and more complicated, divisions of opinion began to arise in the communities as to how the teaching of the Koran was to be interpreted and applied to cases arising under different circumstances, and which differed from one another in this or that particular. Help was first sought in the teaching of the Prophet, which had been handed down by tradition, oral or written, and what had been reported as to his actions and decisions, or those of his immediate followers. This was the Sunnah, 'l'ensemble de traditions.' Its value as an aid to the interpretation of the Koran became gradually more and more esteemed. Divergences of opinion still, however, manifested themselves, and this more abundantly as time went on, and a third aid was found necessary to satisfy the Faithful. This was Idjma, what was universally agreed upon—the undisputed consensus of the community. Only what all the authorities were at one upon came to be regarded as universally binding on the adherents of the Prophet. The fourth source or basis of 'right' was the Kidjas or Qiyas, the right reason or common sense of the community. Our author explains all these very fully, and traces their history in the growth and development of Islam. The last pages, as we have indicated, are devoted to Sawas Pacha's paper.—M. Blochet, in the first of these numbers, gives a translation of the *Oulama-I-Islam*, a Persian work whose author's name is unknown, as well as the date at which he lived. M. Anquetil Duperron mentioned it in his 'Zend Avesta,' and ventured to

assign its date to the seventh century, while Sir William Ousley regarded it as belonging to the thirteenth. Copies of it were very rare, but an edition of it was printed in 1829 by Mohl and Olshausen, accompanied by fragments of the Avesta and the Shah-nameh. M. Blochet gives the history of its fortunes since. It does not agree in its teaching with the Avesta, but emanates from a sect of the Mazdeans, that of the Zendiks or Zervanites. It gives an account of a conference held between Mazdean priests and Mohammedan doctors. Such conferences were very frequent in the times of the first Caliphs. Several of them are mentioned here; in some of them Christian teachers were pitted against the representatives of Islam.—The third article in No. 1 is the 'Bulletin Archeologique de la religion romaine' for 1896, and is by M. A. Audollent, who has furnished the readers of this *Revue* with annual summaries of the excavations and investigations carried on in Italy by the different Archæological Societies at work there. Those noticed in these 'Bulletins' are, of course, such as illustrate the religious beliefs, worship, customs, and life of the Romans. That which is given here compresses into small space an immense amount of useful and interesting information. —M. L. Leger furnishes in No. 2 a fresh series of 'Studies in Slav Mythology.' In those contributed last year he dealt with the ancient deities, Peroun and Svantovit; here he tells us all about Veles or Voles, Khors, Dajbog, Simargl, and Mokock.—In this number, too, M. L. Marillier continues his elaborate review of Dr. Jevons' *Introduction to the History of Religion.* The title of the article, it will be remembered, indicates a larger purpose on the part of M. Marillier, 'La place du Totemisme dans l'evolution religieuse.' The greater part of his two former articles was devoted to that larger question. Dr. Jevons makes Totemism play the chief part in the initial stages of religious life and cult. In his eyes, all types of sacrifice have their origin in the Totem sacrifice, and in the sacrificial meal or feast which follows it. He goes the length of saying that the existence, in an ethnic group, of the custom of ritually immolating victims to the gods is in itself a sufficient proof that that race or tribe has passed at a prior epoch through the Totem stage, even should every other trace of practices which are naturally connected with this form of religious and social organization be wanting. To make good this assertion, three conditions would require, in M. Marillier's opinion, to be satisfied, none of which, however, are satisfied in the cases alluded to. M. Marillier then proceeds to show that many of the phenomena on which Dr. Jevons relies for proof of his positions, are not only capable of an entirely different interpretation, but have actually originated in quite

other ways, and have quite other meanings than he attributes to them. M. Marillier's study is not yet concluded. It says much surely for the intrinsic value of Dr. Jevon's work that our author thinks it worthy of such an elaborate analysis and criticism as he here devotes to it.—Both these numbers are rich, as usual, in shorter notices of books, and articles in periodicals, which bear on the history of religions.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (April, May, June).—So far as the general reader is concerned, the most interesting contribution to the numbers for this quarter is that which M. G. Lenotre has entitled 'Le Marquis de la Rouerie et la Conjuration Bretonne,' and which, beginning in April, runs on through four numbers. This nobleman, after a few years of wild life in Paris, as an officer in the 'Gardes françaises,' was one of those who, like la Fayette, went out to America to take part in the War of Independence. After distinguishing himself as the leader of a body of Volunteers, which had been raised by a Swiss Major, and of which he had bought over the command, he had returned to France in 1783. Although he was one of the Breton deputies who had been committed to the Bastille for the disrespectful message which they had sent to the king on being refused an audience on behalf of their province, when the Revolution broke out, he not only disdained to adopt the new ideas and new principles of government, but, in his fidelity to the royal cause, he became the head of the anti-Republican movement known as the Chonannerie. His adventures, as gathered by M. Lenotre from authentic documents preserved in both private and public papers, are as thrilling as anything in sensational fiction. Indeed, if any novelist dared to introduce such a scene as that of de la Rouerie's death, secret burial, and exhumation, if he dared to throw his lifeless hero's head through a window at the feet of the lady who had sheltered the outlaw under her roof during his last days, he would at once be accused of unnaturalness and exaggeration. And yet that is nothing more than was really done. Nor, again, would it be easy to reconcile the reader to such a villain as the traitor Chévetel, whom de la Rouerie had befriended, and whom he trusted as the most faithful of his partisans. If this wretch did not bring the Marquis himself to the scaffold, it was only because death cheated him of his victim. But, as it was, he handed over twelve persons—three women amongst them—to the executioner. And so cunningly had he laid his plans and concealed his villainy, that those whom he betrayed rejoiced in his safety when they discovered that, though arrested with them, he had succeeded in escaping, and could

not be brought to the bar as their accomplice. And yet this man lived honoured and respected, and actually became mayor of his native place, under the Bourbons. After his death, which did not occur till 1834, he had the honour of a public funeral.—In continuation of the series of articles which he has devoted to the struggles between Church and State during the nineteenth century, M. Etienne Lamy deals with the Restoration, and shows how the treatment of the Church by the Bourbons brought down upon it all the rancour of the 'liberals.'—In 'l'Armée Coloniale,' Colonel Charles Corbin shows how thoroughly unsatisfactory are the status and organisation of the Colonial army of France, and indicates the reforms which he considers to be imperatively necessary. The first of these, and the only one that need be mentioned here, is that the Colonial army should not be under either the Minister for War or the Minister for the Navy, but should come within the province of the Minister for the Colonies.—In an article on 'German Commerce,' M. Raphaël-Georges Lévy, after having shown the extraordinary progress made by that commerce, indicates the development of the German navy and of the Colonial policy, of which the latest manifestation has been the occupation of Kiao-Tchau. He further sets forth the commercial policy hitherto followed by the Empire, the treatises which it has concluded, and the attacks of which those conventions have been made the subject by the Agrarians. Finally, he sums up the economic situation of the country as it appears from the light thrown on these various points.—'Océanographie' is the title of a most interesting and instructive paper by M. J. Thoulet. In it the author explains what is meant by oceanography, shows the close connection between this study of the sea and the other sciences, and indicates its theoretical and its practical utility. He next gives a sketch of the progress which it has made, and estimates the contribution of each country to the sum total of actual knowledge of the important subject.—In the second of the April numbers there will further be found a very full and very trenchant review, by M. Brunetière, of M. Zola's last book, *Paris*.—The recent discoveries of archæology and ethnography have modified, on many important points, the ideas formerly prevalent with regard to Greece. What were the origin and the nature of the Hellenic mind, such as it has revealed itself in the arts and sciences, in philosophy and in religion? Are the Greeks of to-day the descendants of the contemporaries of Leonidas and of Miltiades? And, if this be questioned, are they at least the heirs, to an appreciable extent, of the qualities

and of the defects of their predecessors? These are the main points dealt with by M. Alfred Fouillée in an article which is well worthy of notice, and which all who are interested in either ancient or modern Greece will read with both profit and enjoyment.—'Les Suicides par Misère à Paris,' by M. Louis Proal, scarcely requires summarising. It is a grim record of poverty and wretchedness seeking the peace of death; it indicates, by reference to special cases, the circumstances which lead to such suicides; and finally, it sets forth not only what can be done, but what has actually been done, in Lyons by the Abbé Rambaud to diminish the number of self-sought deaths, by relieving those who figure in large proportion in the sad statistics—aged workmen no longer able to support their families or themselves. The example is held up for Paris to imitate.—A political article on a point which has now, fortunately, been settled, 'La Boucle du Niger;' and another on the famous French painter, Millet, complete, exclusively of continuations and of the usual letters and chronicles, the first of the May numbers. In the second of them, one of the most interesting contributions is an extract entitled 'Souvenirs et Conversations du Maréchal Canrobert,' and taken from a work which M. Germain Bapst will shortly publish. The section here given deals more particularly with what are known as 'the days of July'—that is, the revolution which dethroned Charles X.—The lady who writes under the name of 'Th. Bentzon,' continuing the impressions of her recent journey to Canada, gives an interesting account of the charitable institutions visited by her. The article is entitled 'Les Femmes du Canada Français.'—In a paper with the heading, 'Les Marines de l'Espagne et des Etats-Unis,' an anonymous, but apparently well-informed writer, gives a very detailed account of the naval resources of the two countries now at war with each other.—The Hispano-American conflict is the subject of another article which will be found in the number dated 1st June. It is signed by M. Arthur Desjardins, who discusses the various points of international right connected with the commencement of hostilities without a formal declaration of war, with the obligations of neutrals, with contraband of war, with blockade and with the bombardment of towns.—A paper on the portraits of men in the Salons of 1898, from the pen of the distinguished art critic, M. Robert de la Sizeranne; and another by M. P-P. Dehérain on 'Science and Agriculture,' also appear in the same number.—The last of the six parts for the quarter opens with an article which M. Sully Prudhomme entitles 'Patrie, Armée, Discipline,' and in which, in view

doubtless of certain events of recent date, he considers the spirit which should animate an army such as that of France.—M. Ernest Daudet contributes an article, partly historical, partly political, having for its subject the Duc de Decazes, the Minister of Louis XVIII.—Continuing his study on peasants and artizans during the last seven centuries, M. le Vte. G. d'Avenel conveys a great deal of interesting information concerning the price of living at various periods.—'The Evolution of the Elementary School,' continuations of articles begun in the earlier months, and the usual literary, dramatic, and political reviews, complete the number.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (May, 1898).—M. Dunan discusses the spiritualistic philosophy, which he defines as characterised by the idea that the destiny of reasonable beings cannot be subordinated to the brute forces of nature, but that matter is subject to spirit, the real governed by the ideal, and that above the laws indifferent to our desires as to our sufferings, which determine the phenomena of the physical world, there is a law of righteousness and love against which nothing in the natural order can prevail even for an instant, because it is sovereign and absolute. Subsequently, he describes it as a need of the mind rather than a definite doctrine, a latent thought which strives to expose itself in clear systematically arranged conceptions, without hope of attaining perfect success. He also points out that even those philosophers who profess to reject spiritualism inevitably admit it in some way or other.—The Abbe Jules Martin has a vigorous article on 'The Illusion of Philosophers,' the criterion of truth, method, criticism, and Renan's pretension to impartiality.—'The Definition of Magnitudes,' by M. A. Calinon. 'A Study of a Case of Depersonalisation,' by M. Dugas.—(June).—Dr. E. Tardieu gives an elaborate and impassioned analysis of the psychology of the sick, by which term he understands those suffering from a chronic or incurable malady.—M. de la Grasserie discusses 'The Psychological Category of Classification as revealed in Language.' He finds the origin of classification in the savage's minute distinctions of human kinships. Applying the same principle to other objects, he groups them in classes, which are not natural but artificial or intellectual. This is reflected in language in the use of words or rather particles to denote class, so common in many Asiatic and American tongues. A survival of this is gender.—'Some Traits of Slav Psychology' is the title of an interesting study by the Kieff Professor Sikorsky.—(July).—'L'Idée d'Evolution et l'Hypothèse du Psychisme Social,' by E. de Roberty.—G.

Compayré, 'L'Enseignement Intégral,' a review of M. Bertrand's recent work.—A discussion on 'The Inconceivable,' by E. Récéjac.—M. Paulhan reviews a number of recent works on 'Personality and Character.'

LE MUSÉON ET LA REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 2, 1898).—Professor A. Widemann, of Bonn, in the first article here discusses the historical value of the inscription on the stele found by Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie in the ruins of the funeral temple of Merneptah at Thebes, in December, 1895. The find was described by Mr. Petrie himself in the May number of *The Contemporary Review*, and a translation of the inscription, caused to be placed on it by Merneptah, was given by Mr. F. L. Griffith. That inscription has since engaged a large amount of attention on account chiefly of its being the only inscription yet found in Egypt in which the Israelites are expressly mentioned. The historical value, however, of the inscription has been held in grave doubt because Merneptah is known to have been by no means scrupulous in appropriating the merits and fathering the achievements of his more illustrious predecessors, and unblushingly exaggerating what little he was able himself to accomplish. This, however, it seems, was a far from uncommon weakness in the wearers of the triple crown. Truth was a much lauded virtue in the Egyptian codes of ethics, but the Pharaohs were sometimes gifted with somewhat elastic consciences, and with equally lively imaginations. Some of them found no difficulty, *e.g.*, in crediting themselves with the mighty deeds their ancestors had done, or even with the more glorious victories they had themselves won while they were sleeping quietly on their pillows, in their peaceful palaces. The first was made easy for them, and was accomplished by the simple device of erasing the name, or cartouch of the hero whose deeds were recorded on the stele, or wall, and chiselling in their own; or by copying, on another slab or monument, the record of another's glorious achievements (with appropriate exaggerations or embellishments), and inserting their own names where that of the real monarch had been placed at first. The stele under discussion here was appropriated by Merneptah, and, as it was of too hard a kind of stone to be easily manipulated to serve his object, he fell upon the expedient of using the back of it to engrave on it the story of his all too imaginary campaigns and merits, and then building it into the wall of his funeral temple with the original inscription with [illegible] inwards, and *his* inscription exposed to view. [illegible] inscriptions have been disclosed, considerable [illegible]

itself in the eyes of Egyptologists to that of Merneptah. Dr. Widemann regards its veracity with grave doubt. The interpretation of that part where the Israelites are mentioned is subject also to debate. The phrase 'Ysiraal has no seed' is interpreted by some to refer to the destruction of Israel's children, and by others to the destruction of their crops and fruit trees by the invading forces of Egypt. Dr. Widemann favours rather the latter view, but in any case does not regard the events described as having taken place in the reign of Merneptah, and therefore thinks that the stele cannot be safely used as throwing light on any thing concerning Israel in that period.—The second article here is the continuation of M. E. Drouin's 'Histoire de l'Epigraphie Sassanide.' Here he treats of the engraved seals, gems, amulets, etc., which have been preserved from the Sassanian period. There are hundreds of them, but it is difficult often to translate the inscriptions on them. He details the efforts made by scholars to get at their true meanings. He next describes the coins and medals of the same era, and the learned labours which have been expended on them.—M. E. Beauvois has an interesting study on the similarities in creed and worship to those of the Christian faith found in Mexico by the Spaniards on their arrival there. Many explanations have been offered of this curious fact. They are here reviewed in the light of historical fact and probability.—M. Ladeuze continues his critical study of the different recensions of the life of Pakomus, 'Les diverses recensions de la vie de S. Pakome et leur dependance mutuelle.' The article is not finished in this number. Several important works are reviewed, and the *Chronique* is as usual full and useful to all interested in religious literature.

Revue Des Études Juives (No. 1, 1898).—M. Ad. Büchler in the first article here subjects the narrative as to Alexander's invasion of Palestine and his entrance into Jerusalem, given in Josephus' *Antiq.*, XI. 8, to a searching examination. Its historical worth has often been called in question. Contradictory statements are found in it which it is impossible to reconcile, and there is manifest confusion in the sequence of events as detailed there. Willrich's and Schurer's theories to account for these are discussed, and cause shown for their rejection. M. Büchler gives a minute analysis of the whole chapter, and sets forth the contradictions and incongruities observed in it. The whole narrative he regards as a fusion of what were at first three distinct and independent accounts. They can easily be separated from the connection in which they now stand, and when studied singly each is seen to have had its own

special purpose to serve. The first has to do with the Samaritans, and was intended to exalt them, and to give honourable origin to their temple. The second confines itself to the Jews proper, and has their exaltation in view. The third is clearly hostile to the Samaritans, and was written to belittle their claims and pretentions.—M. S. Krauss furnishes next a very minute study of the Talmudic Tractate, the Déréch Eréç. He describes first its nature or character, and next its divisions; then the kernal idea and purpose of it, and, last of all here, the sources from which it has been drawn.—M. Lambert furnishes a brief paper on the 'Song of Moses' (Deut. xxxi.). There are several obscure verses in it arising from gaps in the present text. It was originally composed of couplets, each couplet expressing a distinct thought. As it lies before us now, however, some lines are wanting and clauses have been omitted. The gaps are here indicated, and then M. Lambert gives the Hebrew text of it as he thinks it stood originally, without venturing, of course, to supply the lacunae existing now in it. —M. J. Bauer, under the title, 'Le chapeau jaune chez les Juifs contadins,' tells the story of the edicts passed and put in force by the Papal authorities in the Middle Ages to make the Jews wear a special badge to distinguish them from their Christian subjects, and so expose them to contumely and annoyance at the hands of the latter, if so inclined. He shows us how much the Jews resented this, and how they sought to hide the hated mark, the yellow circlet which they were forced to wear on their dress. To prevent their succeeding in these efforts, Pope Clement substituted the wearing of a yellow cap for the wheel or circlet. This order was, however, afterwards cancelled, but it was again repeated by Pope Paul IV. This same Pope passed, at a later period, an edict authorising the use of a black cap. This was a privilege confined to Jews in a town or district where they were engaged in commerce or trafficking. Through the purchased benevolence of some of the authorities in several places, the non-wearing of these badges was winked at. In 1776 the Jews in the province of Venetia asked to be allowed to wear a piece of yellow cloth in their black hats. The hated badge, however, came to be honoured and worn by many long after these edicts had been abolished or had become obsolete.—M. D. Kaufmann traces the eventful history of a MS. of the Mishnah Torah, by Maimonides, to which legend has given a venerable antiquity and a quite fabulous worth.—M. N. Roubin continues and concludes his account of *La vie commerciale des Juifs comtadins en Languedoc au XVIIIe siecle.*—Several interesting notes follow by various

scholars on grammatical and other points, and on inscriptions, etc.—In the section 'Acts et Conferences,' we have the usual reports of the Société des Etudes juives presented at the annual meeting of members in Paris, and the Address delivered on that occasion by the President, M. M. Vernes.

REVUE SÉMITIQUE D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE (No. 2, 1898).—M. J. Halévy continues here his examination of the prophetical works of the Old Testament to demonstrate from them that their authors were perfectly conversant with the Pentateuch, and with those parts of it which are regarded as post-exilic, as, in other words, belonging to the Priestly Code. He examines here the prophecies of the so-called Second Isaiah. He agrees with the members of this school in their opinion as to the date and authorship of the prophecies in question, but differs from them in respect to those parts of these prophecies which they are almost at one in rejecting as non-Isaiac, viz., chaps. lvi.-lxvi. M. Halévy here concedes that ch. lxvi. formed no part of the original work, and belongs to the post-exilic period, to the time when the second temple was being rebuilt. But the author of the document known as the Second Isaiah was evidently familiar with the Priestly Code. M. Halévy's first proof of this is drawn from ch. xliii. v. 14. The Seba mentioned in the first of these passages is, says M. Halévy, southern Arabia. It is there an ethnic name, and it appears as such only in Genesis x. 7, which is attributed by the critical school to P. Again the combination of Cush and Seba in Isaiah xliii. 7, is only comprehensible in the light of Genesis x. 7. The writer must have been acquainted with the passage. As to Isaiah xlv. 14, ff., the prophet there predicts that Judea will be enriched by the commerce of Ethiopia and Seba, whose merchants, passing through the province, and seeing its prosperity, will salute its inhabitants, and acknowledge that their God is God alone. The phrase there used of the Sabeans—'*anshe midah*'—'men of stature,' is clearly due to, and taken from, Numbers xiii. 32, which forms part also of P. The next passage to which M. Halévy appeals is Isaiah xliii. 14-20. The objection raised against the prophet's prediction of the return of the captives to their own land was, according to his adversaries, based on the fact that there was no water for the travellers in the desert. The prophet repels this objection in ch. xli. 17, ff., by recalling to his readers God's dealings with His people in ancient times. He repeats the fact in ch. xliii. 14-20, and in v. 17 he uses a verb which marks the direct intervention of Deity, *hammotze*. This demonstrates his acquaintance with the narrative in Ex. xiv.

There the pursuit by Pharaoh is declared to have been by the immediate instigation of God. Isaiah xliii. 21-24, is also adduced as evidence of the writer's knowledge of P.; also ch. liii. 10; liv. 9; lvi. 1-8; and lviii. 13. The evidential value of the first of these passages lies in the use there of the term '*l'bonah*,' and the term '*qana*.' The use of frankincense and sweet cane in the sacrificial ritual is prescribed only in P. In Is. liii. 10, reference is made to the '*asham*,' the guilt-offering. The prescriptions as to it belong also to P. in Lev. vii. 1-7. In a similar manner does M. Halévy deal with the other passages in Isaiah above noted.—In the second section of his 'Recherches Bibliques' he continues his 'Notes pour l'interpretation des Psaumes.' This section embraces from Ps. cv. to the end of Ps. cxix. Ps. cx. is, however, here omitted, and readers are referred to the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. XXII. The reference should be to vol. XXIII., page 39, where there is an elaborate study of Ps. cx. by M. Halévy. The critical notes and suggested emendations of the text are always worthy of the careful attention of scholars, and in the case of every Psalm, a translation of the Psalm as emended is given.—Under 'Notes d'Assyriologie,' M. Alfred Boissier comments on, and corrects where he deems it necessary, some texts published recently by M. Menant and M. Oppert, as also those published in Professor Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*.—M. Blochet continues and concludes his article on the Arabic Inscriptions noted in last number.—M. J. Perruchon gives the Amharic text, with translation and notes, of some legends relative to an Ethiopian King, Dawit II., who flourished from 1508 to 1540. The text is taken from a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale.—The 'Bibliographie' in this number, occupying no fewer than 20 pages of this *Revue*, is furnished by M. Halévy, and embraces critical appreciations of a large number of works interesting to students of Semitic history and literature.

Revue Celtique (Avril, 1898).—The first article, in a number of more than usual interest, is the beginning of a series with the title, 'Esquisse d'une histoire de l'archéologie gauloise (préhistorique, celtique, Gallo-romaine, et franque),' from the pen of M. Salomon Reinach, in which, as the title indicates, he proposes to give an historical sketch of the science of archæology in France. Here he begins with Claude Favre Peirese (1580-1637), who belonged to a noble family in Provence, and was the first to study the ancient monuments for France from an historical point of view. Among others are mentioned Jacques Spon (1647-1685); Colbert, the Minister of State, who not only

founded the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, but conceived the plan of publishing an account of all the Roman monuments in France; Dom B. de Montfaucon and Dom Martin are also mentioned. An account is given of the discovery of the tomb of Childeric (1653), of the establishment of the Académie Celtique in 1804, and of other matters connected with the study of archæology in France. The 'Sketch' may almost be said to resolve itself into the shape of a series of notes, but they are full, and cannot fail to be exceedingly attractive to readers on this side of the English Channel.—The continuations are Dr. Whitley Stokes' 'Irish Version of the Romance of Fierabras,' and M. E. Ernault's 'Breton Studies.'—There is a note on the meaning of '*brig eygen*,' by M. Loth, and the Editor, M. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, contributes a scholarly article on 'Anthropomorphism among the Celts and in the Homeric writings.'—Two articles are devoted to inscriptions. The first is by M. C. Jullian, in which he gives his reading of the Gallo-Roman inscription discovered at Rom (Deux-Sèvres), in 1887, and discusses the meaning of some of its words and phrases. As to the language or dialect of the inscription he is not quite sure.—The second of the two articles is on the Calendar discovered at Coligny towards the end of last year. The bronze fragments on which it is inscribed are represented by a series of plates, and M. Seymour de Ricci, the author of the article, attempts an explanation of it. The calendar is extremely curious, and appears to be written in the language of the Ligures—a language which holds a middle place between the Celtic and the Italic.—Mr. Strachan contributes a note on the etymology of 'iarmifoich.'—The 'Bibliographie' is occupied by two books — Holger Pedersen's *L'aspiration irlandaise*, and Zupitza's *Le participe de nécessité en irlandais.*—The 'Periodique' and 'Chronique' are held over for want of space. In a note, however, the editor announces the publication of the second volume of M. de La Borderie's *Histoire de Bretagne.*

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA (May).—This number opens with an article by Sr. Ramiro de Maeztu on the Lithuanian novelist, Hermann Sudermann, in which the principal facts of his life are narrated and a liberal appreciation of his writings given. The article serves as an introduction to a translation of one of Sudermann's novels under the title 'El Deseo' (The Wish).—The series of articles under the heading 'El Reformatorio de Elmira' is concluded. The topics which P. Dorado, the author of the chapters, here discusses are for the most part

connected with punishments and discipline. The system adopted at Elmira is also compared with those adopted in New York and some of the United States.—Under the title 'Customs of the Mussulmans,' Rodrigo Amador de los Rios contributes an interesting series of notes on woman in Mahommedan lands, and writes of her birth, education, marriage, and life in the harem.—The 'International Press' contains articles on the *Maine* Disaster, and the Naval Forces of Spain as compared with those of the United States.—Sr. E. Castelar writes in the 'International Chronicle,' and, as might be expected, is chiefly occupied with President M'Kinley and the American war.—(June)—Sudermann's novel, 'El Deseo,' is continued.—Juan Pirez de Guzman contributes an interesting article, apparently suggested by the admission of the Queen of Roumania to the doctoral degree in the University of Buda-Pesth, with the title 'Bajo los Austrias,' in which he discourses of the learned women of Spain and the honours which some of them received.—Sr. C. Bernaldo de Quirós writes on Criminology, and 'Un Congresista' contributes a paper on the Congress of Hygiene.—Mr. W. T. Stead's article on the government of New York is translated, and the usual 'Chronicles' follow.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (May).—Contains a powerful sketch of country life 'Deliverance,' by Cyriel Buysse, in which the brutality and greed of a Boor accomplishes by stages, marked by the successive births of their children, the death of his wife, a patient victim born for a better fate.—'Old Zeeland Hospitality,' by Mrs. Maclaine Pont, is an interesting account drawn from the archives of Groede and Sluis and other places of the reception given to the exiled Salzburgers of the reformed religion who, in 1733, after terrible sufferings, arrived in Holland. Mostly miners, they could not reconcile themselves to field labour, and in the end the great majority succumbed to the fevers of swampy Zeeland in spite of all that was done for them.—In 'Joint Action for Compulsory Education' C. H. den Hertog advocates united action of all parties in securing the education of all children without exception, a thing not easily managed, evasions being so easy as in the case of children in ships, etc.—'Idealists,' of which the first taken up is John Ruskin, of whom a fair sketch is given by Mrs. Marius.—A further instalment and the conclusion (May and June) are given of Mr. S. Muller's highly interesting account of 'Guilds and Government Regulation of Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages.' He draws his illustrations from the Utrecht Guild Records, and as

in his former article last year gives a picture of the most curious arrangements, vexatious regulations, of co-operation joined with intimidation, and of continual friction all round. He traces the Guilds' history down to its close about the middle of the sixteenth century, when the great commercial companies, a sort of national guilds came in.—(June).—'The Ideas of M. Jean Izoulet,' by H. P. G. Quack, is an exposition of the teaching of this French Professor of Sociology, who claims thinkers and poets, such men as Plato, Rousseau, Shelley, Shakespeare, as the best allies of those who seek to mould society and set up a true State.—'Old Songs,' by Prof. G. Kalff, is a review of a book lately published, *A Hundred Old Flemish Songs with Words and Music*, brought out by Ian Bois, Pastor of Alsemberg.—'Our Lads,' by I. E. Enklaar, is a discussion about lads in the secondary schools, how to interest them more in their studies, and at the same time enforce much needed discipline.—Another article on an educational subject follows, 'The Position of Teachers in the Secondary Schools,' by a teacher who complains of low and unequally arranged salaries as well as of bad system, so that the best qualified men are ceasing to apply for places as teachers in Holland.—There is a notice of Gladstone, and sonnets by Helène Lapidoth - Swarth.—(July).—'Spanish Impressions,' by G. P. Rouffaer, has the place of honour in this number, and consists of telling sketches of land and people.—Dr. R. C. Boer has an article on 'Gabriel Finne and his Romances.'—'François Caron' is the subject of an interesting article by Kalff. This man, architect of his own fortunes in the early days of the East India Company, illustrates well the history of that period.—Other papers are 'A Churchyard Study,' by Nievel; 'Tollens Documents of years 1807-31;' and some graceful verses by Marie Boddaert.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—The November number opens with a report of Ethical Studies in Scandinavia, the work most largely commented on being Åberg's 'Philosophy of Ethics.'—The second article 'Christianity for our own Day,' by Dr. Bookenoogen, is one of great interest. It opens with a notice of the recent work of Dr. Job. Weiss of Göttingen, 'Discipleship of Christ, and the Preaching of the Present Day,' and enters on a free discussion of the question how Christianity must be presented if it is to secure the attention of the modern world. Dr. Weiss bases the claim of Christianity on the progressive modern world, on the authority Christ possesses and is generally felt to possess as the representative of God to man: Christ being to his view

not solely nor even chiefly a historical figure, belonging to a remote age and country, but a living force, present now in the growth of society, and appealing to individual consciences. The Dutch writer answers the question in a different fashion. He enumerates the difficulties with which Christianity has to contend. It appeals to narratives which present themselves in the form of history without being really historical, it is interwoven with a dualistic view of the world and an eudæmonistic morality, which no longer command the mind of the age, and thus there arises an inexhaustible crop of objections to the Christian faith, which its enlightened believers feel to have some justification even if the essence of the faith is not affected by them. These objections might prove fatal to Christianity but for the fact that it is our working religion, and that it cannot be dispensed with till some satisfactory successor to it shall arise. But none of the claimants to the successorship can make its claim good; neither the Gœthe-cult, nor the Wagner-cult, nor Western Buddhism, nor Communism nor Science. Christianity therefore holds the field, and it is the task of theologians so to present it that it shall be found adequate to the moral and the intellectual standards of our day. Here Dr. Bookenoogen asks what is the distinctive element in Christianity which is the secret of its power and cannot be displaced. This he says is its view of redemption by a Son of God who humbled himself and came into the world for that end, who lives in exaltation and is coming to the earth again. It is, he says, 'the weakness of the modern movement of Christian thought that it seeks to do without the personal Saviour, and deals instead in an impersonal doctrine.' The figure of the Saviour must be kept in the foreground. And if this can no longer be done in the naive matter-of-fact way of orthodox teaching, it must be done in the way of symbol. This is possible even where the historical truth of the Gospel narrative is believed to be but doubtful. The true value of the evangelical history does not reside in the facts which it records, but in the religious and moral truths they set forth under the figure of the Saviour. Much in this line of thought no doubt will appear familiar to our readers; how the plan works out in practice is a further question, not entered on by this writer, but not to be put aside.—Dr. Bruins, a Dutch pastor, has written a small book, seeking to define the nature of the Christ of the Gospels. We find from the notice of it here that the Christ of the Gospels is made out to be a religious ideal rather than a real person, and indeed that it is difficult to

determine whether a historical figure existed at the back of this ideal or not. Dutch study of the Gospels leads inevitably to the symbolic view of the Christian facts, described above.—To teach the New Testament from the modern Dutch standpoint, viz., on the assumption that hardly anything is known of the beginnings of Christianity, and that it began, in fact, in the second century, a peculiar method is obviously necessary. Dr. H. N. Meyboom has written an account of the Christianity of the second century, to be used as an introduction to the New Testament, and Dr. v. Manen, reviewing his book, tells how it deals, in the course of 350 pages, with the great labyrinths of disputed questions belonging to that century. The critic, of course, thinks the idea of the book a capital one, but considers that the writer has not gone far enough in rejecting the traditions hitherto received, and that he speaks of Christianity at an earlier period than any at which it can be said to have existed.—The numbers for January and March contain large instalments of an account by Mr. W. J. van Douwen of the early relation between Socinians and Baptists in Holland—obscure annals, in which many a curious phenomenon is met with. The study is to be continued.—The January number has a paper by Kosters, Kuenen's successor at Leiden, and the originator of the view, now held by the Dutch moderns to have been proved, that the Jews did not return to Palestine under Cyrus at all. The present paper is on the meaning of the letters in the first and second chapters of 2nd Maccabees. It is the original intention of the Feast of Purification that is in question; and Dr. Kosters maintains that the letters show the festival to refer not to the purification of the temple by Judas Maccabeus, but to the deliverance from Antiochus and the judgment executed on him, which are an earnest of the coming redemption of all Israel, and of their being gathered together ere long at the national sanctuary. A mourning notice at the end of the number lends a tragic interest to this paper; it announces the death of the able scholar who wrote it, and gives a short sketch of his services to Biblical learning.—In the March number Professor van Manen reviews Harnack's *Chronology*. This undoubtedly great work appears to many to indicate the final obsequies of the Tübingen view of the books of the New Testament; so early are many of the canonical books dated, and so simply and shortly are many questions of criticism disposed of, mostly in a way to delight the more conservative student. The Dutch scholar judges very differently of the work; it takes little account of the views of the Modern School about early

Christianity, treats Paul as a real historical personage of the first century without discussing the point, and sees facts where the Dutchmen and Steck, of Berne, see only fictions. That he is 're-actionary,' and 'makes things very easy for himself,' by not arguing for the reality of Paul, is repeated in many a paragraph; and the conclusion is that while Harnack has made many valuable contributions to early Christian chronology, his book testifies of insufficient self-control, and does not give a strictly scientific investigation of its subject.—Professor Baljon of Utrecht has published a new text of the Greek Testament, in which the onesidedness both of Tischendorf and of Westcott and Hort, is avoided, and conjecture is said to play a considerable part.—The May number has seventy pages on 'Socinians and Baptists,' apparently concluding the discussion. These old stories are interesting in their own country, no doubt.—The late Dr. Nosters of Leiden is the writer of a review of the German work by Paul Voltz on pre-exilian prophecy and the Messiah. The German writer holds that the views of the old prophets not only do not point to any doctrine of a Messiah, but are incompatible with such a doctrine; thus carrying to an extreme the conclusions of Wellhausen and Cheyne as to the late date of some of the notable Messianic prophecies. Dr. Nosters agrees that these prophecies are late, but does not think Voltz's reasons for thinking so can be upheld. The old prophets might have room beside their moral doctrine for the expectation of a personal national hero, and might expect him to be of David's line and to repeat the glories of David's house.—There is a very complimentary review by Dr. Oort of Driver's new commentary in the 'Cambridge Bible for Schools' on the books of Joel and Amos.

DENMARK.

AARBÖGER FOR NORDISK OLDKYNDIGHED OG HISTORIE (Vol. XII., Part 4).—In an article of no fewer than 140 pages, Dr. Sofus Larsen discusses the ballad of 'Little Kirsten and Prince Buris,' and its relation to the legend (as old as 1594 at least) which points out the grave of the two lovers in Vestervig churchyard. The question is beset by no ordinary difficulties, chief among these being the fact that the inscription on the remarkable tombstone is now almost illegible, and the copy of it preserved in the MS. of Resen's Atlas is desperately corrupt, viz.:—

> 'Pheres tan roppe tovs cum fratre sororem,
> Dispar habet tvmvlvs set claris fvnvs vt extet.'

After showing that previous conjectures are invalid, Dr. Larsen somewhat laboriously establishes his own restoration of the lines, and evolves the following reading:

> 'Par nexus tanti urna intus cum fratre sororem,
> Dispar habet, tumulus sat claris unus ut extet.'

This he translates, 'A different coffin (here) contains a sister with a brother, a closely related pair, so that these illustrious persons have one tomb.' The two bodies were evidently laid in line with each other, not side by side, and the ballad on which the tradition was probably based, tells how Buris, brother to Valdemar's queen, had led astray Valdemar's sister, Kirstine. The fierce-tempered king puts her to death, and she is buried in Vestervig, while Buris is maimed and chained to her grave. In this plight he lives for eleven years, and gives up all his possessions to Valdemar to obtain the boon of burial beside his love. To reconcile this with history is not easy, for the historical Buris was imprisoned by Valdemar for high treason in 1167, and Saxo, who gives a full account of the affair, supplies no further information regarding him. Dr. Larsen is therefore of opinion that the Buris of the ballad is not the Danish Buris Henriksson, as has been commonly assumed, but the Swedish Burisleif, who was actually brother to Queen Sophia, and that what the chroniclers have to tell of the former's fate really appertains to the latter. The establishment of this point is not without difficulties, and even then it is not easy to bring history, the ballad, and the inscription on the tombstone, into line. The greatest crux in the latter lies in the words *cum fratre sororem*, but Dr. Larsen clears this away by showing that they may only mean brother and sister in an ecclesiastical sense, the names of *frater* and *soror* having been at times conferred by monastic establishments on their benefactors. There is perhaps too much supposition in the various steps of the argument to allow us to rest satisfied with the author's conclusions, but some of the separate points are of considerable interest, and the whole question is very carefully dealt with.—(Vol. XIII., Part 1).—The first part of the new volume is wholly given over to the writers on early church-architecture, who seem to be the most diligent section of Danish antiquaries at the present time.—Prof. Löffler points out the importance of recent diggings at Vitsköl, and their bearing on the age of the older brick churches.—Of three short articles by Jacob Helms, one raises the question whether a number of the mediæval churches in the district between Holland and the Elbe were built with stones imported from Southern Jutland.—V. Koch writes on the oak window-frames

which have been discovered in various country-churches, evidently built into the walls while these were in process of erection. Various illustrations accompany the articles by Prof. Löffler and Koch.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (May, 1898).—M. Reader has a curious anthropological study under the title, 'Woman in Montenegro.' Professedly her position is very inferior. The bride who comes to her new home is absolutely under the authority of the head of the house; her husband is forbidden to betray any affection for her; and the women's work is rough and hard. Yet there are many ways authorised or not in which her lot is relieved. The most curious thing is the fact that her husband's brother is her natural protector, and friend.—'A Projected Armenian Crusade in 1700,' by M. Maurice Muret, describes the career of an Armenian adventurer, Israel Ory, who went the round of the Courts of Europe with his project, and after enlisting the aid of the Elector Palatine and the Czar, ended his days as a merchant in Persia, whither he had been sent as ambassador. —Dr. Herz concludes his account of his struggles with prejudice and quackery while practising in Morocco.—Fiction is represented by M. Warnery's 'Double Agonie,' and serials.—(June).—M. R. Marc-Gervais discusses 'Anti-Semitism in Algiers,' and gives some interesting evidence of the general conspiracy against the Jews, which is fostered in every conceivable way.—M. Reader writes on the struggle for commercial outlets amongst the nations of Europe, and describes the commercial museums and commercial societies of the various countries. The July instalment contains a minute account of German commercial methods.—(July, 1898).—M. Abel Veuglaire, a frequent contributor on military subjects, discusses the present relations between the French nation and the army officers.—'Village de Dames,' by T. Combe.—Mme. Bigot writes on 'Family Life in the United States,' contrasting the Puritan society as depicted by Hawthorne with the modern as we find it in Howell and other novelists.—'The Evolution of International Politics,' by Tallichet.—'A Boating Party on the Rio Salado,' by M. Chapuis.

SWEDEN.

THE ARKIV FÖR NORDISK FILOLOGI.—(Record for Northern Philology). Vol. 10. No. 2 opens with a series of interesting studies, by the Editor, Axel Kock, on 'The History of the

Northern Languages.' The first is on the accenting of words, with a hiatus in the Old Northern or the ancient language. It especially deals with words like *cowhide*, Swed. *kohud*, in which the meeting of vowels produces an hiatus and a consequent accent.—The Editor follows with about 30 pages on the same subject, that is, regarding northern accentuation and then gives a contribution to Old Northern verbal forms in the negative as *kalliga*, I call not, *gerpiga* (1st sing. pret. indic.) (I did not). This is followed (2) by some remarks on the third pers. sg. pres. indic. in the Old Northern languages; (3) on the third pers. pl. pres. indic. *in* the Old Northern language; (4) second pers. pl. on *in* in old Swedish; (5) on Old Swedish *hundapa*, *pusanda*, numerals. — A question about the speech on the Röksten inscription with which Prof. Bugge has dealt in the transactions of the Swedish Academy of *Bellelettres*, XXXI., No. 3, p. 61.—In pages 252 the editor expounds the etymology of *fiakura*, *fiakurum*, under which he sees the simple word *fyra*.—A series of Northern Etymologies such as *avált* and the two names *Fenia* and *Menia*.—An exposition of the use of the mood in certain sentences, expressive of time, with *adr* (en) and with *fyrr* (en), as the leading words. This is by Reinhard Krant.—On this follows an interesting review of Prof. Bugge's Helge-Digtene by Prof. Henrik Schuck, which questions Prof. Bugge's conclusions, but is not able to fix the results with any degree of certainty.—A review of the Hauksbok as published according to Arna Magnaean MSS. Nos. 371, 544 and 675, supported also by certain paper MSS. of the Royal Northern Society for the publication of ancient writings.—There is a lengthened valuable preface written by Finnur Jonsson, which gives all that can be learnt about Hauk's personal history, and in what follows pretty much all that is known about his work.—The review is by Ludwig Larsson.—The number concludes with reviews and a Northern Bibliography for the year 1896, collected by E. H. Lind.

GREECE.

ATHENA (Vol. IX., Parts 3 and 4).—'Philological Observations,' by K. S. Kontos, dealing principally with forms of the Greek perfect and pluperfect.—'A Transcription and an Account of an Inscription from Chalais recording the victors in the games in Honour of Herakles which were held there,' by G. A. Papabasileiou.—'An Inscription from Mytilene,' reported by P. N. Papageorgiou, who also describes the Laurentian MS. of Galen's treatise on Habit.—The k. Bases continues his 'Roman Questions.'—(Vol. X., Part 1).—'Analogies in Ter-

minations,' by G. N. Hatzidaki.—'A Discussion on the Connecting Vowels and on Accentual Changes,' by the same.—D. K. Zangogianni discusses the deficiences of Greek classical scholarship at great length.—'Notes on Bergk's edition of Aristophanes' "Scholia,"' by P. S. Phtiades.—(Part 2).—'Critical Notes on Plutarch's "Symposiaca,"' by Sp. Bases.—P. S. Photiades suggests emendations to Aristotle's 'Constitution;' and P. N. Papageorgiou to the 'Poetics;' while the k. Papabasileiou discusses Plutarch's 'Ethics.'—'Lexical Observations,' by K. S. Kontos.

AMERICA.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (April, 1898).—A thoroughly good number opens with an interesting account of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, which was held during the closing days of last year at Cleveland, in which are numerous notes of the papers read and the discussions to which they gave rise. Historical studies in the United States, judging from what is here said, appear to be in a prosperous state, in so far that they are evoking much enthusiasm and earnest study. From one or two statements we gather that the *American Historical* is in close connection with the Association. One of the papers read at the annual meeting appears here over the name of Mr. Charles H. Haskins, and describes with considerable detail the opportunities afforded to American students of history for prosecuting their studies in France, and particularly in Paris.—Under the title, 'Features of the New History: apropos of Lamprecht's *Deutsche Geschichte*,' we have not a criticism of that much criticised work, but an exposition, able and luminous, of the principles by which Lamprecht has been guided in the writing of his work. The contribution is by Mr. Earle W. Dow.—John Cabot sailed from Bristol in the spring of 1497 on his celebrated voyage of discovery, and after an absence of only three months, during which, however, he landed on the north-east coast of the New World, returned home. In May, 1498, he set out again with a fleet of five ships and sailed westward. In the following July word was brought to London that one of his vessels had been forced by stress of weather to put into an Irish port. His son Sebastian Cabot has always been credited with the discovery of Labrador and Canada, and it has been positively asserted that the father died shortly after the patent of 1498 had been obtained, and that in the second voyage the son took his place.—In a well reasoned paper with the title, 'Did Cabot return from his Second Voyage?' Mr. Harrisse maintains that the story of John Cabot's death is

wrong, that he commanded the second expedition, and argues that the discovery announced by the Marquess of Dufferin on the occasion of the Cabot quatercentenary in Bristol and other recently published documents strongly tend to prove that Cabot returned from his last voyage before September 29th, 1498, and that he was still living after that date.—Professor Gross traces the early history of the Ballot in England, and brings out some interesting facts in connection with the subject.—Mr. E. F. Henderson follows with an article entitled, 'Present Status of the Königsmark Question,' and Mr. J. F. Jameson with a paper on 'The Early Political Uses of the word Convention.'—The section devoted to unpublished MSS. contains a letter by President Jefferson on 'Political Parties in 1798;' Documents on the relations of France to Louisiana, 1792-1795, and the Commission of Foreign relations to Lachaise.—The books reviewed are numerous, among them being Professor Gardiner's recent volume on *The Commonwealth and Protectorate.*—The 'Notes and News' section is particularly full and informing.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Christian Dogmatics. By Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1898.

This work, as we are informed in the Preface, is written from the standpoint of a moderate Calvinism. It may be taken therefore as an exposition of the principles and doctrines of the Christian Faith as they are held and interpreted by the moderate Calvinistic party in the Christian Church. Whether some indication of this ought not to have appeared on the title-page is a question we do not care to discuss. In adopting the title he has, Mr. Macpherson has followed a practice which is fairly common, though some writers are more precise, as for instance, Hase, who when treating of the same subject adopts as the title for his volume, *Evangelisch-protestantische Dogmatik.* Christian Dogmatics, Mr. Macpherson tells us, 'is the science of the Christian faith, in which the several dogmas are laid down, classified and developed,' while the Christian Faith 'is the sum total of those beliefs, acceptance of which is implied in the appropriation of Christ and his salvation by the individual as an individual and as a member of the community of believers.' The scientific theologian may be disposed to find fault with these definitions as somewhat loose in expression. Remembering his statement in the Preface, the Christian faith which Mr. Macpherson evidently means is, the faith of moderate Calvinism and the community of believers he has in view is that part of the Christian community in which that faith is held; and the dogmatics he has in view is not that of the entire Christian Church, but that of a particular section of it. Again, in dogmatics the dogmas are already given or laid down, and the task of dogmatics is not to lay them down anew, but to classify them to furnish them with reasoned expositions, and while criticising them, to defend them when necessary against others. This we take it is the true province of Dogmatics. A system of Christian Dogmatics is indeed possible, but with the Christian Church divided as it is all that we can reasonably look for is not a system in which the mind of the universal Church is reflected, but a variety of systems, each reflecting the views which prevail in the section of the Church in the midst of which it has originated. Writing for moderate Calvinists, Mr. Macpherson's volume will undoubtedly meet with considerable acceptance among them. His arrangement of his work is fairly good. In the introduction, he treats of the idea and contents of Christian Dogmatics and those of Religion, which in its simplest and most elementary form is described as 'a survival of man's original spiritual endowment,' and is said to 'consist in the fact of a real relationship subsisting between God and man.' Next we have a section on revelation and then one on the Scriptures, 'the primary source of Christian dogmatics.' 'Christ Himself,' it is said, 'in His Eternal living person is the centre and norm of the Christian religion,' but in regard to dogmatics Mr. Macpherson is of opinion that 'we cannot intelligently speak of making the Person of Christ the norm and source, except by using the phrase to mean Christ's teaching, or more generally, His life.' The Œcumenical symbols are treated by Mr. Macpherson as a *fons secundarius* of Christian Dogmatics. The section on the history of Dogmatics will prove helpful, but cannot take the place of the more

elaborate treatises. Turning, however, to the main part of the work, Mr. Macpherson divides it into six sections. The first treats of the doctrine of God and the world; the second of the doctrine of man and sin; the subject of the third is the doctrine of Redemption; the fourth treats of the application of Redemption; while the means of grace and the doctrine of the Last Things are the subjects of the remaining two. All is of course set forth from the standpoint of moderate Calvinism. The exposition is fairly luminous, though obscured here and there by the use of high sounding technical language. The books to which the student is referred, are fairly numerous, but, if anything, the denominational or Calvinistic predominate. Nothing is gained by confining the student to an exclusive circle of reading, except it be an increase of prejudice. Mr. Macpherson's book, however, is fairly well done from his own standpoint, and will undoubtedly succeed among those for whom it has been written.

The Christian Pastor and the Working Church. By WASHINGTON GLADDEN, D.D., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1898.

The subject of this volume is what is usually known as 'Pastoral Theology.' As the title for a section of Ecclesiastical studies, the phrase may possibly pass muster; but the one which Dr. Gladden has chosen for his volume is certainly more expressive and intelligible to those who are not students of theology. At any rate, his volume deals with the work of the Christian Pastor and of Christian congregations. Taking it all in all it is a valuable addition to the 'International Theological Library' to which it belongs. The history of Pastoral Theology is left aside, and the author concerns himself chiefly, if not exclusively, with the work to be done by Christian ministers and Christian Churches in the present. Dr. Gladden writes with a full knowledge of what is done in many of the Protestant Churches on both sides of the Atlantic, and the information his volume contains is of such a nature as to be of interest and value to members of all sections of the Christian Church. He passes in review all phases of the religious life both of the pastor and people; and for a theological or religious book his volume is remarkably lively. In many parts it is remarkably plain and outspoken. Sensationalism in preaching and what are sometimes termed 'attractive services,' he denounces in no uncertain terms; and the light which he throws upon the attempts which are made in some of the Protestant Churches to attract congregations is often not a little surprising. Speaking of the evening service in America, he tells us: 'One despairing pastor of one of the large cities has lately grasped at the device of employing young lady ushers as baits to catch the young men;' and adds: 'It would not be difficult to hit upon a less objectionable method. If the great concern is to get the young men into the Church, a free luncheon with liquid refreshments would be more effectual and less indecent.' Discoursing of hymns, he remarks that many of the congregations of the American Churches have become addicted to a style of hymnody which is an offence against good taste and good sense. 'Verbal jingles,' he says, 'which are destitute of all poetic character, and which often express an effusive sentimentalism are joined to melodic jingles which are equally destitute of musical meaning; and the result is a series of combinations that tend to debilitate the mind and to pervert the sensibilities of those who use them.' Writing of the hymns which are used in Sunday Schools, he says 'the kind of trash which the children are condemned to sing can have no wholesome effect upon their minds or their hearts. The effusive silliness of the verses is often repulsive to the mind

of an intelligent child.' One hears much of the excellence of Church choirs in America, but it would appear from Dr. Gladden's statements that the precentors or choir-leaders are not always endowed with much sense of the fitness of things. They are quite apt we are told, to sing a morning hymn at an evening service or to introduce just before the sermon the hymn, 'Saviour again to Thy dear Name,' as 'a delicate suggestion to the minister that the congregation has finished its business and is going home.' At the hundredth anniversary of a Church where all had been specially harmonious and all the ministers without exception had been highly esteemed and generously treated, the Choir selected as the anthem for the occasion—'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets,' etc. They certainly do strange things in America. All the same, Dr. Gladden's book is full of sound sense and practical suggestions, and may be read by any who are engaged in the work of the Church, whether lay or cleric, with profit.

Erkennen und Schauen Gottes. Ein Beitrag zu einer neuen Erkenntnisslehre für Theologen und Nichttheologen. By L. WEISS. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn. 1898.

This essay is one of a series dealing, it seems, with social questions, and the bearing of the Christian faith upon them. The two earlier are known to us only by their titles, but if this one may be taken as indicating the object or purpose of the series, and the spirit in which it is sought to realise it, the series is to be highly commended and its wide circulation to be hoped for. The only fault we can find with the work before us is that it appeals too constantly to the cultured classes who are capable of appreciating the fine distinctions of technical terms, and close consecutive reasoning. There is no reason in the world, of course, why a work like this should not be addressed to such people, and be cast in a form likely to be welcomed by them and prove helpful to them. But in these days of social and religious ferment there are thousands who are craving for the kind of light this essay gives, but to many, we fear, this will be more or less of a sealed book just because of those high qualities we have mentioned. However that limits its sale, and the circle of its immediate influence, not its intrinsic value. It is a scholarly essay, and aims at getting cultured readers to examine the terms in which they are wont to express themselves—in which all are wont to express themselves—when thinking, speaking, or writing on subjects of philosophical, social, or religious interest. The further purpose of the author is, by this means, to show that religion—the Christian religion—answers to the needs of our intellectual and social life, and so to recommend it—restore it, he says, to the place of honour, while he hopes also that his efforts to accomplish this will prove of service to philosophy. Social problems are not confined to the physical or material conditions of life. They embrace also the spiritual, the mental, the ethical. There are as glaring inequalities of spiritual possessions among men, and of mental and moral conditions, as of material. The former are no less distressing and disturbing than the latter. There are questions that perplex the minds of the cultured who take the wider survey of life as well as those that perplex the minds of the uncultured. Our author here thinks that if the Christian faith were properly understood, grasped in its true significance, seen for what it is, it would prove helpful to both, being light to the former and true guidance and peace to the latter. It does furnish, he affirms, a satisfactory solution—satisfactory to the scientific mind—of the system of things around us, and a motive and a method of ameliorating, nay, of rectifying our social

inequalities. Rectifying them, not by removing them, but by infusing the spirit of brotherhood into all hearts. The Christian faith is frequently misunderstood in its essence and in its aims. It is misunderstood from misapprehension of the very terms employed in teaching it, as well as from manifold emotional causes in the student, or the hearer. This essay is an able effort to correct the former kind of misapprehension. It takes up the terms in which we are wont to speak when discussing philosophical and religious problems, or the Christian faith, and asks us to observe the *nuances* each or all of these leading terms expresses, or indicates. What do we really mean when we speak of knowing or perceiving God?—when we speak of God? when we speak of faith, of knowledge, of the world, of the absolute, of matter, of ideas. of man, of thought, of the soul, of the spirit, and so on? Vague conception here means inadequate knowledge. Inaccurate use of terms leads to misunderstanding. Misunderstanding, thus begotten, leads to the rejection of what would, if accepted, prove of the highest advantage to us. The survey here of the technical, but often merely vague because popularly used, terms is a comprehensive one. Their genealogy is traced, and the minute distinctions between term and term very often effectively brought out. To an English reader of German this work is doubly valuable.

A Critical Examination of Butler's 'Analogy.' By the Rev. HENRY HUGHES, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. 1898.

The first words of Mr. Hughes' preface are apt to prejudice not a few of its likely readers against this book. 'Let it at once be plainly stated,' he says, 'that a main object of this essay is to assist Butler in a graceful descent from the high position he has long—sufficiently long—occupied as a trusted leader of religious thought.' Words like these will be taken perhaps as indicating a singular *animus* on the part of a clergyman against the author of the *Analogy*, and as promissory of a somewhat sharp treatment of the worthy bishop's arguments. In reality, however, Mr. Hughes proceeds with his examination of the work in question quite dispassionately, and weighs with care every point he takes up, giving in Butler's own words the argument on which Butler relied. Butler's admirers allow that the *Analogy* is not so suited for the practical needs of to-day as it was for those of the early decades of last century; but what Mr. Hughes wishes here to point out is that the analogies on which Butler so much relied, and of which he made in that Treatise so much use—the analogies 'between that system of things and dispensation of Providence which revelation informs us of, and that system of things, and dispensation of Providence which experience, together with reason, informs us of' —do not justify the conclusions which Butler drew from them. Mr. Hughes examines first Butler's reasoning as to the Future Life. The analogy relied on by Butler is of course admitted, but its evidential value for Butler's argument is shown to be invalidated through his not having observed that it has logically a backward as well as a forward application —that it would equally justify, that is, the belief in, or the assertion of, a prior existence as that of a future one. The principle of continuity, again, one of Butler's main props, must be interpreted, Mr. Hughes says, with the limitations which that theory demands. The continuity, *e.g.*, of a force's action is only known in the continuity of the combinations in which it acts. That some parts of the body may be removed or destroyed, and the living self be unimpaired, is no guarantee, he argues, and furnishes no analogy to support the belief, that the *whole* organization may be destroyed

and the mental self remain intact. Surely there are organs, such as the brain and the heart, which we apprehend to be vital. They are organs without which we cannot conceive ourselves as existing in the body. Though they may not be a part of ourselves, yet they are a manifest condition of our existence as active agents here. And this circumstance, it is argued, gives rise to the probability, at least, that their destruction involves our destruction, or that of our living self. In regard to Butler's analogies as to God's government of the world by rewards and punishments, Mr. Hughes points out various flaws both in his statements of facts and in his logic, and then sums up as follows :—'There is not here, and nowhere else can there be, any shadow of such an analogy as Butler seems to have had in his mind : an analogy, namely, between present suffering and present conduct on the one hand, and future suffering and present conduct on the other. . . . To cite the present punishment of present conduct in direct analogical support of the future punishment of present conduct is no more reasonable than to argue thus. The illness of a person A. having been apparently caused by his intemperance, it is probable that the similar illness from which B. suffers is likewise due to some course of conduct pursued by A.' All the chapters of Butler's *Analogy* are subjected here to the same minute analysis and criticism, Mr. Hughes pointing out, as he goes along, where he thinks Butler has allowed himself in his zeal to overstrain the analogies on which he relied, or where he failed to observe their inadequacy or inapplicability to the points at issue. The whole of the second part of Butler's Treatise—that on Revealed Religion—is examined in a similar and careful manner, only in regard to the points here raised Mr. Hughes indicates more fully his own Christian convictions. His chapters on 'Revelation,' and 'Redemption by a Mediator,' are specially interesting in this respect. The nature and evidential value of prophecy, and the confusion of which Butler was unconsciously guilty, by making Scripture synonymous with Revelation, are both clearly made out. The nature of the Atonement is explained in this way:—'The essential doctrine of Christ's atonement appears to be that it is a purchasing with His blood the power to regenerate mankind by bringing them, through loyal membership of His Church, into living union with Himself.' Mr. Hughes is not opposed to the doctrines which Butler was trying to defend, though it will be seen from our last quotation that he does not conceive them always as Butler did. He is an evangelical churchman, and upholds the doctrines of what is known as evangelical christianity. What he endeavours to show here is that Butler's defence of these is not only in itself always weak, and often irrelevant, but that along the lines he followed it could not be anything else. Belief in a direct revelation, according to Mr. Hughes, can only be generated in any soul by its personal experience of it. No argument addressed to the intellect can avail. It is only when the soul comes into living touch with God, when God unveils Himself to it through the religious conscience, that it can know and understand the fact at all. According to him, therefore, the task Butler set himself to accomplish was from the first a hopeless one, and he endeavours here to make that clear to his readers. It is an able work, and well worth careful attention.

The Making of Religion. By ANDREW LANG, M.A., LL.D., etc., etc. London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. 1898.

In a letter to Principal Donaldson Mr. Andrew Lang dedicates this volume to the University of St. Andrews, not because it contains a series of Gifford Lectures, but rather in commemoration of the fact that some years

ago he occupied the Gifford Chair in his Alma-Mater, and in recognition of the many kindnesses he has received at her hands. Of the Gifford Lectures he actually delivered in St. Andrews the volume we are told contains very little. The world may be the gainer thereby, or it may not; but whether or not, the book itself is a valuable contribution upon a subject, the study of which, though much has been written in connection with it, can scarcely be said to be making anything like considerable progress. Whether Mr. Lang's book will furnish the required impetus is difficult to say. There is sufficient in it, however, to cause not a little stir among those who hold the prevalent theories as to the origin and development of religion, and to turn their attention once more to the things they have most surely believed on this difficult and fascinating subject. At any rate, the volume has the merit, somewhat rare in similar volumes, of being fresh and original—original in the sense that it goes back to the primary materials out of which the accepted doctrines on the subject have been formed, and examines them anew and in a spirit which, to say the least, is frankly independent. Mr. Lang is not a believer in the ghost theory, and subjects it to a very searching and damaging criticism, as also Hume's well known saying about miracles. He is inclined himself to go back to certain elements in human thought and experience which anthropologists have overlooked, and to find in them the origin of religion and of religious ideas—ideas which contain an ethical as well as an intellectual element, and are not merely theories of things. We cannot do better, however, than let Mr. Lang state the purpose he has in view throughout the volume—'There are two points of view,' he says, 'from which the evidence as to religion in its early stages has not been steadily contemplated. Therefore we intend to ask, first, what, if anything, can be ascertained as to the nature of the "visions" and hallucinations which, according to Mr. Taylor in his celebrated work, *Primitive Culture*, lent their aid to the formation of the idea of "spirit." Secondly, we shall collect and compare the accounts which we possess of the High Gods and creative beings worshipped or believed in, by the most backward races. We shall then ask whether these relatively Supreme Beings, so conceived of by men in very rudimentary social conditions, can be, as anthropology declares, mere developments from the belief in ghosts of the dead. We shall end by venturing to suggest that the savage theory of the soul may be based, at least in part, on experiences which cannot at present be made to fit into any purely materialistic system. We shall also bring evidence tending to prove that the idea of God, in its earliest known shape, need not logically be derived from the idea of spirit, however that idea of itself may have been attained or evolved. The conception of God then need not be evolved out of reflections in dreams and "ghosts."' Mr. Lang travels over a wide area, produces many illustrations, some old and some new and striking, has much to say in connection with 'what we may call the X region of our nature,' on telepathic crystal-gazing, and on some phases of modern experience as compared with the experiences recorded of savages; but to follow him further is here impossible. We can only add that the volume, like all that its author has written, is eminently readable, and that, dealing so incisively as it does with the ideas as to the origin of religion so widely accepted among anthropologists, it can scarcely fail to make its mark, and to be provocative of fresh investigation.

Henry of Guise and other Portraits. By H. C. MACDOWALL. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1898.

Though the work of a comparatively unknown author, this is a book of much interest and real promise. It goes back to the time when France

was torn asunder by its wars of religion, and deals with a group of men and women who, whatever opinion may be found of their characters, will always retain a certain amount of attraction for the modern world. They lived and moved amid great events, and had the making of the history of France in one of the most important periods of its national existence. English writers of any historical pretensions have scarcely touched upon the period, and during the forty years that have elapsed since Michelet wrote his two brilliant volumes upon the wars, many new facts have been brought to light. Mr. Macdowall has thoroughly steeped himself in the contemporary chronicles and memoirs, and writes with a fulness of knowledge and a fairness which are altogether commendable. The first of the three essays the volume contains, has for its subject Henry of Guise, the leader of the Catholic League, who plotted against his sovereign and hoped to seat himself upon the throne. About one half of the volume, or about 170 pages, are occupied with the unravelling of the complex system of political and religious intrigue, of which he was the centre and moving spirit. The essay is an admirable piece of historical narrative, full of interesting sidelights from contemporary writers, and written without prejudice. Among others we meet with in its pages are Charles IX., Catherine de' Medici, Henry of Navarre, Coligny, the Duke of Retz, Henry of Anjou, and the Cardinal of Lorraine. Of St. Bartholomew Mr. Macdowall tells a different story from that which is usually told. 'It may be observed here,' he remarks, 'that so far from the massacre being inspired, as has sometimes been asserted, by religious animosity, there was no attempt even to cloak the crime with any religious pretext; the Huguenots were accused of meditating a purely political offence, they were massacred not as heretics but as rebels.' In referense to Catherine de' Medici and the assassination of Coligny we have the following :—'The project of killing Coligny was not new to Catherine; it seems to have been in her mind for several years as an expedient to which she might some day have to resort. So long as she could make use of him directly or indirectly, he was safe, for whatever her private feelings may have been she never allowed them to interfere with her policy, and the disciple of Machiavelli did not resort to violence except as a last expedient. If Coligny had showed himself a little less impracticable, if she could have managed him as she had contrived to manage the Bourbons and the Guises, she would have gone no further; she did not definitely resolve on killing him until she had satisfied herself that he could neither be cajoled nor bribed, and that there was nothing else to be done. The practice of assassination had grown very common during the last few years; the civil wars had not only hardened men's hearts. but demoralised their consciences, and in lust of blood, the claims not only of humanity but of justice and of honour had been habitually set aside. Condé, a prisoner of war, was shot down in cold blood by Anjou's orders, after the battle of Jarnac; Charles, as we have seen, had no hesitation in ordering the assassination of Guise in an angry moment; Lignerolles, a favourite of the Duke of Anjou, was stabbed to death at Blois, while the Court was there, by seven or eight gentlemen, whose pardon was granted at once; the Ambassador of Savoy wrote that a dozen other murders had been committed at the same place, and had all gone unpunished. "Nothing is talked of at this Court but assassination." There was, therefore, nothing singular about Catherine's resolve except the ingenuity with which she made her arrangements.' Mr. Macdowall's second essay is on Agrippa d' Aubigne, soldier, poet, historian, Protestant champion, and—such was the irony of fate—the father of Mme. de Maintenon. The remaining essay is on Catherine of Navarre. Though somewhat slighter than the two others, it

is marked by the same characteristics. The merits of the volume are such as to quicken the desire to see more of its kind.

A Memoir of Major-General Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, Bart., K.C.B., F.R.S., D.C.L., F.R.G.S., etc. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., F.R.G.S., Canon of Canterbury, etc. With Introduction by Field-Marshal LORD ROBERTS, of Kandahar, V.C. Illustrations. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. 1898.

Canon Rawlinson has written the Life of his distinguished brother with great tact and discretion. Instead of spreading the narrative over several volumes, he has judiciously compressed it into one. For the most part, he has left his brother to tell the story of his life himself. His own part in the work, however, is considerable, and the result is a work of very varied interest and attractions. Sir Henry Rawlinson was descended from an old Lancashire family of some name and note, and was born at Chadlington, in Oxfordshire, where his father, the son of a Liverpool merchant, had settled, on April 11, 1810. The first years of his life were spent under the tuition of his mother, a person of considerable reading and force of character. Afterwards he was educated at Wrington, and then at Ealing, in the School where among others had been John Henry Newman and his brother, Francis William Newman. The latter, however, was not the author of *The Eclipse of Faith*, as Canon Rawlinson asserts. It was written by Professor Rogers, a Congregationalist, and was in reality a critique of Newman's *Soul* and other religious works. From Ealing, young Rawlinson went to Blackheath where he studied under a certain Dr. Myers and took his first lessons in Hindustani and Persian. Before going to Blackheath he had been appointed to a cadetship under the East India Company. Fortunately for him, on board the *Neptune* in which he sailed to India, was Sir John Malcolm, the distinguished soldier, diplomatist, and Oriental scholar, and a firm friendship soon sprang up between the two. It was this friendship and the companionship that followed during the four months the voyage lasted, which in all probability gave that bent to young Rawlinson tastes which resulted in his subsequent choice of a career. 'Rawlinson himself,' says Lord Roberts, who contributes a valuable introduction to the volume, 'evidently recognised the advantages of this companionship, for he frequently referred to the conversations he had had with Sir John Malcolm, and expressed his gratitude for the valuable advice he had given him in regard to Persia and the study of the Persian language.' He landed at Bombay on October 27, 1827, and six years later, was selected by Lord Clare, then Governor of Bombay, to be one of a small body of officers belonging to the Indian army deputed to reorganise and discipline the Shah's troops. On his arrival in Persia Rawlinson lost no time in putting his knowledge of Persian to use and in indulging in those antiquarian tastes which subsequently led to such brilliant results. At the same time, he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his chiefs in the many and onerous duties with which he was entrusted. On more than one occasion he commanded a considerable body of Persian troops, and for some time he took charge of the Province of Kirmanshah, where he was in the midst of some of the richest antiquarian treasures to be found in Persia. It was during the last year of his residence in the country on this occasion that while riding from Teheran to the Russian camp at Herat, he accidentally came across Captain Vitkievitch, the Russian officer whose presence at Cabul a few months later did much to bring about the Afghan

War of 1839-42, and the meeting with whom first directed his attention to the influence Russia was gradually acquiring in Afghanistan and made him one of the earliest advocates of the Forward Movement on the Indian frontier. On his return to India, in consequence of the withdrawal of the mission to which he belonged from Persia, and while casting about for employment, he was unexpectedly directed by the Bombay authorities to proceed to Afghanistan and to place himself at the disposal of Sir William Macnaghten, the Political Agent at Cabul, who appointed him Political Agent at Kandahar. The position was one of extreme delicacy and responsibility, requiring tact, temper and forbearance, qualities which he proved himself to possess, as Lord Roberts remarks, in an eminent degree. He served through the trying times of 1841-42, and left Afghanistan with a high reputation as a political soldier. A chance meeting for a second time was the means of his advancement. Travelling from Allahabad to Calcutta he found himself a fellow passenger with Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-General, who was so interested with all that Rawlinson had to tell him about Afghanistan, and was so favourably impressed by him that he offered him the Residentship in Nepal, or the still more coveted and lucrative post of Governor-General's Agent in Central India. Rawlinson declined both, and the Political Agency in Turkish Arabia chancing to become vacant he applied to be sent out to Baghdad, though a far inferior position to either of those that had been offered to him. The reason was he wished to prosecute his researches in connection with the cuneiform inscriptions. The results of these researches are well known, though perhaps not so widely as they deserve to be. On his return to Europe after an absence of twenty-two years, the several learned societies vied with each other in doing honour to the distinguished scholar who had done so much to open up the treasures of the past. At the end of 1851 Rawlinson was back in Baghdad, where he remained five years, still prosecuting his invaluable investigations in various parts of Chaldæa and Babylonia. At the end of that period he returned, was made a baronet, and appointed a Director of the East India Company, and subsequently, on the transfer of India to the Crown, a member of the first India Council. The remainder of his life, with the exception of a short period during which he served as Her Majesty's Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Persian Court, he spent in Parliament, or as a member of the India Council, to which he was again appointed, and in preparing his inscriptions for publication. It is impossible here, however, to convey anything like an adequate idea of the interest attaching to the volume in which Canon Rawlinson has recorded the chief incidents in his brother's life. It has attractions not only for the student of Oriental antiquities, but for those also who are interested in seeing how a man with a clear purpose before him can achieve distinction, or in following the career of one of the many illustrious men whom England has given to the world.

Robert Burns and Mrs. Dunlop: Correspondence now published in full for the first time, with Elucidations. By WILLIAM WALLACE. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1898.

As an editor of Burns, Mr. Wallace is easily in the first rank, if not, indeed, in the first place. His admirable edition of the *Chambers' Burns* has already been noticed in the pages of this *Review*, and there are few readers of Burns who are not by this time more or less acquainted with it. In the volume before us he adds another to the many services which he has already rendered to the students of Burns and his times. The correspondence between the Ayrshire poet and Mrs. Dunlop has long been

known to exist and has in part been published. Currie printed some thirty-nine of Burns's letters to Mrs. Dunlop; to these Cromek added three, and Scott-Douglas a fourth; but here, for the first time, Mr. Wallace has printed the whole of the correspondence from the Lochryan MSS., containing no fewer than thirty-eight additional holograph letters and parts of letters from the poet to Mrs. Dunlop, and ninety-seven letters from Mrs. Dunlop to Burns, or, as Mr. Wallace observes, 'the surplus of the collection made for Currie's use by Mrs. Dunlop and Gilbert Burns from the MSS. which the lady had in her possession at the poet's death.' The probability is the additions now printed were never seen by Currie, and, according to Mr. Wallace, it is manifest that none of them has ever been handled either by editor or printer. 'They are all,' he tells us, 'in a state of beautiful preservation, and include at least as fine specimens of the poet's handwriting as any that have seen the light.' In this collection there are also holograph MSS. of 'Tam o' Shanter,' the first draft of 'Passion's Cry,' 'The Chevalier's Lament,' 'Lament for James, Earl of Glencairn,' and of several other pieces. As for the correspondence, it is nearly complete. After careful examination but few places have been found where it can be said that a letter of Burns appears to be missing, and only nine where a letter from Mrs. Dunlop seems to be wanting. In new biographical matter the new parts of the correspondence are rich. For the first time we learn that Burns might have been a military officer, and alternatively, a professor in the University of Edinburgh, and that Adam Smith entertained the idea of making him a Salt Officer in the Customs service, at the handsome salary of £30 a year. Burns rather inclined to the Army, and uncommon pains were taken by Mrs. Dunlop and Dr. Moore to get him appointed to the Chair of Agriculture in Edinburgh. Fresh light is also thrown upon his connection with the Excise, as for instance that he aimed from the first at a Port-Officership with its larger emoluments. On the other hand, the letters fail to sustain the allegation made by Gilbert Burns that his brother was indebted to Mrs. Dunlop in a pecuniary sense. 'Her gifts to him of money,' as Mr. Wallace remarks, 'were presents in exactly the same kind as his gift of books and cognac to her, and in no sense dictated by charity or the notion that he required at any time pecuniary assistance.' On the subject of Mrs. Dunlop's 'desertion' of Burns, the new letters throw no light, but, as Mr. Wallace sensibly remarks, 'an impartial reading of the complete correspondence favours the hypothesis that the explanation of Mrs. Dunlop's conduct is to be found in inadvertence, and not in a deliberate design to break off all connection with the poet on account of any moral or political offence he had given her. Of the way in which Mr. Wallace has discharged his duties as editor, it is needless to speak. He has left nothing undone to make the letters intelligible. His notes are always illustrative and to the point. The volume is a rich addition to Burns literature.

Charters and Writs concerning the Royal Burgh of Haddington, 1318-1543. Transcribed and Translated by J. G. WALLACE-JAMES, M.B. Haddington: D. & J. Croal. (Printed for Private Circulation).

By the work he has here done in connection with the ancient charters and writs of the Royal Burgh of Haddington Mr. Wallace-James has laid all students of the municipal history of the country under a debt of gratitude to him. He has done what ought to have been done, only on a larger and more complete scale, by the authorities of the burgh. An ex-

cellent example has been set in this direction by the Magistrates and Town Councils of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dundee, which it is to be hoped will be followed by the magistrates and town councils of others of the royal burghs. In the archives of which they are the custodians there is much material of the first importance for the history of the country lying away known to but few and practically inaccessible, and there is no reason why they should not charge themselves with the task of having it examined by experts and placing the more valuable parts of it beyond the possibility of destruction by the aid of the press. The charters and writs Mr. Wallace-James has printed are not numerous, but they are valuable. It says not a little to the credit of the Town Council of Haddington that notwithstanding the vicissitudes to which the town's 'evidentis' have been exposed, they have managed to preserve them, and have had the good sense to reward, as the town treasurer's account show they have done on more than one occasion, those who assisted them in rescuing their documents from loss or destruction. The first of the documents printed is a charter by Robert the Bruce under the Great Seal confirming to 'our burgh of Haddington and our burgesses dwelling therein' all the rights and privileges they have hitherto enjoyed, and granting them freedom from toll and custom throughout the kingdom, etc. The original is in the Charter Room of the Burgh, and bears the date December 6th, 1318. It is followed by a clause from the charter of David II. to Dunbar giving the right of merchandise in that burgh, under certain conditions, to the merchants of Haddington. Among the rest are two charters by Robert II., and another by John Earl of Carrick, and letters from various sovereigns. One of the most interesting of the papers is an indenture between Maitland of Lethington and the burgh of Haddington as to the Haughs on the Fyne, which bears the signature of Lethington. The longest of the documents is the charter of James V. confirming all previous charters to the burgh, and including a grant of the office of sheriff within the burgh and its liberties to the provost and bailies. Mr. Wallace-James has done his work effectively, though here and there we have noted a clerical or printer's error. It is a mistake, however, to continue the practice of invariably representing the old thorn letter by 'y.' 'Before *y*e lordis' is evidently 'before *the* lordis,' and 'that is to say *y*at' that is to say *that*.

Cornelii Taciti Vita Agricolæ. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Map, by HENRY FURNEAUX, M.A. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1898.

Mr. Furneaux's qualifications as an editor of Tacitus have been abundantly proved by the admirable editions of the *Annals* and *Germania* which he has already given to the world, and for which students of Tacitus and the Roman historians have many reasons to be thankful. The high reputation which these three volumes have won for him, will be more than sustained by the work he has done in the volume whose title we have placed above. The evidences of his scholarship, erudition, and critical acumen are manifest upon every page of the volume, and combine to make it one of the best editions of a work which, for British readers at least, must always have attractions which are of a much more than purely academical character. Tacitus, as need hardly be said, is by no means one of the easiest of the classical writers to edit, and the *Vita Agricolæ*, though the most charming of his writings, is in some respects probably the most difficult. The corruptions and other difficults of the text are proportionally much more numerous than any other of its author's writings presents. It is on this account, probably, quite as much as on account of its subject,

that so much labour has been expended upon it by the commentator and critic. Wex, in his prolegomena, enumerates no fewer than upwards of eighty editions or translations of or monographs upon it down to 1850, exclusive of the editions of the whole of Tacitus, and if the list were brought down to the present it would contain considerably more. The questions which have been mainly dealt with hitherto in connection with it are such as are presented by the text, and the purpose for which the treatise was written. Other questions involved, such for instance as those of an archæological and topographical character, though of equal, if not greater interest, have not received the same amount of attention. German editors have left them to Englishmen, and English editors, however much disposed, have rarely had an opportunity of dealing with them. The merit of Mr. Furneaux's edition is that, so far as it goes, it is complete. For the text he has adopted that of Halm, though not altogether, for in a number of places he has ventured to differ from that editor, and to suggest a reading of his own. At the same time he has printed immediately beneath the text the readings of the few MSS. that are known to exist or are of any particular value. The notes illustrative and explanatory are frequent, and sometimes of considerable length, but always concise and helpful. The discussions in these, as well as in the introduction, which, though it occupies one-third of the volume, might have been expanded to the reader's advantage, are remarkably judicious in tone and statement. If anything, they are perhaps a little too conservative. The ethnological, archæological, and topographical questions which are handled, open up large fields for speculation. Mr. Furneaux, however, is much too cautious to be led astray, and invariably tests the theories which have been advanced with the words of Tacitus. The volume, in short, is an excellent addition of a work of exceptional interest, and is deserving of the highest praise.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by DR. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. *H—Haversian* (Volume V.). Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.

With this double section Dr. Murray begins his fifth volume. Volume four is not yet completed, but it is in an advanced state of preparation, and the pace of the whole work is being considerably accelerated. Here one-fourth of the words beginning with the letter *H* are dealt with, 1,937 main words, 577 combinations, and 556 subordinate entries—in all, 3,070. To these have to be added 745 obvious combinations. Of the 1,937 main words, 361 are obsolete and 87 not yet fully naturalized. The largest number of words registered by other dictionaries under *H-Haversian* is 1,920, as compared with 3815, and the greatest number of illustrative quotations 2,383, against Dr. Murray's 15,624. Most of the words are of Teutonic origin, the words from Latin being few, and those of Greek derivation being for the most part technical terms and the group related to *harmony*. Alien Oriental words are numerous. The most important articles are that on the letter *H*, and those on *half*, *hand*, *have*, and *hang*. The article on *half* occupies twenty-seven columns, and that on *hand* forty-eight, while that on *have*, which ranks with *be* and *do* in range of use and difficulty of treatment, runs to twelve. Articles of historical interest are those on *hanaper* and *harquebus*. That on *handicap* will have attractions for sporting readers. The meanings of *habit*, *haggard*, *hall*, *handsome*, and *harbour* have had curious developments. But the greatest surprise which Dr. Murray has for his readers in this part is in connection with the word *haggis*. Under his hand the haggis ceases to be a peculiarly Scottish dish.

It was formerly, he tells us, a favourite English dish, 'Of whose goodness,' says *The English Housewife*, 'it is vain to boast, because there is hardly to be found a man that doth not affect it.' Among the Scottish words are *haaf*, *haar*, *hafflin*, *haffet*, *hag*, *haine* (hatred)—which, though not recorded as Scottish, is to be met with in, *e.g.*, *The Scottish Legends of the Saints*—*hake*, *hale*, *halesome*, *hals*, *hame*, but not *hamewart*. Under *handfast*, the peculiar form of irregular marriage once so prevalent in Scotland, is described. There is an excellent article under *hanse*. Attention may also be called to the articles under *harm*, *harn*, *harn-pan*, *harvest*, *herbery*, *hate*, *haet*.

The English Dialect Dictionary. Edited by JOSEPH WRIGHT, M.A., Ph.D., D.C.L. Part IV. *Chuck-Cyut.* London and Oxford: Henry Frowde.

With this part, the first volume of Dr. Wright's great undertaking is completed. The volume is of portly dimensions, and in its 855 closely-printed quarto pages contains a vast amount of information gathered from innumerable sources, and arranged with more skill than is at first apparent. Under the first three letters of the alphabet no fewer than 17,519 simple and compound words, and 2,248 phrases, are registered. These, again, are illustrated with 42,913 quotations, while the references without quotations number 39,581, bringing up the number of references in the volume to the grand total of 82,496. These figures alone afford a sufficient indication of the enormous amount of labour involved in the compilation of the dictionary. A further indication of this may be gathered from the fact that at least 12,000 queries were sent out from the 'workshop' in connection with the words contained in the present volume. From four to five hundred words, which ought to have found a place in the pages of this volume, Dr. Wright has unfortunately been obliged to leave over, in the hope that further information may be obtained respecting them. The present part seems to us, after a careful examination, to be more complete than any which have preceded it. Only one omission has occurred to us, and that is the verb *to crane*, with the meaning of 'to stretch,' as in the phrase, 'to crane one's neck,' *i.e.*, for the purpose of hearing or seeing better. Dr. Wright's preface will be read with interest. He there sketches the precise purpose of the *Dictionary*, gives an account of its origin, and of the pains taken to insure accuracy. 'It has taken,' he observes, 'hundreds of people in all parts of the United Kingdom twenty-three years to collect the material for the dictionary,' and 'upwards of three thousand dialect glossaries and works containing dialect words have been read and excerpted.' The work, too, is something more than a dictionary. It contains much information about popular games, customs, and superstitions, with abundance of references directing the student where to look for fuller information. In the same way with folklore. On this subject Dr. Wright's work is specially rich both in statement and reference. In short, so far as the present volume goes, the work is a clear and a magnificent gain, and we cordially agree with Dr. Wright when he says that 'When completed, it will be the largest and most comprehensive Dialect Dictionary ever published in any country, and will be a storehouse of information for the general reader, and an invaluable work to the present and future generations of students of our mother-tongue.'

Leaders in Literature. Being Short Studies of Great Authors in the Nineteenth Century. By P. WILSON, M.A. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1898.

The 'Leaders' whose works Mr. Wilson has here chosen for discussion are Emerson, Carlyle, Lowell, George Eliot, Mr. and Mrs. Browning, Matthew Arnold, Herbert Spencer, and Mr. Ruskin. A prefatory note tells us that, in consequence of the publication of the 'Recent and exhaustive "Memoir" of the late Poet-Laureate by his son, Lord Hallam Tennyson,' the author 'has refrained from submitting any estimate' by him, 'of one who takes the first place in the Poetical literature of the Victorian Era.' Apparently Mr. Wilson's two favourite authors are Emerson and Carlyle, to both of whom he acknowledges his great indebtedness, but more especially to the latter. The essays which he has written upon their writings, as well as those which he has written upon the works of the rest we have named, are for the most part of a religious or theological character. Literary criticism does not appear to be much in Mr. Wilson's way. The essays are cast in one form, and most, if not all, that is said in the nine essays the volume contains groups itself around the ideas of God, religion, Christianity, immortality. Mr. Wilson brings out very forcibly what each of his 'Leaders' has said upon these, and subjects it to a criticism which, from his own point of view, is very searching. We are not sure, however, that he is always successful in apprehending the meaning of those whom he criticises. In many instances the construction which he puts on the teaching of certain of his 'Leaders' seems to us to be narrow. Words have apparently cast their spell about him, insomuch that on some topics he seems unable to balance one set of expressions against another, or to seize the broader idea beneath them. The critical value of these essays is not great. What value they have is apart from Mr. Wilson's criticism. They bring together the leading thoughts of some of the greatest minds of the century, and tell some interesting facts about the lives of those who have done most to interpret and fashion the thought of the last fifty years.

What is Socialism? By SCOTSBURN. London: Isbister & Co. 1898.

This volume has been written with the avowed object of examining the principles and policy propounded by the advocates of Socialism. The policy and principles it examines are those, not of the moderate advocates of Socialism, but of those who go the whole length of their theories, or at least who profess to do so, and whose zeal or enthusiasm is tempered neither by considerations of what is practicable nor by common sense. The book is written for the people, and is intended to counteract the impressions made upon the working classes by the popular preachers of Socialism, and to warn them against their doctrines. The author has, of course, no difficulty in proving the utter impracticability and foolishness, not to say inequity, of many of the things said by these preachers. For most people the mere repetition of some of them is sufficient, and if he had done no more than gather together the numerous and often silly utterances with which many of his pages are garnished from the writings of Karl Marx, the Fabian Essayists, Belfort Bax, Nunquam, and the *Clarion*, the author would have done much to render their teaching ridiculous. It is doubtful, however, whether his volume in its present form will find its way into the strata of society in which it needs to be read. For the wary and open-eyed, the thoughtful and intelligent, it is avowedly not written. To some of them 'Scotsburn' may appear to take things too seriously. No doubt Socialism is a great question, but it is scarcely 'the greatest' or 'one of the greatest,' and we doubt whether it will at once be allowed to be so by any, except those who share the rather acute fears of 'Scotsburn.'

Most people, we imagine, will continue their trust in the common sense of the people. Socialism may seem beautiful as a theory, but when it comes to be tried, its illusions will go and the end is pretty clearly indicated in what the working man told Mr. Hyndman would happen in the event of the Communism he was preaching being enforced: 'If you come and take away my kid, Mr. Hyndman,' he said, 'I can tell you I'll shoot you.' Experience is an excellent solvent for other besides social theories.

Pure Economics. By Professor MAFFEO PANTALEONI. Translated by T. BOSTON BRUCE. London: Macmillan & Co. 1898.

Professor Pantaleoni is justly regarded as an authority in economic science, not only in Italy but wherever his works are known. Mr. Bruce, a London barrister, has rendered a signal service to the students of this science in this country, and to all who are interested in it here, by translating this 'Manual,' as its author modestly calls it, into English. The translation is an admirable one, especially in this respect that no sentence or clause is in the least degree obscure. The translated work before us bears none of the too common characteristics of translated works. We are never here at a loss to know what the author meant. Every sentence runs as if it had been written in English originally, and by a master of style. The edition made use of by Mr. Bruce, and which we may suppose is the last issued, is that of 1889, but the work has been revised, modified, and enlarged by the author for this translation of it so as to bring it up to date. The science of economics, like all others in this age of restless quest and advance, has made considerable progress within these past few years, and Professor Pantaleoni has had no small share in stimulating and guiding its developments. He has embodied in this edition the substance of several articles contributed by him to journals since 1889, so as to bring this volume into line with the present position of the science. We have presented to us in it 'A succinct statement,' to use his own words, 'of the fundamental definitions, theorems, and classifications that constitute *economic science*.' The work is divided into three parts, the first two defining and expounding the theoretical principles of the science, and the last illustrating their application to the business and commerce of life. The first part treats of the Theory of Utility. Chap. I. explains the nature and scope of the science. Chap. II. deals with what is called 'the hedonic principle.' Chap. III. with what is technically, under this science, called 'wants.' Chap. IV. with the classification of commodities. Chap. V. with wealth and the methods of estimating it. Pure economics, or economic science in its widest and most general sense, 'consists of the laws of wealth systematically deduced from the hypothesis that men are actuated exclusively by the desire to realise the fullest possible satisfaction of their wants with the least possible individual sacrifice.' That hypothesis is known as 'the hedonic premiss,' postulate, or principle. The science does not concern itself, however, with every kind of human action, with those, *e.g.*, which are due to the mechanical influence of environment, or belong to organic processes, or are the result of reflex action. It concerns itself only with such acts as arise from the consciousness of some present or prospective want which we think can be supplied, and which we consequently make an effort to supply. These wants are very varied, both in their character and in their quantitative intensities or urgencies. They increase as their satisfaction is withheld from them, and diminish in the ratio in which they are satisfied. The first morsel of meat to a hungry man gives the intensest pleasure, and every one that follows gives less and less, until

satiety is experienced, beyond which every morsel causes the very opposite sensations. The scales of these ascending and descending feelings are well illustrated by a series of diagrams. Commodities are the means—any means—that go to the satisfaction of wants, provided they are accessible. Economic science does not concern itself with those that are unreachable. It is throughout a practical science. Commodities which come within its province may be either material or immaterial—goods, acts of others, advice, music, etc. Any thing that appeases an appetite, eases a pain, or gives a positive pleasure, comes within the category of commodities properly so called. The second part treats of the Theory of Value. Chap. I. defines the term, and shows on what it depends, its causes, and conditions. Chap. II. deals with the rate of interchange in cases of monopoly and of free competition. Chap. III. with the law of supply and demand. Value is here defined as 'The ratio in which the unit of measure of one thing exchanges for a multiple or fraction of the unit of measure of any other determinate thing,' or, in other words, it is a mathematical proportion between two quantities of wealth exchanged against one another. Part III. illustrates the applications of the laws of the science in the every-day affairs of life. Chap. I. deals with the utility and value of instrumental commodities. Chap. II. with the value of money. Chap. III. with the nature and value of capital. Chap. IV. with the value of land and natural agents generally. Chap. V. with the value of labour. The theories and opinions of other writers on all these subjects are discussed, and, where these differ from those Professor Pantaleoni favours, they are criticised and compared with his own. The volume is furnished with two valuable indices, that of the authors quoted and an index to the work itself. It is an eminently instructive book, an excellent guide to the *arcana* of the science, and a valuable compendium of its laws and principles.

The Statesman's Year-Book: Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for the Year 1898. Edited by S. SCOTT KELTIE, LL.D., with the assistance of I. P. A. RENWICK, M.A., LL.B. Revised after Official Returns. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1898.

This hardy Annual—it is now in its thirty-fifth year—retains all the excellent features we have grown accustomed to in its appearance. As usual it is up to date, all its facts and data being as near as possible to the date of publication. Nothing seems to escape the keen watchfulness of its editor—not even the latest book of travel in which anything is to be learned about the countries of which he treats. The special feature of the present issue is a series of very useful diagrams showing the course of trade in the leading countries of the world during the last twenty-five years. There is also a map illustrating the Niger question, which will be found exceedingly useful for comparison with those which have been more recently published. Very valuable, also, is a series of three maps exhibiting in colours the extent of British trade with foreign countries and the British colonies. Tables are also given of the British Empire, of Colonial trade with the United Kingdom, of the wheat area, and of the number of sheep and cattle in the chief agricultural and pastoral countries of the world. And lastly, the table showing the principal navies of the world has been revised and a note is added detailing the number of vessels in process of building, or to be laid down during the present year as additions to the navy of the

United Kingdom. The book, indeed, is a marvel of compilation, and its figures being all drawn from official resources are the best that can be obtained.

Who's Who. 1898. Edited by DOUGLAS SLADEN. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1898.

This handy and useful annual is in its fiftieth year, and apparently deserves all the success it has obtained. Great pains seem to have been taken by its editor to make it as accurate as possible, and as useful as its limits permit. Very few names of importance are omitted. Upon opening at any name the reader meets with a brief biography of its bearer, with a record of his career and employments, the books he has written, the posts he has held, those which he now holds, the amusements he is inclined to, his clubs, and his address or addresses. It is one of the handiest books imaginable to have beside one, and saves a wonderful amount of time. Those are the advantages to the reader whose name is not included. The advantages it has for others need not be mentioned. The new issue, of which this is the second year, is an improvement upon the old, and both editor and publisher may be congratulated on the handsome appearance of the volume.

SHORT NOTICES.

Messrs. Macmillan have added to their Parnassus Library an edition of Aeschylus from the hand of Emeritus Professor Lewis Campbell. The editor's endeavour has been to adhere as closely to the MSS. as is possible in the case of a writer with whom the danger of corruption is greater than ordinary. Owing to the same difficulty, the present volume differs from the others of the series in having a selection of critical notes appended to the foot of the page. In a short introduction, Professor Campbell discusses the more important obscurities and conjectures, concluding with a brief essay in which he deals specially with Aeschylus' theological significance.

Reuben Dean, by William Leslie Low, (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier), is a boys' book on somewhat old-fashioned lines, describing the hero's school and college days, and his adventures in one of the early Indian frontier campaigns. The story is well told, and will no doubt be as interesting to boys because of its incidents as to their elders for its well drawn and contrasted characters.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Sprigs of White Heather, by John o' Gowrie, (London: James Clarke & Co.)

To his 'Modern Reader's Bible' (Macmillan), Dr. Moulton has added *The Psalms and Lamentations* in 2 vols. and *St. Matthew and St. Mark and The General Epistles*, forming the first volume of the 'New Testament' Series.

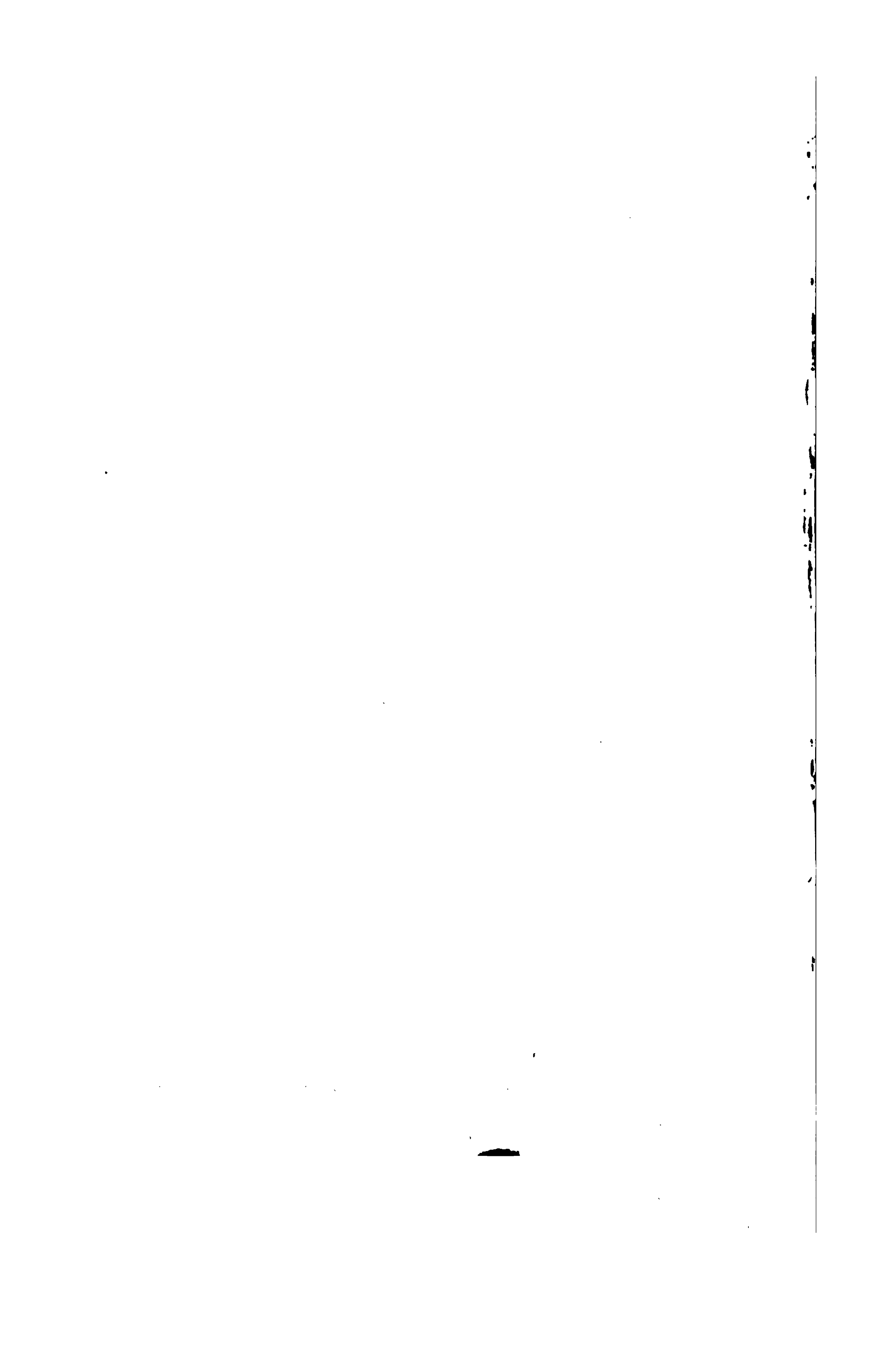
Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., have issued a beautiful reprint of the first series of F. W. Robertson's *Sermons* at the uncommonly low price of eighteenpence.

From Messrs. Macmillan & Co., we have received the fifth volume of the collected edition of Mr. Aubrey de Vere's *Poems*. The present volume contains among others 'Inisfail,' the 'Early Poems,' 'Urbs Roma,' and 'St. Peter's Chains.' The Prefaces and Introductions are retained.

To their 'Famous Scots' Series, Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier have added *William Dunbar* by O. Smeaton, *James Thomson* by William Bayne, *David Hume* by the late Professor Calderwood, and *Mungo Park* by T. Banks Maclachlan.

Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., have issued with some slight omissions and additions a new edition in one volume of the late J. Y. Gibson's well-known and admirable rendering of the *Cid Ballads*.

Messrs. G. A. Young & Co., Edinburgh, have recently sent out a new edition of the late Dr. Young's translation of the *Holy Scriptures*, the aim of which is to show the letter and idioms of the original languages. The version has been subjected to further revision, and an attempt has been made to make it as nearly perfect as possible. The continued demand for the work would seem to show that it is serving a purpose which is served neither by the R. V. nor the A. V. of the Scriptures.



THE

SCOTTISH REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1898.

ART. I.—THE MOTES IN NORMAN SCOTLAND.

Early Fortifications in Scotland. Motes, Camps, and Forts. By DAVID CHRISTISON, M.D., F.R.C.P.E., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. With numerous plans and illustrations. Blackwood. 1898.

I.—EARLY FORTIFICATIONS GENERALLY.

CARLYLE, speaking of the indelibility of man's footprint, said that the last rear of the host would 'read traces of the earliest van.' Few of such vestiges of the past bulk larger in the eye or more powerfully in the imagination than ancient earthworks. The mark of the spade tends to be less destructible than that of the trowel: the old palace may be robbed of its stone to build barns and stables, while a mere trench lives on, although the plough may have greatly levelled down its slopes. War has commanding memories and the sense of mystery and awe which broods over an old encampment enforces its claim upon the heart. It is, therefore, no unusual thing to find the early historian pausing to note that remains survive 'until this day,' as was done by Tacitus about the entrenchments of the Cimbri, by Norman chronicle regarding the camp of Rollo, and by thirteenth century English authors concerning the 'castle' of Hereward. Sometimes the

associations are tinged with superstitious emotion: the circle at Wandlesbury supplies a tilting ground for elfin or diabolic knight who vanishes at cock-crow. We can trace the same eerie influence in the incident of Strongbow's day in Ireland, when English troops, making their quarters in an old camp, took panic at the imagined sight of a mighty phantom host rushing upon them, as Giraldus Cambrensis tells, with din of arms and clashing battle axes.

The story of the early fortifications of Great Britain is as yet obscure, and only ascertainable by descriptions of vast numbers of entrenchments far apart. Hence the necessary information is still in a large measure to collect, and the first result to be expected will be to proclaim the need of excavations on a gigantic scale before conclusions can be called absolute. Excavations themselves are not enough. Archæological remains are seldom wholly self-explanatory. The early fortifications will demand all the evidence of record as well as of exploration. Great advances made of recent years in determining the period of at least one class of earthworks in England are not yet definite enough to forestall still more debate on the 'moated mounds.' It is gratifying that a recent treatise by a Scottish antiquary should make material promise, direct and indirect, for the solution of problems which affect English, Welsh, and Irish history, as well as Scottish.

Dr. Christison's determination to gain a general knowledge of the primitive fortreses was taken in 1885; and with praiseworthy zeal and patience he has carried his purpose far towards fulfilment, avoiding 'as much as possible the seductive paths of supposition and imagination, which often led the early Scottish antiquaries so far astray.' In his persistent search after sheer fact he and his no less industrious and talented colleague for Galloway, Mr. Fred. R. Coles, had to traverse large, remote, and hilly districts in the face of many obstacles. Now we have scientifically available in his book, and in the *Procedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, a digest of observations made by a qualified eye-witness, with a scrupulous desire to be free of prepossessions. Archæology owes Dr. Christison not a little for his out-door studies. Through these

old fortresses there doubtless runs some line of evolution yet unseen. The origins of industrial art, the share of war in the forces that make for progress and peace, the connection between the remote stockaded trench and the developed city—these are large and grand themes, to which an understanding of early earthwork will form no superfluous prelude.

Classification is not without its difficulties. A three-fold division was made into (1) Motes, (2) Camps or Rectilinear Works, and (3) Forts proper or Curvilinear Works. The Motes—conically topped and generally circular mounds, usually, or, at least, very frequently, moated—flourished latest in order of time. The section devoted to them, though full of most serviceable matter and observation, proceeds, as these pages may suggest, on somewhat unfortunate lines. Withal, however, the great task of a comprehensive analysis of our ancient fortifications is well begun. The mounds and ditches that scar the hillsides or 'track the moor with green' are reminiscences of man as a militant animal. What a strange tale, how full of episodes of adventure, of midnight onslaught and fire, of devotion and courage, the buried and irrecoverable annals of these fortresses could tell!

Is development or date traceable in these remains? Individually the examples are beyond clear recognition in the general case, but the succession of types, is that not yet determinable? Skulls have long ago divided themselves into long ones and round. Will camp and fort and mote not follow suit? The scientific spirit, ever praiseworthy, often irritates. Man craves for the definite: talk not to him of problems, it is solutions he wants. Hence the mass of human error and superstition; but hence also the insatiate search called science, and the superb aggregate of attained knowledge. Opinions ultimately untenable many times stand midway across to truth, and much is to be forgiven to an investigator if his desire to supply a stepping-stone proves a delusive hope. Great, indeed, is his merit whose stepping-stone is well and truly laid, enabling others after him to pass and repass with grateful and secure foothold, whether journeying to his conclusions or to others of their own.

II.—The Motes.

Dr. Christison's observations on the Motes may here be set forth succinctly—subject to question, correction, and criticisms meantime postponed. Defining a mote as a moated mound he begins by saying that 'motes were *the* fortresses of England during the Saxon period.' According to De Caumont they were the castles of France from the tenth century. The Bayeux tapestry has a capital representation of one, and there are other citations, none earlier than the eleventh century. Mr. G. T. Clark's great book on *Mediæval Military Architecture* is referred to as showing that the motes in England are precisely the same as those on the continent, and that they were known to the early English as *burhs*. Dr. Christison, however, points out that though the *burh* of England was the continental *motte*, the term was not restricted to this class of fortress. The distribution of the English motes is examined. They are said to be pretty equally scattered over the country, except in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, where Mr. Clark noted only four. In the counties bordering on Wales there are forty-three, besides eighteen or more in Wales itself. An authority of last century said that in Ireland they were commonest along the English pale.

In Scotland Dr. Christian finds no less than 150 motes marked on the Ordnance survey. Historical authorities, misled, he contends, by the similarity of names, were apt to confound motes and moothills or meeting places, attributing an unjustified importance to the latter. He discovered only three established instances of mounds so used. Of the truly military character of the motes he has no doubt. The number still extant and tentatively sanctioned as genuine by Dr. Christison amounts to sixty-nine probable and seventy-two possible.

The distribution of these 141 mounds of mystery is very unequal. Thickly spread in eastern Galloway, numerous in central Dumfriesshire, frequent in Wigtownshire and Ayrshire, sparse in Clydesdale, rare in the rest of Scotland—so they stand on Dr. Christison's map, so they are summed up in his

text. He finds but five possibly existing motes in the eastern and central lowlands, with charter hints of about as many more: a noteworthy scarcity, he remarks, 'for the most Saxon part of Scotland.' In the Highlands there are no motes whatever, and over all Scotland north of the Forth only nine pass Dr. Christison's canon of probable or possible. In size the motes are reported to compare well with those of England and France—from 60 ft. to 120 ft. being given as the ordinary diameter in England, 20 ft. to 150 ft. in France, 50 ft. to 250 ft. in Scotland. In Scotland, for the most part, the mote stands within its own ditch only, and without clear vestiges of a moated base court.

'History being altogether silent as to the Scottish motes,' says our learned guide, there is little to assist us in determining when they flourished. Whilst willing to believe that they might have been borne in on some early wave of Saxon conquest or immigration, he is alive to the difficulties of such a theory, and notes its failure to account satisfactorily for the superabundance of these structures in Galloway. The period, he says, when the motes flourished on the continent and in England was for some centuries before the Norman conquest. On one page we find him thinking it a tolerably safe conclusion that in Scotland, as in England, the motes were the immediate predecessors of the castles of masonry introduced by the Normans. On another he speaks of the forts of the Lowlands being superseded by the Saxon motes. The Danes, strangely enough, are never mentioned by him as claimants, but without them to multiply confusion the latitude of six centuries between Saxon and Norman is as ample as it is indefinite. There is no stepping-stone from doubt to certainty here.

It is time to ask if the general historical preliminaries are correct, if the Scottish material has yielded its all of evidence, if Dr. Christison's avoidance of the seductive paths of supposition has not betrayed him into serious forgetfulness of Scottish record, and if we are still doomed to nescience or vagueness so utter? Will the facts, now heaped high like promiscuous faggots in the beacon cresset, not kindle to illumine the past?

III.—English and other Motes.

It is never safe in early Scottish history to neglect the English evidence. Sometimes in turn English conclusions are insecure when Scotland has been forgotten. So, I believe, here. Mr. Clark's studies—ingenious, copious, and admirable volumes, packed as they are with laboriously gathered lore which earned him the honourable sobriquet of 'Castle' Clark —have in these later days been proved seriously at fault. That he was fairly read in English chronicle and record, that he had travelled and observed wherever English castles were to be seen, that his descriptions were faithful, competent, and informing—all did not avail to save him from one far-reaching error in all that concerns the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, that, namely, of confounding 'castle' with 'tower.' So he founded Norman keeps in some cases a century before their time. He had not detected that a castle of that age was usually a fortified enceinte, that it was often a mere earthwork and palisade, and that it did not at all imply a tower of stone.* Thus, although we know that Robert, William the Conqueror's unluckiest son, built in 1080 the 'New Castle' upon Tyne, it was not till 1172-74 that there arose the tower (*turris*) still dominating the active Northumbrian city. And though William Rufus set up the 'castle' of Carlisle in 1092, it was our David I. living and dying, and in a manner having his capital residence there, who built the keep.† Antiquaries are by instinct no wiser than their neighbours. When in doubt presume antiquity—that is the maxim. The Tower of London attributed to Julius Cæsar is a crude popular instance. Castles, churches, manuscripts, institutions —always the chances are many that a date too high will be assigned.

Long ago, it was observed of the castles mentioned in Domesday Book that they were almost all distinguished by a

---

* See Mr. J. H. Round's *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, Appendix O, on the distinction between 'tower' and 'castle.' The proposition had been already stated in the *Quarterly Review* for 1894.

† See *Notes and Queries*, 8th series, viii. 321.

mound and keep. Out of forty-nine, one only, that of Arundel, was noticed as existing in the time of Edward the Confessor, eight were erected by the Conqueror himself, and eleven by his subjects, whilst eleven others were expressly or by inference new in 1086. There was room for much building by that time from William's coming in 1066 into England, the mastery over which Ordericus Vitalis states* was gained the more easily because 'those fortifications which the French call castles had been of the fewest in the English provinces.' Modern scrutiny has with sound reason distinguished the mound from the keep and inferred that the former, the mote —usually either left in the outworks or used as the base of a shell-keep encircling it—was antecedent to the castle-tower of stone. Otherwise, a mote in a castle would be an unintelligible excrescence. The fact that when the Conqueror died, the unique Tower of London itself was still to finish, and that it set a fashion far too costly and difficult to follow, however humbly, for a long time later, demonstrates that the original 'castles' of the Norman settlers could have been in general no better than those which the Conqueror himself usually made of earthwork and stockade. The interval between these and the keeps which followed was long enough to cover the land from the channel to the confines of Scotland, from the east coast to the march of Wales, with mounds for which the continental designation, *motte*, only seems to have gained currency in the early twelfth century. Mr. Clark (perhaps misled by a necessity to account for an earthwork evidently earlier than a stone structure which he erroneously supposed to belong to the first Norman decades) not content with the Norman date of Anglo-Norman castles, carried back the mounds† to a pre-

* Munitiones (quas castella Galli nuncupant) Anglicis provinciis paucissimae fuerant. See Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol ii., Appendix, p. 605.

† Instance Newcastle. It had a mote styled 'mota' in early document and shewn as a 'mount' on relatively recent plans. The true inference is, of course, that it was the mound of Robert's earthwork in 1080, superseded by the tower of 1172-4. Mr. Clark had to presuppose a castle before 1080 on the same site.

Conquest age, and dubbed them *burhs*. Sometimes he persuaded himself that there must have been a mound, as at Taunton, although himself compelled to own that no such mound was traceable either in record or from tradition. He noticed, too, that these mounds were usually near the parish churches, and that many of them were the *capita* or chief messuages of great Norman estates, yet still he bore them back to Anglo-Saxon origins. Others have examined, where he assumed; and the result—not directly drawn it is true, but none the less inevitably to be deduced—from a great and far from unfriendly scrutiny is to leave the whole argument, for identifying the mounds generally as old English *burhs*, in indubitably evil case. In the *Quarterly Review* for 1894, a keen and powerful historical critic, since constructively revealed as the author of *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, not only discredits the secureness of identification of many of the *burhs* mentioned in the *A. S. Chronicle* with mounds still existing or known to have existed, but breaks down entirely the case for the mound as the leading and typical feature of English *burhs* before the Danish invasions, and rejects the proof for the very early origin of all the fortified mounds. It seems clear that the Anglo-Saxon was not to the manner born; he learned to build mounds—if he built many of them at all—from the invading Dane. It may be conceded that under the Danish terror, the English *burh* in some cases included a mound which in a few instances yet remains, but that generically the English *burh* was a mound, and the mound the mark of Anglo-Saxon dominance, is not maintainable. Positive proof exists that some of the motes were erected in and after the reign of William the Conqueror; on the other side, there is no positive proof that the mote was the same structure as the *burh*. Then what of all the adulterine and rebellious 'castles' which rose in the days of King Stephen—structures such perhaps as the double-trenched mound at Mappershall,* besieged by him in 1137? 'We hold it proved,' says the brilliant reviewer, 'that these fortified

* *Gesta Stephani* (Rolls Series) pp. xxv., 31.

mottes were at least in some cases erected in the Conqueror's days: and if this is proved of some it becomes probable of many. Indeed, so far as what we may term private castles are concerned, there is actually a presumption in favour of this late origin.' It was only his reluctance to differ from so great an authority as Mr. Clark, he said, that led him to countenance for any large number of the mounds an Anglo-Saxon date.

Emancipating ourselves from any such restraint of reluctance, let us glance at the words *burh* and *motte.* In the old English term *burh,* the sense of 'fortification' is almost inextricable from that of 'town.' Its general signification was a fortified enclosure of dwellings. Beda (*Hist.* iii. ch. 19) in one sentence equated *castrum, urbs,* and *burg,* as elsewhere (iv. 5; v. 24) he did with *castellum, civitas,* and *caestir.* In 963 the minster of Medeshamstede came to be called 'Burch' (afterwards Peterborough) according to the *Chronicle,* because a wall was built round it. The time had not yet come to distinguish between town and fortress. Even in old French we can see—from Joinville's telling how in 1253 Louis IX. proceeded to fortify 'un nuef bourc'* around the old castle at Jaffa, and carried a hod himself at the trenches—that a 'bourc' was still a ditch-encircled area, not a mound. In England there is no old description of Anglo-Saxon fortification, except, perhaps, Asser's brief apologetic reference to walls of the native manner in 878—*mœnia nostro more erecta solummodo.* Nor are the Danish works in Britain described with any greater fulness. We have, however, two or three important allusions in Continental chronicle. There is mention of the Northmen sitting secure in the fortification made after their manner with stakes. The same encampment—on a bend of the river Dyle—is elsewhere spoken of as made of wood and a mound of earth in the usual manner.† Mr. Oman is to all appearance correct in

* Maintenant se prist li roys a fermer un nuef bourc tout entour le vieil chastiau.

† Saepibus more eorum munitione cœpta securi consederunt. Annals of Fulda (cited in *Monumenta Historica Brittanica,* i. p. 363. Ligno et terrae congerie more solito se communiunt. Regino, year 891. See Oman's *Art of War,* ii. 98.

thinking that the mound in this case was a rampart making a segment of the river's curve. Rollo's vikings in Normandy made themselves, says Dudo,* a fort and barrier, like a castle, fortifying themselves round about by a mound of torn-up earth, leaving a space of very great width for a gateway. The latter feature was by way of stratagem: the Northmen hid themselves under their shields in the flat part of the camp *(per planiciem castri)*, thereby betraying the Franks into an ambush and defeating them. The phrase 'like a castle' sharply raises the issue what a castle was like; and the answer is so far forthcoming in the narrative of an exploit of Rollo, whose company, in straits for a fortification, killed the cattle they had driven off as plunder, half-stripped off their hides, and 'made a castle around themselves' with a gruesome rampart of bloody carcases.† Here, again, there is no indication, but the contrary, of a mound; and the same deduction might be drawn from Regino, chronicling, under the year 881, these vikings' palisade of vast size and wondrous work which furnished them with a secure retreat.‡

Giraldus Cambrensis mentions that the Danes 'incastellated' Ireland in proper places, whence, he says, the endless trenches, very deep and round, and for the most part triple, also walled castles, still entire, but empty and deserted, for, he adds, the Irish people care not for castles.§

Allusion to the successive ring ditches needs close scrutiny. In Gerald's time, as in our own, there was room for two

---

* In modo castri, munientes se per girum avulsae terrae aggere. Dudo (*Patrologia*, vol. cxli. p. 640), also William of Jumièges, ii. ch. 10.

† Ex cadaveribus ipsis castrum circa se fecerunt. Dudo (*Patrologia*, vol. cxli. p. 647). Compare Wace's *Roman de Rou*, i. line 1028; William of Jumièges, ii. ch. 16.

‡ Quia palatium ingentis magnitudinis mirique operis hostibus tutissimum praebebat receptaculum. Regino, year 881.

§ Unde et fossata infinita alta nimis, rotunda quoque ac pleraque triplicia : castella etiam murata et adhuc integra vacua tamen et deserta ex reliquiis illis et antiquitatis vestigiis hic usque in hodiernum multa reperies. Hibernicus enim populus castella non curat. *Topog. Hiberniæ*, iii. ch. 37.

opinions. The inevitable conflict of thought between Irishmen and Englishmen was already an old old story. Native authorities held that these entrenchments were the camps of Thorgisl of Norway, who overthrew Ireland. The English maintained that they were those of Gurmund or Gudrun. A third school argued that Thorgisl and Gurmund were but variant names for one man. All parties were at one in the twelfth century, according to Gerald, that these forts with triple ring ditches —no mounds specifically mentioned—were the Northmen's work.

Early chronicle must be admitted generally inconclusive: the stress rests almost always on a wide entrenched circuit, a great palisade, an earthwork *per gyrum*, not on a central or dominating mound. St. Odo, abbot of Cluny, who died in 942, describes,* it is true, a Northman leader as 'building mounds,' yet that is, though suggestive, a vague expression. The most explicit utterance known to me is that of the writer of the Northmen's annals for the year 888, who says, 'they heaped together a mound' for the siege of a city.†

On the whole, the circumstantial inferences from the mounds themselves are not materially clarified by the divergences of early contemporary history; and the tradition of Danes' castles in England, Danish camps in Scotland, and Danish motes in Ireland is equally mixed and indecisive. There are not far short of 500 motes known in Great Britain. Double that number will be no surprise when the lists are complete, comprehending the structures and the allusions to others now no longer to be found. Of the 500 it is easier to understand why over 50 should be on and within the border of Wales, than to explain how 107 are on and within the borders of Galloway. The word *castellum* as used in the early Norman period must be looked at again with the penetrating search-light of Mr. Round, and its distinction from a stone tower or keep clearly held in view. We shall thus the better follow the policy of 'incastellation' which marked—nay, which in a sense *was*—

* Aggeres etiam struit. Bouquet, vi. 318.

† Aggerem comportant ad capiendam urbem. Bouquet, viii. 96.

the Norman Conquest in England, in Wales, in Ireland, and in Scotland too.

Fitly enough, it began with the earth-work raised by Duke William before the battle of Hastings—a palisaded mound shewn on the Bayeux tapestry, which like the chronicles calls it a *castellum.* Need one go further to prove that a 'castle' of that day may be taken as typically including a turret-crowned mound? It was the same on the Continent, where the motes were a well-established institution. In William's childhood rebellious nobles raised them (*aggeres*) for strongholds.* There is a fine story of Puiset Castle, which Louis VI. took in 1111, and again in 1112. It consisted of a simple palisade, having for its inner ward a wall probably of stone, and within that again a mote defined as an upper tower of wood. In the second attack upon it, when held by Count Theobald IV., the king artfully turned the count's ancestors against their descendant, barring him in by re-fortifying 'the ancient deserted mote of his forefathers,' within a stone-throw of the castle.†

Now, if the England which William the Conqueror overcame had been as well provided with such fortifications as Mr. Clark's hypothesis demands, if the record of them had been distinct and ample, and if the erections and modifications made under the auspices of the Conquest had been small in number and importance, there might have been less difficulty in following Mr. Clark, despite his unwillingness to concede a Norman claim to the moated mounds, and his predilection for making them old English *burhs.* But there is the explicit word

* 'Per loca aggeres erexerunt et tutissimas sibi munitiones construxerunt.' William of Jumièges, vi. ch. i. Compare also at the siege of Arques how William 'erectis aggeribus ad radicem montis castrum stabilivit.' vi., ch. 7.

† Suger, *Vie de Louis le Gros* (ed. Molinier, 1887), pp. 65, 76. The first reference to the mote is in these terms :—'Cum [Hugo Puteolensis] intus castellum muro cinctum tuto non sufficeret presidio in mota scilicet turre lignea superiori se recipit.' In 1095 William Rufus had used the same tactics when he built 'Malvoisin' at the old gate of Bamborough castle—'Malvoisin,' whose high earthen mound still stands there, though it escaped the eye of both Mr. Freeman and Mr. Clark.

of Orderic; and there is the united testimony of many other historians, well supported by Domesday Book, that the Conqueror surpassed all who had gone before him in building castles. When he returned for a while to Normandy in 1067, he left behind, according to Simeon of Durham, instructions for many *castella per locos firmari.* When besieging Hereward, in the fens, he made a fort variously styled a 'house of war' (*domus belli*), 'wooden towers,' and a 'castle,' while that of Hereward appears as a 'fort of turf' and a 'castle of wood.' Nor may the Domesday Book term, a 'defensible house'—applied occasionally to the seat of a Norman settler after the Conquest—be prudently excluded from enumeration. At Rayleigh, as Mr. Clark's critic points out, whilst Domesday Book tells how Sweyn in his manor made his 'castle' (*castellum*), the archæologist of to-day sees a typical moated mound.

Under the Conqueror Wales, as well as England, felt the Norman power. Montgomery Castle, known to have been an earthwork, marks a stage in that policy of 'numberless *castella*' by which, as the author of the *Gesta Stephani* informs us, the effective subjugation of Wales was begun. When the Conqueror died, English nobles disaffected towards William Rufus took at once to making moated fortresses, while the Welsh 'broke' the Norman 'castles,' killed their Norman and English occupants in 1094, and in 1095 destroyed Montgomery Castle itself. Yet Mr. Clark could, without misgiving, claim the moated mounds of Powysland—which Montgomery overlooks—as English, and of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, although he knew * that they were in 1225 called motes (*motas*). Did anybody but himself ever call them *burhs?* Perhaps he was not aware that Henry I., who reared so many fortresses, was credited by a Norman biographer, William of Jumièges (vii., ch. 31), with having kept the Welsh down by fortifications, constructed, in spite of their opposition, through all their land.

* Mr. Clark quotes (vol. I., 105) a Close Roll order of Henry III. on 30th May, 1225, to all 'qui motas habent in valle de Muntgumery quod sine dilatione motas suas bonis bretaschiis firmari faciant ad securitatem et defensionem suam et parcium illarum.'

The teeming evidence for Norman motes overflows into Ireland. There, as in Wales, earthwork castle-making was the Anglo-Norman policy. Strongbow sailed for Waterford in 1169. The Pipe Rolls for the year 1170-71 debit against Henry II. the costs of 'two wooden castles to be sent into Ireland.' Giraldus mentions repeatedly forts made of wattle and 'turf' (*cespite*): and what the latter expression exactly means requires little further comment than Maurice Regan's notice, in the *Song of Dermot*, of the building, besieging, burning, and demolition of a '*mot*.' The land, he tells us, was planted with such—with *chastels*, *dungons*, and *fermetes*. One of these *chastels* was attacked by the Irish, who came to cast down the *dongun*: they burnt the house (*meysun*), and the *mot* they levelled with the ground. This comprehensive description contains all we need. The mote crowned by a wooden house is a donjon, a term in the twelfth century synonymous with mote, and still living in that sense, as at Canterbury, where the Danejohn, a high and conical mound, carries back the memory and imagination so far. It is a word of Latin derivation and Norman introduction, and we shall find it not unknown as applied to the moated mounds of the North.

The etymological side of history is of extreme moment. Things record themselves in words which often far outlive them; for words are extremely hard to kill. Now, Mr. Clark's whole contention about the *burhs* is permeated by one great proposition, and some of his judgments must stand or fall by it, viz., that *mota* is just the Latin for old English *burh*. Whether he was alive or not to the awkward absence of clear glossarial authority for the precise significance of the Old English word, certain it is that he leaves the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to bear its own witness—which, as everybody knows, blends inextricably, as Beda did, the fortress and the borough. Here the passage points to a stronghold; there to a fortified town. No warrant exists in early literature to translate *burh* * by 'moated mound.' And, equally, there is an

---

* Prof. Maitland (*Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 183) appears to regard the enclosing palisade or entrenchment as the definitive fact.

entire lack of contemporary equations of *mota* with *burh*. 'After the Conquest' said Mr. Clark, 'the English term *burh* seems to have given place to the Latin *mota*, at least in public records.' The imagination works strange feats of historical logic. Even if the *burh* was a moated mound, it did not follow that a *mota* was a *burh*: the former is a Norman name, and the inference of Norman or post-Norman origin of a structure truly so named is, to say the least of it, a singularly powerful presumption. Besides, the cardinal failure of the whole case is that not one item of contemporary historic authority has yet been put forward that *mota* in public records was ever applied as a synonym to a *burh*. Is it conceivable that a term like *burh*, if meaning moated mound, could have been so utterly lost at the Conquest, and that a foreign word should have displaced it so completely? The moment it is suggested for the motes proper, that for England at large—some exceptions apart—the thing was as new as the word, all difficulty vanishes, and with it vanishes also from the old English landscape a formidable percentage of the *burhs*, which the colour of Mr. Clark's spectacles enabled him to see in mounds far more likely to have been the work of Norman hands.*

IV.—The Motes in Scottish History.

The final task remains—to apply the sum of previous considerations to the analysis of the motes in our own country. Were they Norse, we should have to expect them in strongest numbers in the North-east of Scotland. Were they Saxon, the Eastern Lowlands—Bernicia—should chiefly furnish them. And if Norman, the track of Anglo-Norman settlement must bear their impress. Their absence all but absolute from the northmost counties may cancel the Norse claim at once. Their prevalence in Celtic Galloway and Carrick may subject the Anglo-Saxon pretension to grave preliminary doubt.

* Why, asks Mr. Clark's critic, is the castle in many cases not within but outside the city walls? May I suggest that a Norman lord for his own security might well prefer the outside?

Obviously no explanation is worth offering which does not account for both phenomena.

King David I., that "most urbane King of the Scots," son of an English mother, and brother-in-law of the third Norman king of England, was by far the most potent Anglo-Norman influence in Scotland. The movement of settlers from the south had set in before his time as king, but to him it owed its chief force and its Norman character. How much of our Scottish feudalism is due to that movement will probably be better seen when the motes are completely within our ken. Let us follow a few of the 12th century Norman settlements. Most famous of them all was that of Brus, the lordship of Annandale, a great fief held for the typical standard English service of ten knights. At Annan there is a mote known last century and still known as Bruce's Moat. The early Brus family had a hall at Annan and held a court there, as no doubt a head, if not most probably the head, of their fief. They had demesne lands at Moffat; and at Moffat too there is a mote. A witness to some of David's charters was Colban, who settled in Upper Lanarkshire, his neighbours including Baldwin, perhaps a Fleming, and Robert the son of Lambin. Colban's settlement, first called Colbanton, is now Covington, Robert's at Roberton, Baldwin's at Biggar. At each place there is a mote. Another was Maccus, son of Unwin, whose home became Maccusweil or Maxwell in Roxburghshire. A mote is there too. At Cromarty a Norman family of Mowat or de Monte Alto settled early. A mote was there likewise. A Norman Durand gave the name to Kirkpatrick Durham in Galloway, and the memory, if not more, of a mote remains. Signatories to the Ragman Roll from Galloway and Dumfries were barons or tenants in chief from Logan, Compstone, Gelston, Cardoness, Johnstone; ancient baronies there were Toskerton, Urr, Drumlanrig, Tibbers, Glencairn, Tinwald, Applegarth; early fiefs were Borgue and Hutton: and motes mark in each case a messuage, usually the chief. And so on. In Scotland, the baronies are often not heard of till the 14th and 15th centuries, yet the presumption is in general against recent creation and favourable to the belief that any early extensive military fief was in the thir-

teenth century a barony. A barony even of the sixteenth century almost invariably denotes an old, a very old, feudal residence. To this we must look for light on the motes; it is the baronial torch that sets the beacon aglow.

The following list, with annotations (in some items tentative), embraces a substantial selection of the motes and cognate castle-mounds. Of these, not a few still exist, and have been found conform to Dr. Christison's canon of acceptance—which, however, is historically unsound, as it excludes* a good many of the oldest and securest examples, whilst allowing others much less characteristic and admissible to pass. Only considerations of space prevent the present typical catalogue being extended. It will suffice, as it is, to place on a firm footing the conclusion that normally a mote was, if not in all cases a baronial messuage, at any rate a feudal residence, originating probably as the defensible house of a vassal holding an ancient military fief. It suggests, when in conjunction with attendant circumstances, that while an origin before the twelfth century is out of the question, the erection of a mote at any time before the middle or end of the following century was likely enough, and a date still later in a good many instances clearly within the reckoning. The proximity of these motes to the mediæval towers which superseded them, is scarcely less marked than their feudal relation.

MOTE.	OLD DESCRIPTION WHERE KNOWN, DATED.	CONNEXION.
ROSS AND CROMARTY.		
Cromarty.	Le Mote et mons mansionis, 1470.	County and barony.
INVERNESS.		
Bordland, Loch Ness.	Mons castri, 1507.	Barony of Cardale.

* Its exclusion from the 'probable' category of the Mote of Hawick, for example, is conclusive. The method of incorporating the motes on a map without a list of their situations in the text, is very trying to the student of the subject who wishes to know where they are, in order to find what they were. It is scarcely necessary to advert to Dr. Christison's fatal failure to suspect the integral feudal connection.

Mote.	Old Description where known, Dated.	Connexion.
Beaufort,	† Mons castri, 1511,	Lordship. 'Inglestown' connected.
Nairn, Moray, and Banff.		
Golford,	Mons viridis, 1430,	Lordship. 'Bordland' adjacent.
Aberdeen.		
Cunzie, Forgue,	Parvus mons nuncupatus the Greyne hill prope *ly* New Haw, 1531,	Crown holding, of which the Greynehill was evidently the head.
Auchterless,	* Moathead,	Barony.
Invernochty,	† Doune,	Barony.
King Edward,	Mons castri, 1509,	Barony.
Kincardine.		
Cowie,	Mons castri, 1450,	Burgh and barony. A 'jurisdiction' attaching to this mound.
Bordland, Kincardine,	Viridis mons, 1444,	Barony of Kincardine. Courts held here.
Forfar.		
Melgund, Aberlemno,	*	Barony.
Auldbar, Aberlemno,	*	Barony of North Melgund.
Idvies,	* Law,	Barony.
Gardyne,	* Law,	Barony.
Fife.		
Cupar,	† Mons placiti, 1497; Mote Hill; also a second, 'East' Mote Hill.	Royal Castle, county and burgh.
Crail,	Lie Moitt olim castrum, 1583,	Royal Castle, constabulary and burgh.
Kinross.		
Cleish,	Le Mot, 1471,	Chief messuage (*chemys* 1505) of Barony. 'Bordland' adjacent.
Perth.		
Scone,	† Mons placiti, Monticulum regiae sedis, 1387; Mutehill, 1607,	Capital of Scotland.
Errol,	† Fortalicium lie Moit, 1546; Moot, 1652; Law Knoll,	Barony.
Kinrossie,	Lie Moit Newhall of Kinrossy nuncupat. 1546; Mut, 1681,	Demesne of barony of Collace.

Mote.	Old Description where known, Dated.	Connexion,
Stirling.		
Dunipace,	Courthill, 1510,	Chief messuage of barony of Herbertshire.
Seabeg,	Lie Mot, 1542,	Lordship. Sasine given at this mound.
Lanark.		
Drumsargard, Cambuslang,	Circular mount. Old Stat. Acct., v. 264.	Barony.
Hamilton Park,	† Motehill,	Chief messuage of barony of Cadzow (Hamilton MSS., [Hist. MSS. Com.] pp. 9, 16).
Mossmennyng,	The Mot, 1493,	Barony of Lesmahagow.
Covington,	*	Barony.
Roberton,	* Moit, 1608,	Barony.
Biggar,	*	Barony.
Carnwath,	* Lie Moit, 1599,	Barony. Legal procedure at this mound.
Peebles.		
Kilbucho,	Moitt or Maynis, 1630,	Barony.
Romanno,	[Ordnance Maps],	Barony of Philip of Evermele before 1164.
Darnhall,	[Ordnance Maps],	Head of Black Barony. Part of Eddleston, a settlement of De Morville.
Lothians.		
Lochorworth,	† Le Mote, 1430,	Barony. Site of Borthwick Castle.
Berwick.		
Castle Law, near Coldstream,	*	Barony of Derchester.
Roxburgh.		
Lowsilaw,	Le Knoll sive le Mote, 1491,	Barony of Lowsilaw or Haldane. Mote on demesne.
Hawick,	* Le Moit, 1511,	Barony. Demesne adjacent.
Maxwell,	† Motehill,	Barony.
Oxnam,	*	Barony.
Edgerstoun,	The Moit, 1686,	Barony.
Dumfries.		
Annan,	† Mott, 1582; Bruce's Moat,	Head of lordship of Annandale. *Castellum*, *aula* and *curia* of Brus.
Applegarth,	*	Barony.
Lochwood,	* Mount,	Barony of Johnstone.
Hutton,	* Perhaps 'fortalicium,' 1540,	Early fief or 'tenementum.' Boreland ('Bordland,' 1492) adjacent.

Mote.	Old Description where known, Dated.	Connexion.
Moffat,	* Lie Mote, 1542,	Barony. Demesne and Frenchland adjacent.
Dumfries,	† Mont or Moat (18th cent.)	*Castellum* and head of county.
Castledykes,	† Vetus castellarium, 1187; Mota castri, 1336,	Earlier castellum of Dumfries. Demesne adjacent called 'Kyngesholm' in 1336.
Carlaverock,	* Bailieknow,	Barony of Kelwood.
Tinwald,	* Le Mote, 1455,	Barony. Sasine given here.
Closeburn,	*	Barony.
Tibbers,	† Mons castri, 1369; Le Mote, 1489; Mote and castelated, 1510,	Barony. Courts held here. (See Drumlanrig MSS., Hist. MSS. Com.)
Eccles,	Le Courthill, 1494,	Barony.
Ballagan,	*	Barony of Drumlanrig.
Glencairn,	*	Barony. 'Ingleston' adjacent.
Durisdeer,	The castellhill, 1491,	Barony. This castlehill carried with it the bailiary jurisdiction of the barony. (Act. Dom. Conc.) 'Ingleston' adjacent.
Sanquhar,	*	Barony.
Kirkcudbright.		
Ingleston, Irongray,	*	Barony of Irongray. The one mote probably the old work to be inferred from the 'Nework' there. (*Retours*, 1664). Boreland near.
Hall Hill, Irongray,	*	
Kirkpatrick-Durham,	*	Barony formerly called Kirkpatrick *Durand* from early settler of that name, whose family continued to possess at end of 13th century.
Buittle castle,	† Old place,	Barony latterly of the Balliols.
Boreland, Colvend,	*	Barony of Colvend.
Ingleston, Newabbey,	*	Barony of Lochkindeloch, afterwards called Newabbey.
Urr,	* Le Mote, 1480,	Barony.
Boreland, Parton,	*	Barony of Parton.
Balmaclellan,	*	Barony.
Ingliston, Kelton,	*	Barony of Gelston, formerly Gevilston, and held by early family of that name. 'Bordland,' (1530) adjacent.
Carse, Kirkcudbright,	*	Boreland adjacent.
Trostrie, Tongland,	*	Crown tenancies.
Culcagrie, Tongland,	*	

MOTE.	OLD DESCRIPTION WHERE KNOWN, DATED.	CONNEXION.
Moatcroft, Compstone, Twynholm,	*	Barony of Compstone. 'Ingleston' adjacent.
Boreland, Borgue,	*	Barony of Borgue.
Roberton, Borgue,	*	Barony of Kirkandrews. 'Ingleston' adjacent.
Cally, Girthon,	*	Lordship.
Boreland, Anwoth,	*	Barony of Cardoness.
Bardrochwood, Minnigaff,	*	Lordship.
Dalry,	* Le Mote de Erlestaone, 1480.	Barony of Earlston or Glenken.
Loch Rinnie, Dalry,	*	Barony.
WIGTOWN.		
Clugston, Kirkcowan,	*	Barony. 'Bordland' (1500) adjacent.
Glasserton,	*	Barony.
Mochrum,	*	Barony.
Innermessan, Inch,	*	Barony.
Cults, Inch,	* [said to be removed]	Crown tenancy.
Gallahill, Inch,	* Gallowhill [probably not a true mote.]	Boreland adjacent.
Balgreggan, Stoneykirk,	*	Crown tenancy. 'Mains' adjacent.
Ardwell or Chapelrossan,	*	Probably head of barony of Toskerton or Ardwell.
Myroch, Kirkmaiden,	*	Messuage of barony of Logan. Previously a Crown tenancy.
AYR.		
Dornal,	*	Barony of Kyle. Very probably original site of Kyle castle, a mile distant. 'Constabillmark' (1582) adjacent.
Traboyach, Straiton,	*	Barony.
Dalmellington,	*	Barony.
Knockdolian, Colmonell,	*	Barony.
Prestwick,	Mutehill, Mitehill, 1540,	Legal head of bailiary of Kyle Stewart. Courts held here.
Alloway,	*	Barony.
Tarbolton,	* Le Courthill, 1512,	Barony. Hall on this courthill was chief messuage.
Castletown,	Le Mote, 1451,	Lordship ot Stewarton. The Mote reserved as royal messuage.

MOTE.	OLD DESCRIPTION WHERE KNOWN, DATED.	CONNEXION.
RENFREW.		
Duchall, Kilmalcolm,	†	Lordship.
Ranfurly,	* Castlehill,	Early fief of Craigends. Probable home of John Knox's ancestors.

Remembering the history of the wild province of Galloway in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one can guess why the defensive houses so flourished there. Its semi-independence as a species of principate, as well as the ferocity and predatory habits of its inhabitants and their hatred of Anglo-Norman influences, made the province peculiarly difficult to control. The reigns of David I. and his grandsons saw many settlements both on the confines of Galloway and in the no less troublesome district of Moray. Fergus of Galloway was a very restless vassal, and Galloway certainly remained unsubdued. In 1160 there was abroad in the land an anti-English spirit which in Galloway eventuated in rebellion. Twice Malcolm IV. made fruitless invasion: the third time he was successful, and Fergus retired into the cloister. His gift of Dunrod, now part of Kirkcudbright parish, to the canons of Holyrood was followed, we know, by the entry of strangers under the king's protection, 'to settle and dwell in the lands of Dunrod,' where the 'Roman camp' close beside the old circular churchyard may well be suspected theirs. The royal policy was to girdle the unruly region with strongholds occupied by Anglo-Normans and their followers, at once garrisons and colonists. Not great fortresses, one may surmise, formed the operative base, rather is it likely that numerous minor strengths were made, held by military tenants of fiefs granted for the purpose. At least, it is sure that many fortifications and *castella* were erected to keep down the disturbers. In 1173-74, the men of Galloway, under Uchtred and Gilbert, the sons of Fergus,

* Means that the mote appears on Dr. Christison's map as a probable or possible mote.

† Indicates other cases where the mound still exists. Matter in second and third columns is almost wholly taken from *Great Seal Register* and the *Retours*.

followed the banner of King William the Lion into England. On his capture, they returned, and seizing their opportunity assaulted the intruding foreigners. 'They drove,' says an ancient chronicle preserved in Palgrave's *Documents and Records* (p. 80), 'out of Galloway all the bailiffs and guards whom the King of Scotland had set over them: they slew all the English and French whom they could lay hold of: they besieged, took, and destroyed all the fortifications and *castella* which the King of Scotland had made in their land, and slew all they found within.' This is evidence definite and absolute for some, at least, of the motes of Galloway, and for their baronial or military tenure.

Nor is this all. Uchtred and Gilbert made overtures at this time to Henry II. of England with a view to their throwing off their Scottish allegiance altogether, but before the year expired dissension arose between the brothers, and Uchtred was butchered. King William invaded Galloway in 1175. When Gilbert died, in 1185, Roland, son of the murdered Uchtred, established himself in the possessions of Gilbert, crushed all resistance, and gaining secure hold of the lands, made in them, in the words of Benedictus Abbas, 'very many *castella* and fortifications.'

Thus Norman incastellation set its mark. The drastic policy pursued in Moray was significant of the period. The incorrigibly rebellious natives were bodily deported beyond the mountains, and King Malcolm IV. settled in their stead, according to Fordun, his own 'peculiar and peaceful people'—who knew, nevertheless, how to erect forts. One curious yet powerful touch of insight into this, comes from a northern place-name. Dr. Christison mentions the earth-mound in the churchyard near Beaufort. What if this ancient meeting-place of the clansmen of Lovat was the original Beaufort, the *mons castri vulgariter Beufort nuncupatus* of charter in 1509, and consequently the primitive fortress-home of the first of the Bissets to whom before 1187 William the Lion granted the great barony of the Aird? Whether such an identification be feasible or no, and whether that *mons castri* was or was not on the present site of Beaufort castle, Beufort as a name can scarce have other

meaning than one, and that of no ordinary interest. Rare in Scotland as French names are, this is surely a well-established memory of the 'goodly strength' or *beu fort* which Anglo-Norman feudal tenants, with native Scots sometimes ready to follow the example, were raising in Scotland under King David, King Malcolm, and King William. In 1228, we glean from Bower's *Scotichronicon* that wooden forts (*munitiones ligneæ*) were not uncommon in Moray.

Specific mention of the motes scarcely occurs in Scotland before the fifteenth century. The doctrine of the chief messuage, which became of large importance in peerage law, made it at times of moment to have on distinct record the nomination of what the chief messuage was, often for the imperative function of taking sasine. In many instances the *caput baroniæ*, or it may be the court or place for the ceremonial entry to possession, is the 'moit,' the 'mothill,' the 'auld castell,' the 'auld wark,' the 'castellsteid,' the 'auld castellsteid,' the 'courthill,' or in Latin, *mons placiti*, *mons viridis*, or *mons castri*. Different authorities sometimes give different names, and thus serve to furnish a gloss of the varying terms. The 'mote' of Crail had once been the 'castle:' the Courthill of Tarbolton in 1512 had a hall (*aula*) upon it: the Mot of Cromarty was seemingly, in 1470, the *mons mansionis*. Legal observance clings to custom, and the termly baron court is in the charters frequently appointed to be held in the old chief messuage, the deserted ancestral fortalice or mote. Admirably exemplified is this in the Forest of Ettrick. After Newark, the great fortress of that district, was built, early in the fifteeenth century, the 'Auld Werk,' a mile or further down the Yarrow, remained the place where, for instance, in 1490 feudal resignation of lands was made to the Crown. The Auld Wark itself, at any rate half of it, was handed over to the subordinate authorities of the royal forest, who exercised an important jurisdiction (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, ii., Nos. 1939, 1921. *Retours*, Selkirk, 51), and whose courts probably sat there. Thus tradition follows the ancient ways. In the charter-mentions of 'mote' the name is not applied indiscriminately: it is not to all seeming used as the mere equiva-

lent of castle-mound; for it adheres to particular mounds; to others it is never applied; and its period of efflorescence in the writs lies between the middle of the fifteenth and the middle of the sixteenth centuries. In the former century licenses to castellate, as at Borthwick and Cromarty, suggest that the mote dwellings were not yet in utter disuse—a proposition which the Courthill Hall at Tarbolton and the New Halls at Cunzie and Kinrossie all tend to confirm. The 'hall' even of a king was long a timber edifice. That of Alexander III. at Kettins, Forfarshire, built in 1263, had walls of 'plank' and roof of 'board,' and was wholly put up by carpenters. (*Exch. Rolls*, i. 14). There is thus reason to suspect that the dying King Robert the Bruce, in his last sad journey in hopeless quest of health, granting a yet unprinted charter at 'Mayroch in Galwidia,' on 31st March, 1329, was spending the night in the timber house of a Wigtownshire mote.

The characteristic of residence was naturally long enduring. In early verse *mot* occurs occasionally, with a significance that appears to vacillate between a hillock, a castle, and a great house or palace. A term of cognate note is more familiar in history and chronicle. The dividing line between 'peel' and 'mote' will be hard to draw. The former has been shown * to be first heard of by name in Scotland at Lochmaben, Dumfries, Linlithgow, Selkirk, and Berwick, where 'peels' were made by command of Edward I. In each case the peel was a palisaded enceinte, although at Dumfries (and at Liddell in Cumberland) there was a precedent mote, the works of which were thus refortified. Dr. Christison in his map of motes marks amongst those which he regards as least doubtful one at Lochfoot, Lochrutton, near Dumfries. How indispensable history is to archæological observations will be apparent when it is pointed out as a confident conclusion from the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, that this structure was in 1337 the *pelum* of Lochrutton, occupied by John Marshall, and that the strictness of applicability to it of the term mote (although a tradition, and not

* I may be permitted to refer to *Peel, its Meaning and Derivation*, published by G. P. Johnston, Edinburgh. 1894.

of mere *savant* origin) is open to very considerable doubt. The value of the reference, however, is greatest in its absolute demonstration of the inference, plain enough otherwise, that what Dr. Christison would now term a mote was in the early fourteenth century a fortified residence in actual use.

V.—The Scottish Motes Feudal.

It was assuredly in his haste that the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland said that history is altogether silent as to the Scottish motes. On the contrary, history read aright (and Dr. Christison has helped magnificently, if indirectly, in deciphering the alphabet) is very articulate indeed. Let us recapitulate some things and examine others, asking, first of all, what reason there is to associate the motes with Anglo-Norman Scotland?

1. There is the name brought into England after the Norman Conquest, and current there in the twelfth century. Its synonyms, too, are Norman: *mont* (as at Lochwood and Dumfries) and *donjon.* The curious may remark that the tower of Roxburgh castle in the twelfth century was called 'Marchmont.' As beautiful a type of a conical moated mound as I ever saw is at Gunnerton, Northumberland, and it stands in the Dungeon Gill.

2. Where history has spoken already without need of prompting, the motes are found associated with ancient baronies founded under David I., and the corollary which extends that connection to other early military fiefs, lordships, freeholds, and Crown tenancies explains the constant recurrence of the motes as baronial messuages all over Scotland. The practical universality of this feudal connection makes, in my judgment, impossible any serious argument for an earlier date than the twelfth century.

3. These baronial fiefs were part of the organisation of the county and the county-castle, and were a very important section of the government of early burghs. Burghal juries in the thirteenth century were, in known instances, composed partly of 'baronies,' partly of burgesses. This association between baronies and burghs and royal castles, as between

baronies and motes, becomes a great link of proof that the mote is inherently a feudal institution, and, as such, Anglo-Norman.

4. The Anglo-Norman settlement of Scotland took place in the reigns of David I., Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. Its object was in some measure direct—a purpose to subdue the rebel Celt. Over wide districts it was typified by a change of name, Strath Annan, Strath Nith, Strath Clyde passing into Annandale, Nithsdale, and Clydesdale. It is impossible to overlook the persistent iteration of *ton* in the names of the motes.* Covington and Roberton we know as dated and certain examples; then the list comprehends at least a dozen others.

5. The mote we have seen occasionally described as 'chief messuage.' A messuage meant originally a residence. There might be more messuages than one, and a barony might be divided. We find, for instance, at Melgund, two baronies and two mounds; at Sypland, Kirkcudbright, there was apparently at first one Crown holding; later, it is spoken of as in two parts; and at each there is a mote. At Roberton, Clydesdale, there are two mounds, which Dr. Christison duly figures in his book. In front of the true mote, there is on the escarped bank of the river, another mound, most probably the later 'fortalicium' alluded to in charter of 1540. Such is often the relation between a mote and a castle, explaining the mote for instance, at Inchbrakie, in Perthshire. And it must not be forgotten that as at Dumfries and Newark, the new site may be a considerable distance from the old.

* Mr. Cadwallader Bates has shown in his *History of Northumberland* that the real conquest of that county by the Normans began after 1080, and that some place-names in *ton* there come from these settlers. Gunnerton I should suppose to be one of them. It was, at any rate, an ancient fief, and appears as such in the *Testa de Nevill.* Thus its 'donjon,' and the motes of Elsdon, of Wooler (which last was a waste *mota* in 1255), and of Wark, answer the feudal requirements. The mote of Brampton in Cumberland probably does the same, and the one at Irthington in the same county was presumably the 'curia de Hirthyngton' referred to, under the year 1280, in the *Chronicle of Lanercost.* As to Liddell there is no doubt whatever that it was the seat of the Stutevilles and the Wakes.

6. The larder of the baron and his successors was maintained largely from his demesne, his home farm, naturally situated for convenience beside his residence. Charter is explicit that the mote at Moffat closely adjoined Brus's demesne, and that the motes generally did the same emerges from a most interesting line of proofs. Bracton, the great English lawyer, writing in the middle of the thirteenth century, mentions (fol. 263), that that species of demesne which the lord has for his own table is called in English, *Bordlandes*. This is not a pre-Conquest word: it is never found in Anglo-Saxon gloss, and has no place in the great Bosworth-Toller dictionary. In Scotland, it is a long forgotten term which perhaps never entered our records as a descriptive word, which is not to be found in Jamieson's Dictionary, and which only survives as a place-name, Borland or Borelands, traceable with some frequency in fifteenth century charter, where—often in instructive contrast to Brewland—it is more correctly written Bordland. A glance over the list of motes above inserted, will shew how often they are in proximity to places of this name. The phenomenon occurs in the counties of Inverness, Nairn, Kincardine, Fife, Kirkcudbright, and Wigtown.

7. In Annandale of the thirteenth century, Engleis and Franceis were already inherited surnames. Close to the mote at Moffat is Frenchland, carved out of Brus's demesne. Analogous is Ingliston, so oddly found in conjunction with the mounds at Beaufort in Inverness, at Glencairn in Dumfries, and at Irongray, Newabbey, Twynholm, and Roberton, in Galloway. Geography thus betrays how the southern colonist, whether the lord of Norman blood—swiftly naturalising himself as an Englishman in spite of his own prejudices—or the servant or soldier in his train, more truly English than he, was in the middle and close of the twelfth century marked off from the indigenous people amongst whom he came, and whom, not infrequently, he displaced.

All these conditions limit in effect the possible period of origin to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Norman *mote* has as its accompaniment the English *bordland* and the English *ton*, a combination essentially Anglo-Norman, and

bearing its date on its face—that time of transition when those 'peculiar and peaceful' Englishmen were building their forts in Moray and elsewhere, sometimes christening them in French. There is no body of connection with any Celtic organization. Standing almost alone as a connecting medium is the historic Moothill at Scone, where before the twelfth century history places the royal residence and city, the hill of belief and the stone of destiny, and where considerably later a legal conception, not possible otherwise than through Anglo-Norman introduction, locates the chief messuage or *lieu royal*, and dignifies the Moothill as the juridical head of Scotland. The Pict and Scot, I believe, have never been considered serious claimants to the motes; and the Briton was dispossessed forever by Mr. Clark. The Scottish motes are of the type which Mr. Clark's critic designated private, and the proofs that in Scotland they are feudal—not Saxon and not Danish—appear fairly complete. Considered as part of the feudal organisation the mote responds to all the conditions. One cannot look upon it without a conscious breath of the atmosphere of danger which made a 'house of war' a necessity for peace. Memories cluster scarce less thickly about its slopes than the blades of grass which made it green and picturesque in the charters of long ago. Here we have presented to us the baron's home and the head of his fief, which in its turn had for its head the county castle or mote, and owed a quota of service in the form of castle-guard. Its residential use persisted probably much longer than has been supposed. As chief messuage it was the baron-court. When as a residence it came to be superseded or disused (not in many instances perhaps, before the end of the fourteenth century, and very likely in a few cases not before the sixteenth), it did not therefore die out of public life and memory, for its judicial associations and customary jurisdiction were—owing to the deep-seated conservatism of mankind—not of a nature to admit of easy transfer of site. If charters are history, 'the imputation of taking for granted that ancient justiciary meetings were on moothills' which Dr. Christison casts on historical authorities, is one that historical authority can well afford to sustain. Instances of

mote and castlehill as from of old a judicial forum can be cited almost by the score. That moothill is just mote-hill is once at least palpable—at Cromarty, where 'le Mote' of 1470 becomes 'the Mothill' in the *Retours* of 1599. Thus, rightly comprehended the motes so far from being without history are superbly historical. Apart from their probably active share in the wars of Moray and Galloway, they have a far more important place in the yet uncollected story of Scottish institutions, binding together in a long sequence the Anglo-Norman conquest and its machinery of military fiefs, the origins of feudalism and of county and burghal institutions, and the development of that system of baronial law which served Scotland for so much of its justice, until in 1748 that unintentional reformer, Prince Charlie, broke the tradition, and was the occasion of ending not only feudal jurisdiction but the ward-tenure out of which it sprang.

GEO. NEILSON.

ART. II.—WEAVER BIRDS.

WITH all our knowledge of political economy, of sociology, of evolution, we human kind have much to learn from the birds which fly in the air—birds which follow Mother Nature's clear and emphatic instructions, which watch, observe, and obey the simple rules of living. Who knows so well the art of living, the science of happiness, and the wisdom of a light heart, as a bird? Its day is one live-long symphony of joy, a lyric of melody, with a soft lullaby refrain when the nest is full. It rises early, after short hours of light sleeping, with dreams of fairy meadows and ripe fruits, and needs no feathered Solomon to speak the reproach, 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard,' for it has no laggards in the camp. The new morning rings with its glad matins—a signal for activity and business. Though a small animal, the bird has a large appetite; large in comparison with the reptile, who eats little. To have a full larder and tempting

delicacies at hand needs thrift and briskness, and the active little body is ever on the alert to scramble for dainty and nutritious morsels. It is an excellent housekeeper and economist, and puts into the day as much work and play as the hours will hold.

The odd and marvellous habits of birds provide a subject of endless interest. The unique way in which some species build their nests, the sense shown by others in feigning death or wounds to escape capture, the many deceptions practised to lure enemies away from the nest, the odd manœuvres enacted to gain food and water without falling into danger, and many other curious traits in which they exhibit much common sense, if not an actual power of reasoning, are a source of delightful study to any one who has a love of nature.

The architecture of a bird's house might be the envy of the human *hausfrau.* No jerry-building is exhibited, but firm and strong habitations raised after the inmates' own plan and desire. Cupboards in the right corners, no draughty windows, or doors in wrong places, no smoky chimneys or leaking boilers, but a haven of rest, snug, warm, peaceful, and as downy as the softest bed—a work of love and gladness.

'The springtime, the only pretty singing time,'

is the time of hilarity and love-making, the honeymoon of the birds; all is gay and bridal at this season. The young hearts are swelling with joy, the wee throats are bursting with glad song, and the little lovers together begin to build their home. The dainty wife has no winter clothing to brush and mend and put by, no anxiety in rigging out of summer suits for herself and her prospective little ones, for kindly Nature supplies her wardrobe, and in no niggardly fashion. Each little band has its own characteristic garb—gay and gaudy, or sombre, as the taste or necessity suits. Red military coats, royal gowns of purple, sun-tipped bonnets, buff surtouts, green vests, or blue tunics, all of one's own growing, perfect in fit, style, and texture, soft, warm, and becoming, with no worry or trouble of tailor or costumier in the rear.

One has heard it said that a medical nurse, or a Sister of Mercy may go alone into the lowest haunts of our big towns un-

molested; their dress is a passport and a protection, ensuring deference from the rough hearts which, brutal as they are, respect the souls who minister to the sick and poor. And so our little plumed friends assume a protective covering among their enemies. Flocks of small birds are to be seen living in the great Sahara desert that cultivate sandy-coloured costumes, and thus deceive the sharp eyes of their formidable foes. The Trumpeter Bullfinch, a gay little buck, choosing its fine brownish-red uniform not for brilliancy only, but as Robin Hood chose his green suit, so that he might more effectually hide from his prey on the hills and in the vales of Sherwood, the Trumpeter dons a coat difficult to detect on the ochre-coloured rocks of the islands it inhabits. And the Ptarmigan, when the moors are dark and heathery, capers about in the darkest of brown or grey tailoring, but when its haunts on the mountain sides are like angels wings with the glistening snows, he too puts on his bridal white, and flicks his downy feathers in the sunlight, and who knows which is the snow and which is the bird? It takes a sharp eye to detect, and he is saved many tussles, any of which might have proved fatal.

Of wonderful mechanism is the covering of feathers, heritage of birds alone; besides lending grace and colour to the small forms, they are a means of airy flight through the bright sky, carrying the traveller through miles of air and glorious sunshine, to a land whither he would go. They maintain, too, the proper temperature of the blood, and have many and other uses which make bird-life comfortable and jubilant.

Man walks on his foot soles—sturdy, loud; tramps in boots and wears out shoe leather, but the bird, dainty as a ballet-dancer, trips airily on its toes, suggests music with every hop. In this its whole tribe have but two exceptions, the family of Auks and the Guillemots, of heavy and laborious flight.

The bird is endowed with an excess of life and energy. If you could follow some flocks of migrating birds over land and sea you would find a hundred miles was but an easy flight, and they would arrive lively and unexhausted—in a few hours he crosses from one continent to another—many thousands of miles he puts behind him in days you could count on one hand. An

ostrich with its wiry legs—a swift with its long wings—a cassowary—a carrier pigeon and a score others can skim the desert swifter than a race steed, and leave him far behind exhausted and broken-winded. An albatross, too, will lead a fast sailing vessel through the ocean two hundred miles and more.

Ah, and the bird too is a sharp witted little animal with plenty of sagacity and cunning, it is a student of nature and humanity, and if not an actual Comte, or Schelling, or Spencer, it is a reasoner and philosopher after its own school. It has not listened to the rifle and the shot guns repeatedly without thinking its own thoughts and drawing its own conclusions. In time it has learned to ignore the former and go leisurely on pecking its lunch or making its toilet not so much as lifting a beak to show the sportsman its disdain of the flying bullets. Yes, and if experience affords it the opportunity, it learns to know that every seventh day there is rest and repose when the air is not rent by gun or rattling clappers more quickly than dogs learn the day of exclusion from Church parade and Sunday frolic. As quick to learn as a child, the bird hears a song and repeats it, and if carried young from its home and kindred will listen to, and imitate the song of foreigners, and in captivity will warble jubilantly the air it has learned in its new surroundings, or even remember the mother song, and in some cases be trained to imitate the human voice.

What little actors they are, they can admirably feign wounds or death, more naturally than your mendicant can feign his broken limbs, or pitiful distortions. More than once has a corncrake been carelessly pocketed and left for dead, but in an opportune moment made its escape. Game and other birds have been hustled into bags or left on the ground mortally wounded as the huntsman believed, but before long the bag has been lighter, and the bird has flown. It is not always feigning, however, they are sensitive little creatures, and the shock has in some cases been great enough to paralyse them, and they have lain as dead in a stupor of fear, but when the fit of terror has passed, having revived they have found the use of their wings.

What patterns of cosiness, security and economy are the homes of the birds, the little inmates are indeed exemplary

domestics, though their houses are as various as the characters of the builders. No nests are more curious than those of the Weaver birds, of which there are between two and three hundred species. They are a family of large finches, the bulk having an equipment in which a yellowish red tint predominates, though some of the smaller families show much variety in taste, and display every shade of grey and red, and brown. The head and face is dark, with a slender broad beak, the back a subdued orange, and the lower part of the body like our English robins in summer. In Central and Western Africa they are mostly at home, though they inhabit other warm countries. They are regular chatterboxes and lovers of gossip, never in want of a subject for conversation. During the time of incubation they live in large settlements, a whole town of them tenting together, where they have a regular good time. Talk about the bustle of the London season, it is nothing to the excitement and life which prevails in a weaver's settlement at nesting time.

They have earned their name by the habit of weaving and intertwining vegetable fibres to form their nests. Mr. Stephens, after observing their peculiar habits for many years, was the first to christen them 'the weavers,' though Mr. Latham, forty years earlier, had spoken of the Weaver Oriole, a species of Ethiopian finch. The nests of some of the Weavers are so strong and firm that the rain cannot penetrate, and the wind cannot shake them from their foundations. These are heavy massive structures, closely and uniformly interwoven with tendrils or long grasses, twisted round the branches of trees and hanging over the water, and when there are many dozens of these hanging near together they form an artistic and substantial fringe. Some of them prefer to hang their homes from the eaves of the native huts, or from the thatched bungalows, and are quite ready for any overtures of friendship from the inmates. The chamber is round as a ball, with a long passage for entrance and exit; coarse, strong grass is used for the outside, the inner walls are of finer grasses, and lined with soft warm materials; bits of wool from the sheeps' backs, hair, shreds of clothing, feathers, worsted, coloured thread, bits of soft moss or lichen, or any suitable odds and ends the birds may come across, the more brilliant in hue

the better. In some cases, the entrance of the nest is almost entirely hidden by long overhanging grasses and roots. Another trick they have is to use stiff grass stalks, leaving the exterior of the nest 'bristling with sharp points, like the skin of a hedgehog,' or by inserting sharp thorns into the walls of their nests with the points sticking outwards, they make an invasion of their territories by monkeys or snakes an unpleasant experience. There are dwellings of this same species not more than seven inches long and four and a half broad, light and delicate, thinly interwoven, like dainty and fragile basket work—some kidney shaped—others take their patterns from the goat's horns, while others follow the form of a retort, and leave the opening at the side. The birds are most fastidious in the making of their villa residences, and if one is not quite according to their hypercritical taste, they will ruthlessly tear it to pieces and begin another. Some birds prefer a solitary nook in which to build their love bower, but there are exceptions to this, as to every other rule. The Turkling Grakles are a decided exception, they choose to build in small colonies of twenty or thirty, and roost in flocks of four or five hundred, jostling and hustling one another, and twittering, with voices like so many various toned bells. A more notable exception, a regular bird of society is the Sociable Grosbeak, one of the Weaver family, the Christopher Wren of the bird world, a genius in architecture. This finch is a native of hot countries, especially West and South Africa, India, Java and Madagascar. It is a small bird, in build much like our English sparrow. The female is sombre in hue, and its mate is mostly brown, with mottled coat, and buff surtout. But some of the males display a showier taste, and with an air of dandyum and holiday attire, flourish a plumage of crimson, scarlet, or gold, with background of bright jet.

This species will marshal together from one to two hundred, and begin to build a colony of nests under one sloping roof, which they make strong and thick enough to be impervious to the heaviest storms. Lofty trees are preferred, such as the giraffe thorn, an acacia upon which the giraffe is fond of fe ing; a strong, hardy tree which grows in arid dist Circumstances, however, do not always suit themselves t

fancies of these high flown little folk, and they have to come down to circumstances, and condescend to build on lowly foundations, such as the arborescent alve or other humble growths. A secluded spot is selected, sheltered from the fierce winds, prevalent in tropical countries. The community begin conjointly to build the general roof, which is a source of great activity and interest to them all. For this, they collect flattened reeds, and long, wiry, tough grasses, Booschmanie-grass is a favourite, which is rendered more pliable by an application of saliva from the architect's beak. These, they lay over the tree branches, and weave together most ingeniously; often a portion of the principal branch becomes a part of its texture. This is compactly and firmly worked together in the form of an irregular, sloping roof, or immense beehive; in fact the structure has often been mistaken for a native hut, or gigantic fungus, by travellers who catch sight of it from the distance.

Then, under the eaves, are the numerous compartments, one of which each pair of birds build for themselves, with the same long, coarse grass. This is protected from rain and wind by the impenetrable roof above. The nest is three or four inches in diameter, generally, there is a separate opening for each small abode, though sometimes the inmates are especially sociable, and the same door leads into two or three rooms, severally inhabited by one pair of birds, and separated by a thin partition. The mouth of the nest, which is placed downwards, is narrow and small. This wonderful construction is not only the outcome of a social instinct, but a means of preservation against the wild hurricanes, and attacks from the various foes of this bird. A species of small parrot, numerous in Africa, is a declared enemy of the sociable weaver; he, and his friends come in battle array, and force an entrance into the colony of nests, and evict the rightful tenants.

It is usual for the male to construct the exterior of the nest, to see that the outer walls are securely plastered, and the roof well pointed, while the female, true to the feminine instinct, chooses to work within. When the framework is made they pass the flexible stems in and out from one to the other; and their next operation is to separate the egg department from the

corridor of the nest, between these they devise a loop or wicker handle which acts as a perch as well as keeping the crib of the nestlings secure. Upon this perch or loop the little wife spends her waiting time, while the husband goes abroad for fresh materials wherewith to finish their abode, and no pair of human beings could be more assiduous in their labours than these new lovers. Though they never exceed three or four hours at a time, for they remember that 'all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy,' the nest seldom takes them longer than a week or eight days to complete.

The weaver never uses the same nest a second season, though he may build under the old roof one year after another, sometimes fixing the new nursery below, or along side the former one. In time the population, and consequently the necessary buildings increase so largely that it is not unusual for the strong branches to be so overweighted, that they give way, and 'down comes the cradle and babies, and all,' and great is the destruction and loss of infantile life. La Vaillant, the French ornithologist, assures us that he has counted as many as a hundred and twenty inhabited cells under the same general roof. Another naturalist mentions as many as eight hundred, and even a thousand. The nests are so securely built and cemented with the saliva from the birds' beak, that the Malays have a saying, 'He who can remove a weaver's nest without breaking it will find a golden ball within.' An English naturalist, anxious to examine one of these nests at lëisure, ordered his attendants to bring the whole structure to his halting-place. They hacked and hewed, pulled and tore, but to no purpose, the building became one heap of ruined and immovable nests, matted, intertwined, and cemented with more secure masonry than a native hut. The structure is in some instances so large that it may be seen several miles off, and, as already remarked, has often been taken for a human dwelling by travellers.

Bits of clay are frequently found in the nests, which inventive but non-scientific Africans believe are the candelabra which hold the bodies of fire-beetles, used as Aladdin's lamps in the dark chambers of the wakeful weaver birds. The Sociable Grosbeak, without hygienic lectures, knows too well the value of sleep and

the evil of night illuminations, to fall into such bad habits. Mr. Burgess thinks they are simply to strengthen the nest; Mr. Martin Duncan suggests ballast or weights to prevent the wind taking too great liberty with the lighter and airy ones; while other naturalists are bold enough to suggest that the clay is used as a whetstone to sharpen the beaks of the small inmates. In some nests several pieces are found weighing together six ounces. No doubt further observations of assiduous naturalists will, in time, come to a more satisfactory conclusion as to the purpose for which the weaver uses his bits of clay.

The female of the Sociable Grosbeak lays three or four eggs, which are of a light-grey colour, with brown mottling at the blunt end. The birds live chiefly on the seeds of plants and grasses, on rice, kernels, the fruit of the *ficus Indica,* and the fig of the banyan tree. Though they are almost vegetarians, at times they indulge in a diet of fat juicy insects, which they much relish.

These little creatures are 'wise in their own generation,' and rarely, if ever, suffer from indigestion, or any of the evils consequent to dyspepsia even after an abundant meal. For no sooner is the repast finished, than they seek a quiet resting-place, and there doze and dream in the sunshine, without thought or concern for anything. Peace and stillness reign in the forest while the little feathered friends languidly recline and let digestion do her work. They are busy creatures, too, and most methodical in their occupations; after the mid-day rest they bestir themselves, and prepare for a bath, for no animal loves cleanliness more than a bird. There are few exceptions to this rule, though we think of the woodpecker as a gum-besmeared creature, and some of the birds which frequent the tree barks remind us of tar barrels and turpentine jars. If water is not available for a bath, then sand or dust will do, and whoever has watched the process of avian ablutions, will not doubt the blissful delight they take in them. The afternoon toilet is an elaborate one; after bathing, there is the shaking of feathers, the flapping of wings, the scratching with beak and claws, the re-arranging of plumage, which is quite a lengthy and important business. Some birds, which are specially fastidious, will take each quill

separately and rub it through the beak, leaving it unruffled and bright with exuded oil.

Afternoon tea is a beverage they never indulge in, but they meet together to have a cool draught of water, which they take between spicy bits of gossip. This process, however, needs caution, great vigilance, and alertness, for there are enemies near at hand, ready at any opportune moment to pounce upon them and make a meal of them. So the cute little creatures go down in hordes and settle in the thickly foliaged trees near the water, and chatter and gossip, and then, with one swift swirl, swoop down to the brink, get a draught, and up into the trees before the falcons and other enemies have time to know what has happened. In a few minutes, when the falcons have fallen into another doze, the weavers repeat this, and so on many times until their thirst is quenched and their love of gossip satisfied.

Some of us were taught when in the nursery, 'Birds in their little nests agree,' but, sad to say, this adage has its exceptions, and even among the weavers. The Diock of Africa, a clever and ingenious little bird of the weaver family, artistic in taste, an expert in weaving colour and softness into its nest, making a picture of beauty and loveliness, using soft and tinted mosses, coloured threads or grasses, working like a genius, with such energy and vivacity, that one is charmed, until its evil propensities rise up and condemn it. It is a real little spitfire, and while a pair of these Diocks are busy building the nest, they will quarrel and scrimmage, every now and then leaving their work to have a fight, and they do fight in right royal fashion. If the wife is a shrew, the young bridegroom is a veritable rascal in his brutalities. It is one of his richest enjoyments to catch by stealth a brother by the tail, and suspend him in the air, while he screeches with pleasure. Then his companion, when free, turns round upon his tormentor and pulls out his finest feathers, leaving him to go back to his bride in torn and tattered garments. But there are few birds who find pleasure in so vicious and discordant pastimes as these.

They do nothing alone these sociable weavers, and hate solitude and inertness. When there is no architectural business on hand, and the family is fledged, they pay neighbourly visits, hold

choral festivals, congregate together in the woods, where they sing like a myriad of *prima donnas*, filling the air with melody. They are free to travel without trouble of baggage, journeying together in companies of thousands. Happy birds, travelling from one country to another, scanning the beauties of the earth, missing the annoyances of railway or steamboat or bicycle, needing but the flap of wings to carry them on through the sweet air whither they would go.

Many of these birds, especially the Fire Finches of Egypt and Nubia, love not only the company of other birds, but prefer to dwell near the habitations of man. Cornfields are their delight, a very land of Canaan is a ripe field of durrah, and a band of these beautiful fiery-red creatures lighting upon a field of grain may be a brilliant sight to the beholder, but is one of sore dismay to the farmer, who knows how much damage they do to his crops. They are bold and courageous little imps, and are not scared away by any simple device. It is indeed a wonder to behold a vast flock of these radiant little red-coats darting about in the air, like tongues of flame, glinting in the sunshine, opening and closing their wings to show off their beauty of colour to the observers, whom they are well aware of pleasing. If the passer-by is appreciative, they will reward him with a burst of glorious song which he will not soon forget.

Such is the life of a weaver. Happy and free, though it too has its sorrows no doubt, and when the fatal shot lays its little mate dead at its feet, the sky is black and the world is a wilderness. But only for one short day; again the sun shines, the sky is blue, and the little widow is joyful with another mate.

S. E. Saville.

ART. III.—THE CITY OF GLASGOW AND ITS RECORDS.

1. *Charters and other Documents relating to the City of Glasgow.* Parts I. and II. 2 Vols. Edited by Sir JAMES D. MARWICK, LL.D., F.R.S.E., Town-Clerk of Glasgow. Glasgow (Printed for the Corporation of Glasgow). 1894-1897.

2. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, A.D.,* 1573-1642; *A.D.,* 1630-1662. 2 Vols. Glasgow (Printed for the Burgh Records Society) 1876, 1881.

ALTHOUGH the name of Sir James Marwick appears on the title-page of only two of these volumes, it is understood that he is the editor of all the four. They run to about two thousand four hundred closely printed quarto pages and contain an amount of material for the history of the City of Glasgow greater than has ever been brought together before for the history of that city or for the history of any other burgh in Scotland, with, perhaps, the possible exception of Aberdeen. They bear abundant evidence of the untiring industry of their scholarly editor, are of unquestionable value and of peculiar interest and say much for the public spirit of the Corporation of Glasgow which, if we are rightly informed, has borne the greater part of the expense connected with the production of the two Charter volumes, which have also been made available for the Burgh Records Society. Their utility is beyond question. Already, we understand, even before they were completed, they proved of frequent use in defending the interests of the city—a fact which it is to be hoped will have due weight with other municipal corporations and, at least, induce them to follow the excellent example set them by the City of Glasgow.

Part II. of the *Charters and other Documents*—the volume of 1894—contains a series of one hundred and twenty-three documents relating to the City of Glasgow which are for the most part printed *in extenso* and accompanied where the original is in Latin, by an English translation. At the end of

the volume is given an abstract of the contents of these documents as well as of one hundred and seventy-six others which are not here printed but which may be found in the places indicated either in print or otherwise. In addition to these, abstracts of three hundred and twenty-one other documents are given at the end of Part I., or of the volume of the *Charters and Documents* published in 1897, with references, as in the case of those in the Second Part, to the places where they may be found *in extenso*. Thus, in these two Parts—the volumes of 1894 and 1897—we have a series of upwards of Six hundred and Twenty Documents and Abstracts of Documents, all relating to the City of Glasgow, with indications of where the Documents themselves exist or where they may be elsewhere found in print. The first document referred to is the Inquisition made by David, Prince of Cumbria, in the reign of Alexander I., and goes back to about the year A.D. 1116, while the last is an Act of the Estates of Parliament bearing the date January 16th, 1649. Of course, many of these documents have been printed before, and the contents of others of them were already known when these volumes were issued, and are to be met with in the publications of the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, or in the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, or in other similar publications, but a number of them are not. They are still in MS., and they are now made known for the first time. The value of all of them may not be, and is not, of the first order, still they are all of importance, if not in connection with the history of the country, at any rate in connection with the history of Glasgow.

The two volumes we have placed second in our list, contain, as their title indicates, Extracts from the Records of the Town Council of Glasgow. In some respects, these extracts are similar to the extracts already published by the Burgh Records Society from the records of the Town Councils of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Stirling, and other burghs. In one or two respects they are different. The burghs from the records of which extracts have already been published, were royal burghs. For the greater part of the period covered by the extracts before us, indeed, during almost the whole of it,

Glasgow was a bishop's burgh at first of barony, and afterwards of regality, and in some respects, along with the charters and documents, they exhibit the municipal life of the country under other relations. Other burghs were, of course, in a similar or somewhat similar case. As for instance, Paisley, though the Superior of this was an Abbot, but nothing has yet been printed in connection with them to indicate how the intervention of a mid-superior worked. Illustrations of the civic as well as of the industrial, social and religious life of the burgh occur, as need hardly be said, in these Extracts, which here and there have also a wider than local significance, and touch the political life of the country. Now and then, too, one comes across an extract which has to do with the University or 'College' and the relation in which it stood for many years to the Church or to Town Council of the City.

But to return to Part I. of the *Charters and Documents*—the volume most recently published. Part of its contents have been indicated already. Its chief content, however, is an elaborate Preface running, with its Additions and Corrections and Appendix, to no fewer than six hundred and thirty-six pages. It is long but not too long. It would have been more convenient if the Additions had been incorporated in the Preface, but the slight inconvenience of having to read them into it will be readily excused because of the wealth of information they contain. The Preface itself is singularly able, and its length is abundantly justified by the number and variety of the documents it undertakes to explain. Anything in the shape of a Preface less full would have been meagre and many points of interest both in connection with the history and organisations of the burgh and the part which it has played in the history of the country must necessarily have been passed over. In its way it is probably unrivalled, and certainly it will immensely lighten the labour of all future historians, of what, notwithstanding the jealousy of surrounding competitors, armed for many years with privileges it did not possess, has now become the greatest of the commercial and industrial centres of Scotland.

Compared with some others of the Scottish burghs, Glasgow has been particularly fortunate in respect to its more ancient charters and documents. They escaped the rapacity of Edward I. and the ravages of the Reformation; and when Cromwell was in Scotland, they were not here to provoke the zeal either of himself or his colonels. Their preservation in the thirteenth century was due undoubtedly to the fact that they were under the protection of the Church, and on the outbreak of the Reformation they were carefully removed to France by James Bethune, the last Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, and deposited by his directions partly in the archives of the Scots College, and partly in the Chartreuse, of Paris. Transcripts of many of them were obtained by the University and Town Council during the eighteenth century, chiefly through Father Innes, the well-known Pro-Primarius of the Scots College and author of the *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain or Scotland.* During the French Revolution several of the MSS. including the two volumes of the original Chartulary of Glasgow, and the book known as the Liber Ruber Ecclesiae Glasguensis, were brought over to England. The Chartulary was placed in the hands of Bishop Cameron of Edinburgh, and transferred by him, notwithstanding the claim put in for it, for the Scots College, by Principal Gordon, then resident at Traquair, to Bishop Kyle of Aberdeen. The *Red Book* was used by Chalmers, when writing his *Caledonia*, and the three volumes mentioned, together with certain transcripts procured by the Magistrates and Town Council, and by the University, were used by Professor Cosmo Innes when preparing the *Registrum Glasguensis*, which was presented to the Maitland Club by Mr. James Ewing in 1843.*

Upon the origin of Glasgow none of these documents throws any additional light. If we may trust Jocelin, who wrote the *Life of St. Kentigern*, the place was inhabited in St. Kentigern's time, and known as Cathures, and there was a cemetery there

* The history of the MSS. is given at length by Cosmo Innes in the Preface to his *Registrum Glasguensis.*

which had been consecrated by St. Ninian. Of the cemetery, Ailred, who wrote the *Life of St. Ninian*, says nothing; still, the tradition given by Jocelin may represent a fact, and, as likely as not, there may have been not far from the cemetery a town or village. Anyhow, on the banks of the Molendinar, St. Kentigern, along with his disciples, on his return from Wales, and after residing for eight years at Hoddam, in Dumfriesshire, fixed his dwelling, not too far from Rydderick Hael's capital, Dumbarton, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Morken, apparently a sub-king or vassal of Rydderick Hael, who at first does not seem to have used the Saint over well. Who St. Kentigern's immediate successors were, or whether he had any, though the probability is he had,* is not known. He died in A.D. 612, and his see, if such it may be called, which extended from the boundaries of the See of St. Asaph, in Wales, which he founded, to the north of the Clyde, soon became the arena of sanguinary conflicts between various tribes. Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions Eledanius as bishop of Alchud (Dumbarton) in the time of Arthur and St. Dubricius,† and the *Scotichronicon* ‡ mentions one Conwal as a disciple of St. Kentigern. Wilfrid, in 666-669, obtained the southren part of English Cumbria for York; from 681 to 685 Trumwine was at Abercorn, and Kinsy, Archbishop of York, 1051-1060, is said to have consecrated Magusem and John Bishops of Glasgow, and another, Michael, 1109-1114, is mentioned.§ But, though the certain history of the see does not begin before John, who was appointed to it by David, probably in A.D. 1115, there can be no doubt that in the meantime, though often plundered, many pious gifts had been bestowed upon the see of St. Kentigern, and that both the church and the village around it had been increasing. The Inquisition of David, which is dated A.D. 1116, seems to establish the facts that Kentigern was then known to have had 'many successors,'

---

* This may be inferred from the Inquisition of David.

† Bk. ix., c. 15. ‡ Bk. iii., c. 29.

§ Hadden and Stubbs, I., 151; II., Pt. 1, 11-13.

and that certain considerable estates, then searched out and restored to the see, were known to have been anciently possessed by it.*

All the same, while protecting and enriching the Church of St. Kentigern, David does not appear to have considered the town which was growing up around it, of sufficient importance to confer upon it any peculiar rights or privileges. Its inhabitants were not tenants or vassals of the Crown, and at the time, therefore, had no such political existence as belonged to the burghal vassalage of the king. In 1126 the neighbouring town of Rutherglen was erected into a royal burgh, and there seems to be good ground for supposing that the whole territory of Glasgow was then included within its privileged boundaries. In or about the year 1175, however, came a change, and that mainly through the influence of the Church. William the Lion then granted a charter to Jocelin, Bishop of Glasgow, and his successors, 'To have a burgh at Glasgow, with a market on Thursday,† well and honourably, quietly and fully, with all the freedoms and customs which any of my burghs in my whole land, best, most fully, quietly and honourably has.' He also straitly enjoined that all the burgesses resident in the said burgh should 'justly have my firm peace throughout my whole land, in going and returning,' and forbade 'any one unjustly to trouble or molest them or their chattels, or to inflict any injury or damage upon them on pain of my full forfeiture.' To these limited privileges was added by the same Sovereign, between 1189 and 1198, to the same Bishop and his successors, the right to hold a fair at Glasgow yearly for eight days, from the octaves of the Apostles Peter and Paul, *i.e.*, from the 6th of July, with his firm and full peace, and with all the rights and liberties granted or belonging to any fairs in Scotland. At a subsequent date, June 27, in some year before 1211, the king's peace was granted to all attending the fair while repairing to or returning from it, and while actually there,

---

* *Ibid.*, II., Pt. 1, 151.

† Sometime later a market was held on Sunday.

provided they did what they ought to do justly according to the assize of royal burghs of the country.

In an age when burghs monopolised trade, and when burgesses possessed rights which were denied to others, the privileges conferred by these grants were, as Sir James Marwick observes, valuable; but, as he also observes, they did not erect the town, as has been maintained by some of its historians, into a royal burgh. In virtue of them, Glasgow became what has been called a free burgh. It obtained to a certain extent some of the privileges enjoyed by burghs royal, but not all of them, and one is somewhat at a loss to understand the statement that 'It was invested with the freedoms and customs enjoyed by royal burghs.' * In the erection of a burgh royal, properly so called, a certain extent of surrounding country was usually assigned within which the burgesses were to enjoy exclusive privileges of trade, and certain rights to tolls and customs.† Rutherglen, for instance, had the exclusive privileges of trade and the right to levy tolls and customs in the whole of the district from Neithan to Polmadie, from Garin to Kelvin, from Loudun to Prenteineth, and from Karnebeth to Karun. Inverkeithing had the exclusive right to levy toll and custom, and all the rights pertaining to a burgh, over the wide district, including several burghs of considerable antiquity, extending from the water of Leven to the water of Devon, while Perth, Inverness, Stirling, Lanark, and Aberdeen had the exclusive privilege of certain trades and manufactures over the whole of their several counties.‡ But in the charters granted to the bishops of Glasgow, as in other similar cases, the right of holding fairs and markets and of exacting tolls or petty customs, did not of itself extend beyond the narrowest limits of the market or fair, and did not of itself exclude or do away with any existing right which might have been vested in the adjacent burghs royal.§ The burgesses 'reposed,' as Sir

* *Charters and Doc.*, Pt. 1, 7.

† Report, Municipal Corporations (Scotland), 1835, App. ii. 3.

‡ See the charters in *Act. Parl. Scot.*, Vol. I.; also C. Innes's *Ancient Laws and Customs*, p. 27.

§ Municipal Corporations in Scotland, Ap. ii. 3.

James Marwick observes, 'under the firm peace of the sovereign, and those who injured or molested them incurred the "full forfeiture,"' but, as he also remarks, 'they, no doubt, occupied a position lower in the social scale than that enjoyed by burgesses of the royal burghs,' and had not equal privileges. Among others, they had not the privilege of holding directly of the Crown; their mails or rents, whatever they may have been, were due not to the Crown but to the bishop; they were the Bishop's and not the King's men; they could not, as in certain circumstances the burgesses of royal burghs could, decline the ordeal of combat, and they had not the right to elect their own civic rulers, the bishops and archbishops continuing down till after the Reformation to possess and to exercise the acknowledged right of appointing and dismissing them.

The neighbouring burghs royal were not slow to make the burgesses of the Bishop's new burgh feel their inferiority, or, at any rate, to show them that their own rights and privileges were not to be encroached upon. Rutherglen claimed the right to levy toll within the City of Glasgow itself, and exercised it, while the burgesses of Dumbarton, on the other side, somewhat later, asserted for themselves the exclusive right to trade in Lennox and the West Highlands, and compelled the Bishop's men and burgesses, as they passed by on the Clyde or through the burgh, on their way to and from the Highlands, to pay toll. Two additional charters sought to allay the conflicts which ensued. By one, dated 1226, the officers of Rutherglen were forbidden to take toll or custom on articles entering Glasgow any nearer than the cross of Shettleston—a charter which was only partially effective, as it did not prevent them from levying tolls and customs outside that limit. All the same it kept them outside the city. As to Dumbarton, Glasgow was at first apparently more successful. By a charter dated January 11, 1242-3, Alexander II. conferred upon the bishop's burgesses and men the privileges of trade and merchandise not only in Lennox and Argyle, but also throughout the whole of his kingdom. This, as well as the other charters already referred to, was confirmed by subsequent sovereigns, but in spite of

the charter and in spite of its confirmation the conflict between the royal and the bishop's burgh went on and became chronic, and continued down to the beginning of the present century, the royal burghs of Renfrew and Rutherglen from time to time aiding and abetting the royal burgh of Dumbarton.*

Points of wider than local interest are involved in these Charters and Documents, and are luminously dwelt upon by their editor in his exhaustive preface. Charters Nos. 9, 10, 11 and 12, granted by the sovereigns in 1235, 1242-3, 1251, and 1275 to the bishops and their successors, bear distinct evidence of the different classes into which the inhabitants of the burgh were at the time divided, and of the existence of serfdom. No. 9 grants to the bishops of Glasgow and their bondmen (*homines nativi*) and their belongings freedom from the paying of toll throughout the kingdom, a privilege invariably conferred upon the burgesses of royal burghs; No. 10 speaks of the bishop's burgesses and his men of Glasgow (*burgenses et homines sui de Glasgu*); No. 11 speaks of William, bishop of Glasgow, his lands and his men (*terras suas et homines suos*); while the phrase the 'bishop's men' occurs again in No. 12. There would thus appear to have been three classes—burgesses, men, and the native bondman, or *neyf*.

The burgess in all probability occupied a position in the bishop's burgh analogous to that held by a burgess in a royal burgh, paying his rent or mail to the bishop, and enjoying such rights and privileges as the bishop had secured for him by charter, but not the right of electing his rulers. The existence of serfdom at this period in Scotland is well known, and attention has from time to time been called to it. Referring to charter No. 9—the one in which the bishop's *homines nativi* are referred to—Sir James Marwick remarks, 'Grants of land in free barony frequently contain a clause *cum nativis* or *cum hominibus*, and the term "nativis" or "neyfs" is usually regarded, both in Scotland and in England, as indicative of the fact that the persons thus

* See also the narrative at the end of the *Records of the Burgh of Dumbarton*.

designated were the original inhabitants, or their descendants, who had been reduced to serfdom, and were transferrable by sale or gift along with the soil they cultivated. Sometimes, however, the "native" or "neyf" seems to have been regarded as in a condition superior to that of the serf, and his "nativity" appears to have given him an inborn right to occupy the soil.' This was the case with the '*serfs casés*' under the Merovingians,* and with 'neyf regardant' in England.† The 'neyf in gross'—'the out and out slave'—however, might be sold along with his wife and family, but these apparently only in the case of urgent necessity.

But who were the bishop's 'men?' Were they the same as the burgesses? Sir James Marwick is of opinion they were not. Referring to the first of the documents in which they are mentioned, No. 10, he observes, 'This charter seems to recognise a distinction between the bishop's burgesses and the bishop's men, while upon both it confers important privileges of trade.' 'The distinction,' he adds, 'had probably reference to the fact that the burgesses occupied the most important position in the infant burgh; that the bishop's men—not burgesses—held a position which, though subordinate, was still one of privilege; and that the natives or serfs occupied the lowest place.' Conjecture beyond this is probably unwarrantable. That the 'men' were not burgesses seems to be certain; apparently, too, they were not 'neyfs' or serfs. They were evidently as here conjectured a middle class, and it may be they were recent incomers, men who had not as yet been admitted to the full privileges of a burgess, but were eligible or qualifying for promotion to them.

The 'king's peace' of which one hears so much in these early burghal charters, and which was a matter of so much moment to those who violated it as well as to those by whom it was enjoyed, is expounded by the editor at considerable length, and with great lucidity. But of more curious and of not less general interest is a document executed not by the

* F. de Coulanges, *L'Alleu et le domaine rural*, 378.
† C. Innes, *Legal Antiquities*, 31.

King or Bishop but by a private individual. It is a charter by which a certain Robert Mithyngby conveyed a piece of land in the burgh of Glasgow to Master Reginald Irewyn, Archdeacon of Glasgow, between the years 1280 and 1290, and illustrates the conditions under which a burgess might then convey lands to a stranger, and the precautions taken to prevent the legal heir from being deprived of his heritage. 'By the laws of the Four Burghs,' the editor remarks in reference to this charter, 'every burgess might, while in good health, sell or give to whomsoever he chose, all lands which he had acquired by purchase. But serious restrictions were imposed upon his alienating his heritable property, even under the pressure of necessity. Previous to doing so he had, at three head courts * of the burgh, to offer the heritage to the next heir, who, if he agreed to buy it, had to provide the seller with meat and clothing necessary—the clothing being grey or white. If the heir would not or could not purchase, then the owner might sell it to others. So solicitous were these burgh laws to protect the interest of the heir in relation to such alienations as to provide that if he were absent in the next kingdom, the seller must wait forty days, and if in a more distant kingdom, twice forty days, and so of other more distant kingdoms. But if, from ill will or malice, the heir remained absent for a longer period, then the owner might dispose of his heritage to the best advantage.' In conformity with this the deed in question duly sets forth that Mithyngby, under the pressure of extreme poverty, with the consent of his daughter and heiress, expressed personally in the burgh court of the city, had sold, for the relief of his poverty, to the Archdeacon, all his lands in the burgh, as described in the deed. The document further relates that the lands had been offered by the seller to his nearest relatives and friends at three Head Courts and at other courts according to the law and custom of the burgh. It then sets forth that sasine had been given to the purchaser in presence of the *prepositi* and bailies of Glas-

---

* These were appointed to be held yearly in burghs : after Michaelmas, after Yule, and after Easter.

gow, and of twelve good burgesses and others of the city, and that the purchaser was taken bound to pay yearly to the bishop and his successors the rent due for the lands at the usual terms. Lastly the seals both of the granter and of the city are said to be attached to the deed. It would thus appear, as Sir James Marwick remarks, 'that the Laws of the Four Burghs applicable to the transfer of burgage property were in operation in the bishop's burgh in the latter part of the thirteenth century.'

The government of the bishop's burgh seems to have been cast upon the same lines as that of the royal burghs. The twelve burgesses mentioned in Mithyngby's charter in all probability represent the 'dozen' or Common Council of the burghs royal. In like manner the bailies would occupy a position analogous to that of the bailies in the neighbouring royal burgh of Rutherglen, and discharge similar duties. Who the *prepositi* were who are mentioned in the same charter, or what was their precise position, or what functions they performed, is not so clear. Undoubtedly they were provosts; but as Sir James Marwick points out, in the Middle Ages the kinds of provosts were fairly numerous. 'In all cases,' he says, 'the word *prepositus* is, no doubt, correctly translated provost, but it meant different things as applied to persons in different conditions. In ecclesiastical language the provost might be a cathedral dignitary, or the second officer in a monastery under the Abbot, or the head of a religious College. Applied to an officer of a town, it indicated a position corresponding to that of a praetor or praefect, or quaestor or burgh greve. Sometimes the title was given to a petty judge, and sometimes to a subordinate officer under a steward or bailiff who had charge of the interests of the lord of a town, village or rural district—in which last case the duties of the *prepositus* had reference to the looking after matters connected with the cultivation of the soil, cattle, or pasture. Sometimes the duties of the *prepositus* were confined to rivers, waters, and streams, in which case he was recognised as *prepositus aquarum*, or water bailiff. The head of the merchants of a town was sometimes designated *prepositus*

mercatorum, corresponding probably to the Master of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh or the Dean of Guild of the Merchants' House of Glasgow. There was also in the palace of the King, or of a great prelate, an officer known as the *prepositus palatii vel domus*, while the chief officer of the hundred was known as *prepositus Hundredi*.' * During the Middle Ages, indeed, *prepositus* was a very frequent designation and the duties it indicated were of the most various character. It was sometimes applied to bishops and abbots and their deputies. There were *prepositi ecclesiae* who had charge of the secular affairs of a Church or Cathedral, and *prepositi domus* who took charge of the secular affairs of a monastery, whose duties were not always without peril, for in the discharge of them they might come by a violent death. And the curious fact is brought out by Sir James Marwick that the designation was actually borne by a neyf, the document in which his sale is recorded so designating him. Had the term *prepositi* occurred in Mithyngby's charter alone, one might have supposed that they were the representatives of the Bishop charged with the secular affairs of the See; but just as Mithyngby gave sasine *coram prepositis et ballivis*, so the prohibition by Alexander II. in 1226, is against the exaction of toll within Glasgow by the King's *prepositi vel ballivi vel servientes* of Rutherglen. At one and the same time, therefore, in the royal as well as in the bishop's burgh, it appears as if the office of provost was held by more than one individual, or, in other words, that there was a plurality of provosts. The use of the designation 'provost' for the Chief Magistrate of a burgh was still in the future. It was not adopted in Glasgow till about the year 1454,† nor in Aberdeen till April, 1507.‡ Previously, at least in the latter place, if not generally, though not everywhere, he was known as the 'Alderman.' The phrase, *tunc prepositi* occurring after the names of two individuals in Mithyngby's Charter suggests that at the time there were only two provosts

* Part I., 27.

† See Part II., 43, where in an Indenture John Stewart styles himself 'the first Provost of Glasgow.'

‡ *Burgh Recs.*, April 7th, 1507.

in Glasgow; but whether there were more is not certain.* They appear to be distinct from the *ballivi*, but, as Sir James Marwick points out, there is nothing, at least in the Charter referred to, to indicate a gradation between the *prepositi* and the *ballivi* beyond the fact that in any examination of burghal authorities their designation appears first.

Over the twelve burgesses, the bailies, and the provosts, was the Bishop as subject-superior, and in his absence, his deputy or vicar. That the episcopal supervision of the affairs of the burgh was keen, there can be no doubt. There can be none, too, that it was mostly of the paternal kind, though, with the bishop or his deputy always on the spot, the burgesses would scarcely enjoy the same freedom of action as fell to the lot of the burgesses in royal burghs. Still, the Church was always a good landlord, and the documents before us bear abundant evidence that the bishops did all they could to foster the interests of their burgh.

Among the bishops of Glasgow, as need hardly be said, were some of the foremost men of their day. Chief among them was Jocelin, a man of great influence both in Scotland and at Rome. Promoted to the see from the abbacy of Melrose, he stood high in the favour of the king, and obtained the charter by which the village around the cathedral was erected into a burgh of barony, with many of the privileges already noted. To him was due the restoration of the cathedral, which was originally built of wood and had been destroyed by fire, and the organisation of a society which received the royal sanction and protection, to collect funds for the purpose. Notable in other respects was Robert Wischard, Archdeacon of Lothian, who succeeded William Wischard, elected in 1270, but postulated to the see of St. Andrews in the same year. During the reign of Alexander, Bishop Robert found leisure for a dispute with his Chapter concerning the lands of Kernyl, with which John de Cheyam and the Chapter had endowed three

---

* At later period, there were. In 1293, Oliver and Richard Smalley *prepositi et ceteri prepositi ac cives Glasguensis, etc.*, grant a charter setting forth a gift by Odard son of Richard Hangpudyng. Part II., 20.

chaplains in the cathedral. The transactions of the latter part of his life were of a different character. On the invasion of the English, he several times swore fealty to Edward I. But 'It was a time when strong oppression on the one side made the other,' writes Professor Innes,* 'almost forget the laws of good faith and humanity.' 'Our bishop,' he continues, 'did homage to the Suzerain and transgressed it; he swore fidelity over and over again to the King of England, and as often broke his oath. He kept no faith with Edward. He preached against him, and when the occasion offered, he buckled on his armour like a Scotch baron, and fought against him. But let it not be said he changed sides as fortune changed. When the weak Balliol renounced his allegiance to his overlord, the Bishop, who knew both, must have divined to which side victory would incline, and yet he opposed Edward. When Wallace, almost single-handed, set up the standard of revolt against the all-powerful Edward, the Bishop of Glasgow immediately joined him. When Robert Bruce, friendless and a fugitive, raised the old war-cry of Scotland, the indomitable Bishop supported him. Bruce was proscribed by Edward, and under the anathema of the Church. The Bishop assoilzied him for the sacrilegious slaughter of Comyn, and prepared the robes and royal banner for his coronation.' Wischard was taken prisoner in the castle of Cupar in 1306, and was not liberated till after Bannockburn, when he was exchanged, along with the Queen and Princess, for the Earl of Hereford. During his imprisonment the brave Bishop had become blind, and survived his liberation only a couple of years. The Bruce held him in great esteem, and in gratitude for the services he had rendered, granted to him, while yet in prison, a charter restoring to him all his churches and possessions, and straitly charging all who had seized them to return them to the Chancellor and others.†

---

* *Registr. Glas.*, p. 35.

† The temporalities of the bishopric were ordered by Edward I. to be given to Sir John de Meneteth during pleasure.—Bain's *Calendar of Doc.*, II., 479.

Walter de Wardlaw, who, prior to his consecration in 1368, was Archdeacon of Lothian and secretary to the king, was much employed in foreign embassies, and obtained the honour of the cardinalate together with the office of legate *a latere* for Scotland and Ireland in 1335 from the Avignon pope, Clement VI., to whom the Scottish Church adhered. He died in 1387.

But the Bishop whom Glasgow has the most reason to remember with affectionate gratitude, perhaps next to Jocelin, if not before him, was William Turnbull. John Cameron, one of his immediate predecessors (1425-1447), built the 'great tower' of the Bishop's Palace, and completed the chapter house which Bishop Lauder, who was appointed to the see by Benedict XIII. without the election of the Chapter, had begun. Turnbull said his first mass in Glasgow on September 20, 1449, and died September 3, 1454, but short as his incumbency was, he procured valuable privileges, papal and royal, for both his bishopric and his city. The burgesses of Rutherglen and Renfrew still continuing to molest persons going to and returning from the market in Glasgow, he obtained from the king, James II., a letter, issued under the privy seal, commanding the burgesses of these burghs to cease from such molestation, and prohibiting them and all others from coming within the barony of Glasgow, or any lands belonging to the freedom of St. Mungo, to take toll or custom, by water or land, of persons going to or returning from the market—any grants by former kings to Renfrew, Rutherglen, or other burghs notwithstanding. A few weeks later, such was his influence with the King, Bishop Turnbull obtained a royal charter, under the great seal, by which the city, the barony of Glasgow, and the land known as Bishops' Forest, were erected into a regality. The charter proceeds on a narrative of the fact that the King was himself a canon of the Church and of the singular favour and affection which he had towards the bishop, his well-beloved councillor, on account of his merits and acceptable and faithful services rendered of long time. The city was now as near to a royal burgh as it could be without actually becoming one. 'The jurisdiction thus con-

firmed,' Sir James Marwick writes, 'was second only to that of the royal justiciary. Grants of regality, to adopt the language of Professor Innes, "took as much out of the Crown as the Sovereign would give," and in the hands of powerful lords and churchmen established jurisdictions which all the power of the Crown proved often unable to restrain.' Ten months later, the King, for some unexplained reason, granted to the Bishop another charter in precisely the same terms as this of April 20, 1450, but attested by different witnesses.

This, however, does not exhaust the list of services rendered to Glasgow by Bishop Turnbull. He is usually regarded as the Founder of its University, and though the Bull authorising its erection is addressed to the King and bears to have been granted because 'James, the illustrious King of the Scots, intending not only the weal of the Commonwealth, and indwellers and inhabitants of the country subject to him, but also the other parts neighbouring thereto, was very desirous that a University, with every lawful faculty, should be set up and ordained by the Apostolic See in his city of Glasgow, as being a place of renown and particularly well fitted therefor, where the air is mild, victuals plentiful,' etc., there can be no doubt that Turnbull was its actual founder, and chiefly instrumental in obtaining the Bull from Pope Nicholas V. The Bull was granted in 1450, and the *de facto* existence of the University appears to date from 1453,* when the Bishop's Charter of Privilege was issued. Nicholas conferred upon it the privileges of Bologna, and 'the earliest extant Statutes—those of 1482—made it plain that the University was intended by its founder to be one of the Bologna pattern—a student University; a desire no doubt inspired by the ambition that this University should become a great School of Law.' † In 1453 the King took the University under his firm peace and protection, and exempted the rectors, deans, and others connected with it from all tributes and services imposed upon all others in the Kingdom, and in the same year the Bishop, with the

* According to Boece, it dates from 1454.

† Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, II., Pt. i., 305-6.

consent of the Chapter, granted by his Charter of Privilege a variety of valuable rights and exemptions to the Rector, Doctors, and others of the young institution. Other privileges were granted by his successors, and still others by James III. and his successors.

In passing, one point in connection with the Universities of the Middle Ages may be noted. On the authority of Professor Laurie,* it is stated† that the University of Bologna was formally recognised as a University by Emperor Frederick I. in 1159. The reference is evidently to what is known as the Authentic *Habita*; but while there is no reason to doubt that the legislation it contains was primarily intended for the law students of Bologna, that city is not, as Denifle and Mr. Rashdall have pointed out, expressly mentioned in its provisions, and, as the last named remarks, it is perfectly arbitrary to limit its actual scope to that School as is done by Savigny. 'In any case,' Mr. Rashdall continues, 'this document does not recognise the existence of a University whether of Masters or of Students at Bologna or anywhere else. It is a general privilege conferred on the student-class throughout the Lombard kingdom.'‡ The University of St. Andrews, it may also be remarked, was founded in 1411, and the foundation of it was sanctioned in 1413 by a Papal Bull granted, on the petition of James I., Bishop Wardlaw, and other dignitaries of the Church in the ecclesiastical metropolis, by Pope Benedict XIII., otherwise known as Peter de Luna.

The first land acquired by the new University was the site of the old 'College' on the east side of the High Street, which adjoined the house of the Friars preachers, with four acres of the Dowhill beside the Molendinar Burn. It was bestowed by the first Lord Hamilton upon Duncan Bunch, chief Regent in the Faculty of Arts, who had seizin accordingly *nomine dictae facultatis*, in 1460.§

A document dated January 20, 1460-1, furnishes the first intimation of the existence of the Grammar School. When it

---

* *Rise and Constitution of Universities*, pp. 130, 136. † Pt. i., 31, note 2.

‡ *Universities of Europe*, I., 145-6. See also *Denifle*, 48, *et seq.*

§ C. Innes, *Early Scotch Hist.*, 222, note 2.

was founded is unknown, but in 1494 it was said to have been in existence beyond the memory of man. It was evidently a Cathedral school; the oversight and government of it with the right of appointing and dismissing the master being in the hands of the Chancellor of the Cathedral, his authority in the matter having been confirmed by papal authority.* In 1460-1, according to the document referred to, Simon Dalgleish Precentor and official of Glasgow, gave to the Rector and master of the School and his successors in office a tenement lying to west side of the High Street, or 'Meikle Wynd,' as it was then called, to be holden by the master and his scholars for certain religious services, and appointed the Provost, bailies and councillors of the burgh patrons, governors, and defenders of the donation.† The Chancellor appears to have had the exclusive right not only to keep a Grammar School, but also to instruct and teach scholars in grammar, or youths in the elements of knowledge within the city and university, whether secretly or openly; for in 1494 Master David Dwn, 'a discreet man,' and a presbyter within the diocese, having set up a school and presumed to teach and instruct scholars in grammar and the elements of knowledge, was summoned before the Court of the Archbishop sitting in the Chapter House, and witnesses having been examined on both sides, the Archbishop gave sentence that Master Dwn ought not to keep a grammar school or to teach and instruct scholars in grammar or youths in boyish studies within the city and university in any manner of way without special licence asked and obtained from the Chancellor, and 'judicially put the said Master Dwn to silence in the premises for ever.' ‡ Fourteen years later, when a similar claim was put forward by the then Chancellor of the Cathedral, Master Martin Rede, it was challenged by the Provost, Sir John Stewart of Minto, who claimed for the magistrates and community the exclusive right to admit all masters 'to the mural schools and buildings assigned for the instruction of scholars.' Both parties appealed to the deed of foundation by Dalgleish, and neither of them

* Pt. II., p. 90. † *Ibid.*, 436. ‡ *Ibid.*, 89-91.

apparently to the usage of the Church or to the privileges of the Dean and Chapter as confirmed by Apostolic authority. Whether the Provost gained his point does not appear, as no further allusion is made to his challenge.*

The 'sang school' of the Metropolitan Kirk is first alluded to in a notarial instrument dated November 5, 1539, which records the infeftment of Thomas Fleming, vicar-pensioner of Glasgow, and his successors, as trustees under the foundation of Mark Jamesoun, in a tenement and orchard in the Stable Green, the rents of which were to be paid partly to the master of that school for singing nightly 'a gloriosa of three parts of pryckat singing' as it was made and set out by John Painter. There was a sang school also at the Collegiate Church of St. Mary and St. Ann. Both of them were in receipt of endowments, but especially that of the Cathedral. After the Reformation the cultivation of music so declined that, in 1579, Parliament passed an act with a view to arrest its decay, but without much success.†

With its charter of regality, its many immunities and privileges, its Cathedral, its University, its Grammar School and its Sang Schools, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, Glasgow was rapidly stepping to the front rank of the Scottish burghs and could hold up its head almost with the proudest among them. The Council Records prior to the year 1573 have unfortunately been lost, and with the disappearance of the earliest volumes of the Records of the Convention of Burghs it is now impossible to tell when Glasgow first sent representatives to the meetings of that body. The earliest extant records shew that they attended the conventions held in Edinburgh in 1552, 1555, 1570, 1574, and subsequently, while the records of the various Trade Incorporations shew that almost contemporaneously with the opening of the century a rapid development of trade and industry set in. During the century the Town Council issued Seals of Cause to no fewer than eight trades. They were issued in the following order:—1514, Skinners and Furriers; 1528,

* Part I., 45. † *Ibid.*, 65-6, 548-9.

Weavers; 1536, Hammermen; 1514, Tailors; 1551, Masons; 1558, Cordiners; 1569, Coopers; 1597, Bonnet-makers. The Wrights obtained theirs in 1600. Glasgow bucklers would appear to have been of some fame, for in 1562 Randolph wrote to Cecil of Queen Mary, 'She repenteth nothynge but when the lardes and other at Ennernes came in the mornynges from the wache, that she was not a man to know what lyf yt was to lye all nyght in the feeldes, or to walke upon the cawsaye with a jacke and knapschale, *a Glascowe buckeler* and a broode swerde.' * The best proof, however, of the prosperity of the burgh is to be found in the fact that in 1546 it was recognised by Parliament as of sufficient importance to send a Commissioner to take part in the deliberations of the Estates, the other burghs represented at the Session being Edinburgh, Ayr, Linlithgow, Stirling, and Dundee. † Judging, however, from its contributions to the national grants, it continued for many years a long way behind several of the burghs. In 1587, while of every £100 of taxation laid upon the burghs of Scotland, Edinburgh was required to pay £38 2s. 8d.; Dundee, £9 10s. 8d.; Perth, £7 12s. 0d., and Aberdeen, £7 4s. 0d., the sum required from Glasgow was only £2 13s. 8d., afterwards increased to £3 5s. 0d. ‡ But in 1631 its proportion had risen to £5 10s. 0d., while Edinburgh's had fallen to £28 15s.; Perth's to £5 10s. 0d., Dundee's to £9 6s. 8d., and Stirling's to £1 16s. 0d.; Glasgow's alone showing an increase, with the exception of Aberdeen's, which had risen from £7 4s. 0d. to £8 0s. 0d.

In 1605, after much discussion and opposition on the part of the Crafts, the Guildry was formed. The letter of Guildry by which it was formed has disappeared, but, fortunately, what bears to be a transcript of it has been preserved in the Minute Book of the Incorporation of Bonnetmakers and Dyers, and is in some respects one of the most interesting of the documents Sir James Marwick has printed.

* Bain's *Cal. of Scottish Papers*, I., 651.

† *Act. Parl. Scot.*, II., 471.

‡ Municipal Corporations in Scotland, App. ii. 5.

Down to the year 1490 all the royal grants connected with the city were made to the Bishop, but on the 14th January 1491-2 King James IV., for some unexplained reason departed from the usual course, and granted a letter to the Provost and Bailies of the Burgh by which he authorised them to use and occupy their freedoms as they had previously done.* In 1611, when the Reformation had become an accomplished fact, on the application of Archbishop Spottiswood, who then filled the see, a royal charter was granted not solely to the Archbishop and his successors, but to the magistrates, council, and community by which the burgh and city of Glasgow were disponed to them and erected 'in unum liborum burgum regalem' to be held of the Archbishop on payment of 16 merks yearly, but without prejudice to his rights in the election of the magistrates or to his jurisdiction of regality, or to any other of his rights and privileges.† This charter was ratified by Parliament in 1612. In 1633 another Act of Parliament was obtained by the magistrates, council, and community ratifying all previous grants and charters, but reserving the rights and privileges of the Duke of Lennox and his heirs, as their infeft to the office of bailliarie and justiciarie of the barony and regality of Glasgow, and without prejudice to the rights, etc., of the Archbishop.‡ At last came the Act of 1636. By this 'it may be said with propriety,' the Commissioners of 1833 say, 'the city of Glasgow was first placed in the rank of a burgh royal holden of the crown, and bound in payment to the crown of burgh mail (census burgalis), with the peculiarity of certain renewed rights to the original superiors, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and to the hereditary bailies of regality, the Duke of Lennox. It is under that at the present day [1833-36] the burgh accounts annually in the Exchequer for its burgh mail of 20 merks to the crown and 16 merks formerly payable to the Archbishop and now to the crown or its assignees.'§ Finally an Act passed in 1690 gave to the City and Town Council the power and privilege to choose their own magistrates, etc., as

* Part ii., 88. † *Ibid.*, 278. ‡ *Ibid.*, 351.
§ Report, Appendix ii., 5.

fully and freely as the City of Edinburgh or any other royal burgh within the kingdom, but declaring that the Act shall be without prejudice or derogation to the Crown rights to the regality of Glasgow or other rights except as to the right of burgh in relation to the choosing of its own magistrates and the several erections of incorporations and deaconries in the burgh.

We have said nothing of the social life of the city. Unfortunately from the documents here printed comparatively little can be gleaned respecting it prior to the sixteenth century. After that date, however, the extracts from the Burgh Records contain an abundance of highly interesting indications of many of its phases. Of all the documents in the four volumes before us they are decidedly the most entertaining, and in some respects the most instructive. Sometimes they are highly picturesque, and at times not a little amusing. They do not, however, give a complete picture of the social life of the city. Along with them require to be read the records of the Presbytery and Synod, which, unfortunately, like the records of the city, are incomplete, but which, so far as they go, fill in numerous particulars which in the secular records are wanting.

We have touched but a few of the particulars which these bulky records bring out, and perhaps not the most interesting. Our aim, however, has been to direct attention to them rather than to give an exhaustive account of what they contain. Those who venture upon them will find their accomplished editor an erudite and excellent guide to their understanding, and will learn much more from them respecting the real life of the city and the nation than may be gathered from the same number of pages in which the history of the country is written on the drum and trumpet theory.

ART. IV.—THE OLD BRIGADIER.

From the late Ivan Turgénieff.

IT is most probable that the reader has never seen one of the small houses belonging to landed proprietors, of which a great many existed in the Ukraine some five and twenty or thirty years ago. There are not many left now, and, as they are built of wood, it is not improbable that before ten years are passed, the last of them will have totally disappeared. The object at which the traveller first arrived was a pond of running water fringed with bulrushes and dwarf willows, on whose surface a flock of ducks sailed with an air of dignity—and occasionally found themselves joined by a stray teal. Beyond the pond was a garden planted with limes, that glory of our black soiled provinces. In the garden were long strawberry beds dotted here and there with campanula and vetches and every now and then a stray stalk of rye or wheat. Further on there was a matted jungle of gooseberries, raspberries, and black currants, in the midst of which during the still heat of midday one was sure to see moving the many coloured kerchief of some servant girl who sang at the top of her voice. Beyond this, again, was a scanty kitchen garden inhabited by an whole nation of sparrows, and where a cat sat squatting upon the ruined edge of a well, while in the midst stood a small greenhouse raised on legs. And then came an orchard where pears, apples with blighted tops, and cherries with stumpy branches were crowded together in a rank mass of plants, green at the roots and grey at the top. Close to the house there was a bed of poppies, peonies, and what we call Aniota's Eyes, and Green Ladies. A deep and joyful murmur of bees and flies sounded unceasingly from the thick and sticky branches of the wild jasmine, the yellow acacia, and the syringa. One reached the house at last. It was one storey high, and stood upon a brick found[illegible] The roof was made of planks which had orig[illegible] painted red, and projected over the narrow wi[illegible]

with greenish tinted glass. The front door was approached by a flight of steps with worm-eaten banisters, underneath which was an hole inhabited by an old watch dog who had lost his voice. There was a great courtyard all round the house, plentifully adorned with nettles, docks, and worm-wood. Here were the offices, such as the cellar, the kitchen and the barns, all roofed with thatch, riddled by the mice, and the favourite perch of pigeons and crows. From here was a view which embraced the high road with its deep ruts filled with dust, and the long broken-down hedges which surrounded the hemp field, and the poor scattered cottages of the village, and the vast common which is flooded in spring, and whence come the harsh cries of thousands of geese. Inside the house everything is awry and shaky, but it holds together somehow, and it keeps out the cold. There are huge stoves and home-made furniture in unequal sizes; the wooden floors have been varnished with oil, and they are marked with little white paths where feet pass oftenest. The hall is full of little cages containing larks and green linnets; in the dining room there is an huge English clock enclosed in a wooden tower-like case, and bearing the inscription, 'Strike and Silence'—mysterious words, of which none of the inhabitants know the meaning. The walls of the drawing-room are adorned with ancestral portraits distinguished by an expression of shy stupidity upon their brick-red features, or by well-worn pictures, representing either flowers and fruit or mythological scenes, where the wind is catching the draperies which clothe their otherwise naked subjects. There are all-pervading smells of beer, apples, rye-bread and leather; clouds of flies buzz and bang against the ceilings; lively cockroaches move their feelers behind a looking-glass in a frame of faded gilding. It doesn't matter; one can live in such places, and live there very well too.

About 30 years ago I paid a visit to an house of this sort, so my experiences are now a matter of some antiquity. The small estate to which this house belonged was the property of [illegible] College friends. He had inherited it very recently

from an old bachelor uncle, and he did not live there; but in the immediate neighbourhood there were great swamps abounding in snipe during the summer time, and as my friend and I were both very fond of shooting, I agreed to join him there for St. Peter's Day,* when shooting begins. He was coming from Moscow and I from my own home. He was detained by some accident and was several days late in coming, and I did not wish to begin shooting without him. I had been received by an old man-servant whose name was Narcissus, and who had been told to expect me.

Narcissus had no resemblance either to Sir Walter Scott's Caleb or to Pushkine's Sabelich. My friend used to call him 'The Marquess.' He had an air of complete self-confidence which might have been termed dignified, and his movements were slow and refined. He looked down upon young people like ourselves, and had no particular respect for gentry as a class. Of his former master he spoke with a careless contempt, and his fellow-servants he heartily despised—he regarded them as an uneducated lot. He himself was able to read and to write, and expressed himself clearly and well. He did not drink spirits, and hardly ever went to Church, whence it was generally believed that he was a Dissenter in his religious opinions. He was tall and thin, with a long face and regular features, a pointed nose and shaggy eyebrows which twitched continually. He wore a long coat, and tall boots with the tops finished in a heart shape. His dress was always very neat and clean.

The day that I arrived Narcissus waited upon me solemnly at luncheon, but as he was going out, he stopped in the doorway, looked at me, twitched his heavy eyebrows, and at last said,

'Well, sir, what are you going to do now?'

'I don't know,' said I, 'if Nicolas Petrovich had come as he meant to, we should have gone out shooting.'

'H'm. Then you thought, sir, that he was going to keep

* June 29, but according to the Old Style still used in Russia, July 11.

his appointment?'

'Of course.'

'H'm.'

Narcissus looked at me again and shook his head with an air of compassion. Then he resumed—

'If you want to read, there are some books that belonged to the old master; if you like, I'll bring them to you, but I don't suppose that you'd read them.'

'Why not?'

'They are nothing of books, they are not written for gentlemen now-a-days.'

'Have you read them?'

'If I hadn't read them, I wouldn't have talked about them. What's "A Book of Dreams," for instance? There are others besides that, to be sure, but you wouldn't read them either.'

'Why not?'

'They're Divinity.'

I said nothing, and Narcissus said nothing either, but I saw from his lips that he was indulging in a sort of silent chuckle.

'I don't want to stay in the house all this fine day,' I said.

'Go and walk in the garden, or go into the wood, there's a birch wood here; or would you like to go out fishing?'

'Are there any fish?' I asked.

'Yes, there are fish in the pond, perch and tench and gudgeons. The best time's past now, we are close on July.* However you can try. Shall I get you a line ready?'

'Please.'

'I'll send you a boy to put on the worms—or must I go with you myself?'

It was evident that Narcissus was not at all sure that I could get on by myself, so I said:—

'O come, certainly.'

He smiled silently, contracted his eyebrows, and left the room.

* *i.e.*, Nearly the middle according to the New Style.

We started on our fishing expedition about half an hour afterwards. Narcissus had put on an extraordinary kind of cap with long ears, which enhanced the dignity of his appearance. He marched on in front with grave and measured steps, and a couple of lines swinging over his shoulder. A small boy with bare feet, and his eyes respectfully fixed upon Narcissus' back, followed behind him, carrying a box full of worms and a watering-pot to put the fish in.

'They've put a punt here near the dam,' said Narcissus, 'and you see those lazy fellows are there already; they're always at it.'

I looked up and saw two men sitting in the punt with their backs to us, fishing tranquilly.

'Who are they?' said I.

'Neighbours,' answerred Narcissus snappishly, 'they've got nothing to eat at home, and that's why they honour us with their visits here.'

'I suppose they've got leave to fish?'

'The old master used to let them; I don't know about Nicolas Petrovich. The long one's a Subdeacon * out of work, no good at all; the big one's a Brigadier.'

'A Brigadier!' I exclaimed.

Indeed the garments of the Brigadier were almost more wretched than those of the Subdeacon.

'It's just as I've had the honour of informing you,' said Narcissus. 'He was very well off once, but it's only for charity now that they let him have a corner in a cottage, and he lives on whatever God lets him get. But what are we to do now? They've taken up the best place. We must turn them out.'

'O, no, Narcissus,' I said, 'let them be, don't trouble them, we'll go somewhere else. I should like to make acquaintance with the Brigadier.'

'Whatever you like, sir,' answered Narcissus. 'You won't get much pleasure out of the acquaintance when you've made

---

* The Subdiaconate is not a Holy Order in the East any more than it was in the West before the 13th century; the Sacristan of a Russian Parish Church is usually a Subdeacon; and the general notion here conveyed is that of a schoolmaster or precentor out of a place through intemperance.

it; his head's begun to go and he talks just like a child. To be sure he's near on eighty.'

'What's his name?'

'Basil Thomich Gousskoff.'

'And what do you call the Subdeacon?'

'Everybody calls him Cucumber. God knows what his real name may be; I tell you he's perfect scum, a tramp with no good in him.'

'Do they live together?'

'No, but the devil has tied them together with a bit of string.'

We came to the edge of the pond. The Brigadier raised his eyes towards us for an instant and then fixed them immediately upon the float of his line. Cucumber jumped up, pulled up his line with one hand, and took off his greasy old cap with the other, passed his trembling fingers through his coarse yellow hair, and made us a deep bow, with a sort of nervous giggle. His complexion stamped him as an habitual drunkard, and his small eyes twinkled with frightened surprise. He gave his companion a nudge in the side as an intimation that they must clear out. The Brigadier moved upon his seat.

'O, pray, stay,' I cried, 'don't disturb yourself; we are going to go along here; please stay where you are.'

Cucumber gathered up the tails of his ragged coat, shrugged his shoulders, and waggled his beard. It was obvious that our presence put him out, and that he would rather have gone away; but the Brigadier was again gazing fixedly at his float. The Subdeacon put his hand on his mouth and coughed, sat down on the edge of the punt, gathered his bare feet under him, placed his hat on his knees, and timidly put back his line into the water.

'Any bites?' asked Narcissus, who was slowly unwinding his line.

'We've got five small tench,' answered Cucumber, in a thick and hoarse tone, 'and his Honour has caught one big perch.'

'Perch,' repeated the Brigadier in a feeble voice.

I took a good look at the Brigadier, or rather at his reflection on the surface of the water, where his image appeared as in a looking-glass, at once darker and more silvery. A sort of freshness rose from the wide expanse of the pond, and from its damp banks, seamed and almost furrowed by the action of the melting snows, and the sense of this freshness was all the pleasanter by contrast with the sense of still and heavy heat inspired by the sight of the glowing blue of the sky seen above the tree tops. The water near the punt was absolutely motionless; the bushes on the shore threw their shadows upon it, and in these dark patches one could see the incessant movement of the water-spiders, like little steel buttons. The fish did not bite, but every now and then a few minute ripples showed that one had touched the bait. We fished for a whole hour, at the conclusion of which we had caught two gudgeons.

I do not know what it was about the Brigadier which excited my curiosity. For me his military rank was a matter of indifference, and ruined gentlemen were nothing rare in those days, neither was there anything at all peculiar about his appearance. He had a padded cap which covered most of his head, from the nape of his neck to his eyebrows. His face was round and red, with a small nose, thin lips, and little bright grey eyes. His expression was perfectly meek, and rather childish, and gave the idea of simplicity amounting to mental weakness, and the trace of some old sorrow which had never been healed, and never would be. He had fat white hands with thick stumpy fingers, which is said to be in itself an indication of awkwardness. I could not manage to form an idea of this pitiable old creature as having ever been a gallant soldier or a commander of men, and this, also, in the rough days of the Great Katharine.

Every now and then he swelled out his cheeks and blew out the breath as babies do; at other times he seemed to be trying to see what was in front of him, as is sometimes done by old men in their last stages. Once he opened his eyes wide, and I then perceived that they were much larger than I had thought they were. They seemed to be looking at me from

their reflection in the water, and I began to invest them with a strange expression which touched me, and seemed to have some peculiar explanation hidden under it.

I tried to get into conversation with him, but Narcissus had been quite right in what he had said; the poor old man was advanced in his dotage. He asked me what my family name was, and made me repeat it two or three times, after which he thought a little, and then suddenly said:—

'But we had a judge called that! Cucumber, didn't we have a judge called that?'

'Yes, sir; yes, your Honour,' answered Cucumber, in the same way as if he were talking to please a child. 'Yes, we had a judge, but give me your line. I think the bait has been eaten—so it has!'

The Brigadier presently seemed to make a great effort, and suddenly said to me—

'Did you know the Lomoffs?'

'Who?' said I.

'Who? The Lomoffs. Theodore Ivanich, and Andrew Ivanich, and Alexis Ivanich, that's the Jew, and Theodoulia Ivanovna, the thief—' and here the Brigadier stopped and lowered his eyes.

Narcissus leant towards me and said to me in a low voice—

'Those were the people he used to know, and it was through them, and especially the one that he calls the Jew, that he got ruined, but mostly another of that one's sisters called Agrafena Ivanovna.'

'What are you saying there about Agrafena Ivanovna?' cried the Brigadier, raising his head and contracting his white eyebrows.' 'Take care: how dare you call her Agrafena like that? The name is Agrippina.'

'Please, sir, please,' said Cucumber in a soothing tone.

But the old man had now got into a state of excitement which I could never have expected.

'You don't know, don't you, what Milonoff, the poet, wrote in her honour?'

And then he began to declaim, with a curious nasal twang on the syllables *an* and *en*, as if it were French, a piece of affectation which was in vogue in the days of his youth.

'"The torch of Hymen 'tis whose fires,"

No, it's not that, it's this,

"No phantom goddess of a fabled isle
On them bestows a brief capricious smile."

"On *them*," do you hear that? That was we.

"No other thoughts their happy hours attend,
While love and fame their double glories blend,
Each tender breast is conscious of the same
To cherish in their blood the mutual flame."

How dare you call her Agrafena?'

Narcissus gave a smile about equally compounded of indifference and contempt: but the Brigadier's momentary excitement was already past, his head had fallen again upon his breast and his line was slipping through his hand into the water.

'This isn't worth the trouble,' said Cucumber suddenly, 'the fish won't bite, and his Honour has had one of his bad turns; we had better go home.'

He took out of his pocket a small tin bottle corked with a wooden plug, and shook out of it, on to the back of his hand, some pinches of bad tobacco adulterated with ashes, which he proceeded to snuff up into his two nostrils.

'Bless the tobacco,' he exclaimed, after a sort of spasm of sensuality, 'you can feel it down to your very teeth. Now, sir, please to get up!'

The Brigadier rose from his seat.

I asked Cucumber whether they lived far off, and he answered that his Honour resided at a distance of less than a verst. As I felt a wish to see a little more of him I enquired of the old man if he would allow me to have the honour of accompanying him homewards. He looked hard at me, and then gave me a particular kind of smile, grave, polished and slightly affected, which I have only observed in some very

old people, and which somehow always makes me think of the last century, with its powder and paste buckles. He said with a rather mincing accent that he should be 'enchanted,' and forthwith fell back into his stupor, but a sort of gleam of the fine gentleman of the days of Katharine II. had appeared for an instant.

Narcissus was astonished at my conduct, but I paid no attention to the deprecatory shake of his great cap, and left the garden along with the Brigadier, who leant upon Cucumber's arm. He walked rather fast, but with quick stiff steps, as if he were upon stilts.

We followed a slightly marked path which ran along a grassy hollow between two woods. The sun was baking, birds were calling to each other in the green thickets, and the sharp cry of the broom-rail could be heard, flocks of little blue butterflies hovered over the flowering clover. The murmuring bees wandered about slowly as if they had lost their way among the motionless plants. Cucumber roused himself up; he was afraid of Narcissus, under whose eyes it was his fate to live, but he did not mind me, as I was only a passing stranger, and he soon got talkative.

'To be sure,' he said, in his heavy unabashed voice, 'the Brigadier takes very little, but all the same, one fish isn't enough for him, and perhaps your Honour would be pleased to give us a little pecuniary assistance. Just round the corner there is an house of entertainment where they keep very good brown-bread loaves, and if you were pleased to think of me, sir, I would just take a small glass, to drink your Honour's health, and to wish you long life.

I gave him a twenty kopek piece, and had just time to save my hand from being kissed by him. He had found that I was fond of shooting, and he began to tell me about an admirable acquaintance of his, a retired officer, who had a real Swedish gun, a 'min-din-din-ger,' with a copper barrel. 'It's really like a cannon, for whenever you let it off, it quite dazes you. They found it after

the French retreated in 1812. The same gentleman had a dog that I can only tell you was a real wonder of nature. I was always fond of sport myself, and my Parson didn't mind a bit: quite the contrary; we used to go out at night together in our shirts, to snare quails, but the Archbishop here is an awful tyrant.' Presently he smiled bitterly and added: 'Though Narcissus Semenich mayn't think me worthy of much consideration, I can tell him that he thinks he knows everything because he has managed to grow eye-brows like a black-cock.'

As he thus conversed, we reached an isolated public-house with no yard and no railings. A lean dog was lying curled up under the window, and a chicken correspondingly thin was scratching up the dust under its nose.

Cucumber made the Brigadier sit down upon a bank of earth, and at once entered the house. While he was buying the bread and treating himself to a glass of spirits, I continued to watch the old soldier, who produced upon me the effect of a conundrum. I felt sure that his life past covered some curious episodes; he, for his part, did not seem conscious of my presence. He sat upon the earthen bank with his back bent, rolling between his fingers some carnations which he had gathered in my friend's garden. Cucumber came back presently with a string of brown-bread rolls, his red face, shiny with sweat, bore an expression of surprise and pleasure as if he had just heard something very agreeable and quite unexpected. He gave one of the rolls to the Brigadier, who began to eat it, and we resumed our way.

The glass of spirits had had the effect, as they say in our country, of unscrewing Cucumber. He began to address *cajoleries* to the Brigadier, who hastened onwards with his stiff and trembling steps.

'Why won't your Honour cheer up? why do you hang your head? If you would let me sing you a song, you'*d be* sure to be pleased with it. You'd be sure,' he continued, turning to me, 'he's good at laughing. O, he laughs a *lot.*

Yesterday, I saw a great fat woman washing her husband's stockings in the pond, and his Honour was behind her, and like to die of laughing. But begging your pardon, do you know about the hare in the song? You mustn't mind that I'm not pretty to look at. Down in the village there's a gipsy woman with a snout like anything; but when once she begins to sing, you'd better send for a coffin at once, and lie down and die happy.'

Cucumber opened his bloated wet lips, threw back his head, half shut his eyes, and began the following song:—

'Wee maukin lay and pricked her ears,
And scarcely drew her breath—
Beaters were beating in the field,
And beaters spelt her death.

'"And why should you, dear beaters, view
My little ways askance?
A bit o' kail the whiles I chew,
But aiblins at the Manse."

Then Cucumber raised his voice higher—

'Wee maukin 's to the green shaw gone,
The last her fud was seen.
"My fud behold, my beaters bold,
I'm safe among the green."

And the following verse he fairly yelled—

'Each takes to swear how went the hare,
Though ne'er a beater knows;
And on the fashious question, "Where?"
They pass from words to blows.'

The first four lines of each stanza Cucumber drawled, but the four last he sang with vigour, jumping and throwing out his legs, one in front of the other. At the end of each stanza, he gave himself a kick behind as a kind of flourish, and at the final conclusion he turned head over heels. His efforts were successful. The Brigadier suddenly burst into a fit of tremulous and ghastly laughter, which affected him so much that he had to stop and bend down, slapping his knees with his weak hands. As I looked at his face, now turned plum colour and convulsively twisted, I felt

more pity for the poor old creature than I had ever felt before. Cucumber, exhilarated by the success of his entertainment, now performed a Cossack dance, and ended by falling flat on his face. The Brigadier suddenly ceased laughing, and again set off on his way.

After traversing a few hundred yards, we came to a hamlet situated on the edge of a slight hollow. On its outskirts stood a detached cottage which had only one chimney, and had lost half its thatch. This dwelling contained two rooms, and one of these was the residence of the Brigadier. The Lady of the Manor, as I afterwards learnt, was a certain Madame Lomoff, wife of a Councillor of State, who always lived at St. Petersburg, and it was she who had provided the Brigadier with this abode. She had also assigned for his maintenance a *pood* of flour per month with a certain allowance of salt and oil, and had finally provided him with attendance in the shape of a half-witted girl selected from among the serfs of the village. It was true that the girl in question could not understand when she was spoken to, but her mistress considered her quite good enough to sweep the floor and to make the cabbage soup. At the door of the cottage, the Brigadier turned to me, and with his smile of the period of Katharine II., enquired if I would do him the honour of visiting his chambers, and bowed me in before him.

We entered. Everything inside was so filthy, so destitute, so wretched, that the Brigadier, who had probably caught on my face the impression produced upon me by his dwelling, suddenly shrugged his shoulders, and said to me in French, 'Ce n'est pas . . . œil de perdrix.'

What he meant by these words I could not tell, and when I spoke to him in French, he did not answer me.

There were two things in the room which had struck my attention at once. One of these was an Officer's Cross of the Order of St. George, placed under a glass in a black frame, and bearing the inscription, '*Conferred upon Basil Gousskoff, Colonel of the Chernigoff Regiment, for the capture of Praga,*

1794.' The other remarkable object was an oil portrait of the head and shoulders of a young woman. She was represented as extremely beautiful; the oval of the face somewhat long, the complexion dark, and the eyes black. Her hair was dressed to a great height and powdered, and she had a patch upon the temple and another upon the chin. Her dress was of flowered brocade, edged with blue fringe, such as was the fashion about the year 1780. The picture was not a good one as a work of art, but it gave one the idea of being a striking likeness, from the strong individuality which marked it. The face did not seem to look at the spectator, it appeared rather to avert its eyes without smiling. The curve of the straight and narrow nose, and the flatness and thinness of the regular lips, together with the line, almost straight, formed by the thick eyebrows, indicated a temper, commanding, haughty, and violent. It required no strong effort of imagination to picture that face enkindled with passion and rage. Before the portrait, on a little stand, were some half-faded wild flowers in a common glass bottle. The Brigadier went up to the stand and carefully added to the other flowers the carnations which he had gathered; after which he pointed to the portrait with his hand and said in a reverential tone—

'Agrippina Ivanovna Lomoff or Teleghine.'

I recalled the words of Narcissus and studied with double attention the features, expressive but dry and hard, of the woman who had been the ruin of the Brigadier. I pointed to the Cross of St. George and said—

'I see, sir, that you were present at the storming of Praga, and gained there a decoration that falls to the lot of few, and was then even rarer than it is now. Do you remember Souvoroff?'

The Brigadier seemed for a moment to be trying to collect his thoughts, and then said,

'Alexander Basilich? Yes, yes, I remember him. Little old man—very lively—you hardly dared to breathe when you stood up straight in front of him, but he was jumping about everywhere—' He burst out laughing and continued, 'He came into Warsaw all covered with diamonds, riding on a

wretched brute of a Cossack horse; and he told the Poles that he hadn't got a watch, for he had left it behind at St. Petersburg, and they all called out, "Vivat, vivat!"—What a pack of rogues, what a pack of rogues!' Then he changed his voice and called out loud to the Subdeacon, who had remained behind the door, 'Cucumber, boy, where are the rolls? And tell Grounka to bring some beer.'

'Here they are, your Honour,' answered Cucumber, who came in and handed to the Brigadier the string of small brown-bread rolls, and then went out and went up to a ragged creature with towselled hair, whom I conjectured to be the half-witted Grounka. As far as I could perceive through the dirty glass of the window, he tried to make her understand that the Brigadier wanted something to drink, by putting one of his own hands to his mouth, after the manner of a cup, and pointing with the other in our direction.

I tried again to get the Brigadier to talk, but he was evidently worn out. He dropped with a groan upon a miserable bed, said in a tone of distress, 'O, my poor bones, my poor bones!' and began unfastening his garters. I remember being rather astonished to find a man wearing garters, but then I remembered that such had been the fashion when he was young. He remained looking at me, but his eyes became expressionless, and he began to yawn. The poor old man seemed no longer to understand what I said to him; he had become just like a little child. And this was one of the heroes of Praga! Sword in hand, with the colours riddled by bullets over his head, and the mangled bodies of the dead under his feet, he had led Souvoroff's soldiers to victory through the smoke and the dust. This was the same man, but what a change; and I could not help thinking that in the Brigadier's past life also there must have been something very strange.

Cucumber brought some bad beer in an iron pot, and the Brigadier drank thirstily. His own hands were skaking, but Cucumber held the bottom of the pot. The old man presently wiped his toothless mouth with the palms of his

hands, and, after staring for a few moments, began to mumble with his lips. I understood that he wanted to go to sleep, so I bade him farewell, bowed, and departed.

'His Honour is going to go to sleep now,' said Cucumber, who had come out after me. 'He is very tired to-day, for he has made his pilgrimage.'

I asked, 'What pilgrimage?'

'To Agrafena Ivanovna's grave in the parish churchyard. Basil Thomich goes there regularly every week.'

I enquired if she had been dead long.

'It will soon be twenty years at least.'

'She was a great friend of his, then?'

'Doesn't your Honour know that she lived with him all her life? I didn't know the lady myself, but there was a great deal between them; a great deal. Sir,' he continued hurriedly, as he saw that I was turning away, 'will your Honour give me a trifle more, just to drink your Honour's health.'

I gave him another twenty kopek piece, and went home.

When I went home I tried to get some information out of Narcissus. He was rather uncommunicative, and assumed an air of importance and confidence. He expressed surprise that such a wretched story could possibly interest me, but he ended by telling me everything that he knew. What I heard was this:—

It was very soon after the fall of Poland that Basil Thomich Gousskoff made at Moscow the acquaintance of Agrippina Ivanóvna Teleghine. Her husband was on the staff of the General commanding in the Province, and Gousskoff was on leave when he came to the city. He was then forty years of age, unmarried, and the owner of a good fortune. He was deeply smitten with her. Soon afterwards the husband of Agrippina died and left her a widow at twenty-five years of age, without children, but in debt. As soon as Gousskoff heard of this he resigned his commission and hastened to her, paid all her debts, and saved her property. From that time forth he never left her, and ended at last by living in her

house. Agrippina herself appeared to be fond of him, but she would never consent to marry him.

'Her head,' said Narcissus, 'was really all wrong; she was downright mad.'

She declared that she loved her liberty more than anything else, but as to taking advantage of him, she had no scruple. He brought her every penny he could get, like an ant bringing everything to its hill. Agrippina got madder and madder; the violence of her temper was such that she could not even control her hands. One day a servant boy brought her some milk which was sour, and she pitched him downstairs. As ill luck would have it, he broke one of his legs and two of his ribs. Agrippina was terribly frightened. She had him put in an out-of-the-way room, and never left the house herself or gave anyone else the key of the room. At last no more moaning was heard. He was buried secretly.

When he reached this point in his narration, Narcissus lowered his voice and spoke in my ear.

'If,' he said, 'that had happened in the Empress's time, there would have been no fuss made. A good deal of that sort of thing went on at that time without anybody hearing about it. But just then—' here Narcissus drew himself up and elevated his voice—'the just Tzar, the blessed Alexander, had just come to the throne; and there was a terrible disturbance made. The police were sent to the place, they dug up the body, the doctors found the marks of violence, and so on, and so on; and—would you believe it?—Basil Thomich took the whole thing upon himself. He declared that it was he that had knocked the boy down, and that had locked him up. Then all the law people, the magistrates, and the clerks, and the police, fell on him like a pack of hounds, and went at him till he had lost his last penny. They let him go for a little bit, and then they went at him again. They were still tormenting him when the French came in 1812, and then they let him drop like a bone that has had all the marrow sucked out of it. Anyhow, he had saved Agrippina, and after that he went on living at her place so long as she was alive, and they say that she made such a drudge of him that she used to send

him to travel all the way from Moscow on his feet to gather her rents. I swear it's true. It was all about this Agrippina that he fought the duel with the English nobleman, Lord Gander, and the lord had to make an apology. He's very far through now; he's like an old horse that they don't take the trouble to shoe.'

I asked who had been Alexis Ivanich, whom the Brigadier had called 'the Jew,' and who had taken part in ruining him.

'He was one of Agrippina's brothers,' answered Narcissus, 'He was terribly greedy, a downright Jew, who lent money. He used to lend his sister money by the week, and the Brigadier went surety for her. They just skinned him like barking a tree.'

I asked who was the personage whom the Brigadier had called 'Theodoulia, the thief.'

'She was her sister, and just as sharp as her brother.'

In my own mind, I represented the Brigadier to myself as a kind of repetition of Goethe's Werther. I was very young, and by an error of youth, I piqued myself upon not believing in this sort of one undying passion. Nevertheless, I was a great deal struck by the story I had heard, and I felt a great wish to get the old man to talk again. I thought I might manage to begin again on the subject of Souvoroff, as it was pretty sure that some spark of the soldier must be still alive in him, and if once I could get him warmed, I could get him to talk about Agrippina, who had been his Charlotte.

I found my aged Werther close to his hovel, in a small garden near the ruins of an old cottage which had fallen down, and was now overgrown with nettles. The worm-eaten rafters still held together, and afforded a perch to a family of young turkeys, who moved about on them, balancing themselves, gobbling, and spreading their wings. There were two or three beds of blighted looking vegetables. The Brigadier had just pulled up a carrot, which he wiped under his arm, and began to eat it from the small end. I saluted him, and expressed an hope that he was feeling well. It was obvious

that he did not recognize me, but he touched his cap, while still continuing to eat the carrot. In the hope of making him remember me, I said,

'You have not come to fish to-day?'

'To-day,' he repeated, and then began to think, while he still devoured the carrot. 'It is Cucumber that fishes, but I have leave, too.'

'Certainly,' answered I, 'there is no dispute on that point, but don't you feel very hot like this, in the sun?'

As a matter of fact, he was dressed in a very thick old padded dressing gown. He repeated, 'Indeed! it is very hot.'

He had now finished the carrot, and looked round him with a troubled air. Then he said suddenly,

'Would you do me the honour of coming to my chambers?'

This was evidently one of the poor old man's few remaining phrases.

We left the garden together, but outside its gate I stopped involuntarily. Between us and the cottage there was a bull, with its head bent to the ground, its eyes rolling and angry, snorting heavily from its quivering nostrils, and striking up the dust with one of its fore feet. When it saw us, it retired a little, lashed its side with its tail, shook its powerful neck, and began to bellow ominously. The Brigadier walked on with the most perfect coolness, said in a commanding tone, 'Come now, you uncivil beast,' and flicked it between the horns with his pocket handkerchief. The bull drew further back, then ran to the side, and at last galloped away. As I followed him into his home, I felt that I was indeed with one of the men who had taken Praga.

He took his cap off his head, all covered with sweat, exhaled a long breath, and dropped upon the side of a chair. I thought I would begin my conversation by a diplomatic move, and I remarked,

'My chief reason for coming to-day, sir, was in order to have the pleasure of seeing you, but I confess also that as you served under the great Souvoroff, and took part in such great events, you would confer a great favour upon me by telling me—'

The Brigadier suddenly looked at me, his face lighted up, I expected that he was going to tell me something, or at least mutter some friendly words, when he said in a low voice, 'I am likely to die soon.'

'Why should you think so?' I asked.

The Brigadier began working his arms up and down like a child at the breast, and said,

'I'll tell you why, sir. I often see in my dreams—perhaps you know that—the late Agrippina Ivanovna—may hers be the Kingdom of Heaven!—far away, but I never can catch her. I run after her, but I never can catch her. But last night I saw her, she was standing half way round and laughed at me—then I ran after her, and I caught her. When I did that, she turned full round to me and said, '"Well, now, Baz, you have caught me at last."'

'And what conclusion do you draw from that, sir?'

'I draw the conclusion that we are going to be together again very soon, and I dare to say, Glory be to God for it! glory be to God Almighty.' And then he shouted, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,* now and ever, world without end. Amen.'

He began crossing himself hard; I could not get him to speak any more, and there was nothing left for me to do, but to go away.

My host arrived the next day. When I talked to him about the Brigadier, and about my visit to him, he told me that he knew his history well, and that he also knew Madame Lomoff, and had the letter which the Brigadier had addressed to that lady, and in consequence of which she had made for him the provision that he was at present enjoying. He hunted about among his papers, and at last found the letter in question. I copy it out here word for word, except that I have corrected the spelling. The Brigadier wrote as incorrectly as

* The Russian Church, like all the other Eastern Churches, does not use the words, 'as it was in the beginning,' which they regard as an objectionable interpolation.

his contemporaries, and there is no use in adhering to these blunders, without which the letter is quite characteristic enough of its period.

'Respected Madam,

'After the decease of my late friend, your aunt, upon the 16th of May, in the year 1815, I did myself the honour of addressing to you two letters, dated respectively the 1st of June and the 16th of July of the same year. In these letters, I gave vent to all the feelings of my soul, and the emotions of my heart, and portrayed my cruel and indeed pitiable despair. These two letters were committed to the public post and registered, whence I cannot doubt that they have reached your hands. I had trusted that the freedom of my expressions might have attracted your benevolent notice, but your goodness has not stooped so low as to regard misfortunes such as mine. Remaining after the loss of my only friend, the late Agrippina Ivanovna, in a situation at once wretched and deplorable, I had been encouraged by her to found all my hopes upon your generosity. When she felt the end of life drawing near, she uttered words which I can no more forget than if they had been engraved upon her tomb. "My friend, I have been thine evil angel, and the cause of all thy misfortunes. I feel what sacrifices thou hast made for me, and that in return for them I am leaving thee stripped and bare like a worm. Go to Raïssa Paulovna, implore of her, she has a feeling heart, and I am sure that she will not leave thee without help in thy loneliness."

'Madam, I call to witness Him Who created the world that these were her words, and that it is she who is now appealing to you through me. Assured in my esteem for your virtues I confidently addressed to you in the first place my letters of supplication. After a period of painful expectation I have received no answer. Unfortunate as I am, what could I think? My position appeared still more hopeless. I no longer knew what to do, whither to go, or whom to entreat. My reason went astray, my mind wandered. At length Providence, to lay me prostrate and to punish me with a greater severity,

was pleased to direct my thoughts to your other aunt, now also departed, Theodoulia Ivanovna, the sister of Agrippina Ivanovna—offspring of the same breast, but not of the same heart. I remembered that for more than twenty years I had been devoted to the family of Lomoff, and to Theodoulia Ivanovna, who always addressed her sister Agrippina as her "heart's darling," and myself as the honoured support of the family. All this I figured to myself in the speaking silence of long and sad nights, broken by groans and tears, and I said to myself, "The step must be taken." I addressed myself accordingly, by letter, to the said Theodoulia, and received from her a positive assurance that any member of the Lomoff family would share with me their last crust of bread. On the faith of this promise I gathered together what poor wrecks there remained of my property, and betook myself hopefully to Theodoulia. The presents which I brought her, and which exceeded three hundred roubles in value, were received by her with marked satisfaction. She was afterwards pleased to take all that I had, for the avowed purpose of keeping it for me, and my respect for her prevented my offering any opposition to this course. You ask me, Madam, how I could entertain such a confidence? To this I can only answer that she was a member of the Lomoff family and the sister of Agrippina. Alas! all my money was soon gone, and I found that the hope which I had based upon Theodoulia's assurance of her willingness to share with me her last crust was vain and deceitful; on the contrary, the rapacious Theodoulia devoured all that I possessed. Upon the 5th of February, being the occasion of the Feast of her Patron Saint, I had the honour of presenting her with ten arshines of green French stuff of the value of five roubles the arshine. The only objects which I ever received from her were white piqué for a waistcoat and a muslin cravat, the which presents she purchased in my presence with my own money. These benefits were all which I ever received from her! Such was her last crust!

'I might with the most perfect truth disclose before you all the malign actions of which Theodoulia ma[d]
and the excessive expenditure to which I

particularly for the fruit and sweetmeats upon which the said Theodoulia regaled herself all day. But I am silent upon these matters lest you should take in evil part such details with regard to a person who is now deceased. Indeed, since it has pleased God to summon her before His own judgment-seat, that which I suffered at her hands no longer subsists in my heart. As it was my duty as a Christian to do, I long ago pardoned her, and I pray God also to pardon her.

'But, honoured Madam, can you make it a reproach against me that I have for so long been so sincere and so faithful a friend of your family, and that I loved Agrippina Ivanovna with a love so great and so insuperable that to her I sacrificed my life, my fortune, my honour; that I placed myself in her power in such a way that I neither could nor would be any longer master of myself or of my own affairs, because to her I had given up all that I was or had. It must be that you know that in the matter of the servant-boy I suffered irreparably, although innocent. After her decease I appealed the case to the Sixth Department of the Senate, and it is still pending. I am still under police observation and the subject of litigation in the Criminal Court. In my position and at my age such disgrace is intolerable, and I can only tranquilize my heart by the reflection at once sweet and bitter, that even since the decease of Agrippina it is still for her sake that I am suffering; and this demonstrates at once the unalterable nature of the love with which I have regarded her and my honourable gratitude for the favours I have received from her.

'In my letters I made you acquainted with the details of the funeral of Agrippina Ivanovna, and informed you that I had spared nothing in order to render this ceremony such as was befitting. For these expenses, for those of the Masses celebrated after the fortieth day, for the unceasing recitation of the Psalms during six weeks, and for other items, including 50 roubles of caution-money advanced by me for the purchase of a tombstone, and which are unfortunately lost owing to my inability to meet the remainder of the cost, I have spent out of my last remaining means, 750 roubles, besides 150 roubles which I paid to the Church for the purchase of the grave.

May thy benevolent soul vouchsafe at length to bend an ear to the voice of a man who is now hopeless and fallen into the depth of the most cruel sufferings. The generosity of thy compassion alone, can call him back to life. If, alas, I still live, it is against my own wishes. I live, but my soul and my heart are dead. I realize my death when I call to mind that which I have been, and that which I am. I have been a soldier, I have served my country loyally and uprightly, as is undoubtedly the duty of every true Russian, and of every faithful subject of the Tzar. For these services, I have been rewarded by marks of distinction. I possessed a fortune consonant with my birth and station. At present I find myself forced to labour hard to gain my daily bread. But more than all do I realise my death, when I call to remembrance the friend whom I have lost. After that loss, what is any longer the worth of life! But destiny cannot be hurried. The earth opens not to receive the hapless. For him she seems rather to transform herself into stone. To thee, then, I cry once more, O virtuous soul! Still thou the whisperings of the people. Let it not be said that in return for my unbounded devotion, thou should'st have left me without a roof to shelter my head. Compel the tongues of those who hate and envy us, to sing thy goodness; nay, I would even dare to add in all lowliness, make Agrippina Ivanovna, thy dear and well-beloved aunt, to rejoice beyond the tomb, so that she may listen to my sinful prayers, and in return for thy generous bounties, stretch forth her hands to shield thine head. Give a moment of tranquility to the declining days of a solitary old man who might have looked for a different fate.

I have the honour to be, esteemed Madam, with the most profound respect, your very humble servant,

'BASIL GOUSKOFF,
'Brigadier,
'Knight of St. George.'

Some years later I paid another visit to my friend's country house. I found that the Brigadier had long gone: he had died very soon after I had made his acquaintance. Cucumber

was still flourishing. He took me to Agrippina Ivanovna's grave. There was a large slab, surrounded by an iron railing, and inscribed with a long and pompous epitaph. At the foot of the monument was a mound, surmounted by a wooden cross, already fallen out of the perpendicular, but on which could be read the statement that 'Here lies the servant of God, Basil Gousskoff, Brigadier and Knight.' His remains had found their narrow home at last, close to the remains of that being whom he had loved with a love almost stronger than death.

Art. V.—GREEK HYMNS AND HYMN-WRITERS.

1. *Hymnographie de l'Eglise Grecque, etc.*, par le Cardinal J. B. Pitra. Rome: 1867.
2. *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum*, adornaverunt W. Christ et M. Paranikas. Lipsiae: 1871.
3. *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur, etc.*, von Karl Krumbacher. München: 1897.

THE hymns of the Greek Church are interesting for two reasons in particular,—it was in them that the poetical genius of Byzantium found its highest and truest expression; and it is in the mother tongue of the Church that we may expect to find something of the beginnings of Christian song.

The student of Byzantine poetry will find the most convenient grouping of his subject that which is adopted by Professor Krumbacher in his history of Byzantine literature, viz., Church, secular, and popular poetry. Of course some cross division is unavoidable, but on the whole he may expect to find that classical diction and quantity metre are the characteristics of the second class, while in the first and last classes a more popular idiom is used, and the rhythm is regulated by the accent of everyday speech. These two forms were the natural expression of the

thoughts and aspirations of the times. The first was little more than a literary exercise. It spoke a strange tongue, and was by the very nature of things slow of speech. It could never appeal to the general heart of man or utter its workings. The others used the living speech of Church or people, and while the one dealt with familiar subjects and interests, the other was devoted to the highest argument which can engage the human mind, and was inspired by the spirit of Christian Hellenism.

To the poems of the Neo-Platonist Synesios, of Clement of Alexandria, and of Gregory Nazianzen, and other early Greek Christian poets, we shall in the following pages simply allude; we have no intention of compiling a mere catalogue of names, and no desire to enter into abstruse technical details. All we propose to do is to indicate the leading features in the history of Greek hymnody.

As early as New Testament times, we find apparent references to the use of hymns in the Church. The verse in the epistle to the Ephesians, 'Awake thou that sleepest, and rise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light' is usually regarded as a quotation from a hymn. Twice St. Paul speaks of 'psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.' Professor Christ * considers that in all probability the 'psalms and hymns' refer to the Psalms of David, and the 'spiritual songs' (ᾠδαῖς) to the Song of Moses, etc. We may add that these are still called 'odes' in the Greek service books, and that Matt. xxvi. 30, 'when they had sung a hymn' is usually understood of the second part of the 'hallel' (Ps. cxv-cxviii.) with which the Passover is concluded. At the same time, it is quite in keeping with what we know of early Christian assemblies to suppose that original and even extemporaneous hymns were sung in them. The use of non-canonical hymns in religious assemblies was already in vogue. Philo writes of the Therapeutae, 'Then one stands up and sings an hymn composed in honour of God, either a new one by himself, or an old one by some of the former poets. For the poets have left metres and music of epics and trimeters, odes

* *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum*, p. 20.

sung to music, and hymns, libation hymns and altar hymns, stasima and choric hymns, in many forms of strophe well set in metre. Him the others follow in their ranks, in decent order, all listening in deep silence, except when the endings and refrains have to be sung; then men and women all sing aloud.' * If Philo's history is more sober than his metrics, we may conclude that 'hymns' in our sense of the term were no new thing in the first century. Pliny's account of the Christian assemblies is well known. 'They asserted that this was the chief of their fault, or their error, that they were wont to come together on a stated day before dawn, and sing a song (carmen dicere) to Christ their God.' Eusebius, Origen, and other early writers refer to hymns in honour of Christ, as we shall see. One proof of the popularity of hymns in the early ages of the Church is the fact that the heretics adopted them as a ready means of spreading their doctrines. The instance of Arius will occur to most readers. Eusebius, Clement, but especially Origen, have preserved specimens of these compositions. Of the psalm of the Naassenes Professor Christ remarks that it might almost have served as the model for the third and fourth hymns of Synesios. We give a version in something like the original metre.

'The first general law of the Whole was the Mind before all,
And the second the Chaos poured out abroad from the First-born,
And the third operating law did the soul choose for its portion.
Therefore wrapped in a subtle form as a vesture
Its designed task it laboureth sore, oppressed by death.
And at times it possesseth the kingdom and seeth the light,
And again into anguish cast it waileth sore.
And at times it joys, and at times is judged,
And at times it dies, and at times is born.
A labyrinth trackless, ill-fated one,
It hath entered of woe, and doth wander therein.
Then said Jesus "Behold O Father,
This struggle with evils upon the earth.
It was shapen by thine own Spirit,
And seeks to escape the bitter Chaos,
Yet knoweth not how it may issue find.
For this cause send Me Father.

* *De Vita Contemp.*, p. 901.

I holding the seals will go down to earth,
Through aeons all My pilgrimage make.
All mysteries will I open,
And the forms of the Gods display,
The hidden things of the sacred way,
Calling knowledge to aid, will deliver." '

Many more heretical hymns are referred to by Origen and Eusebius. The result of this fondness of the heretics for them was that among the orthodox hymns fell into disfavour. Origen remarks that the orthodox differed from heretics in singing hymns only to the God over all and His only begotten Son Jesus Christ; but this distinction is not sufficient, as is evident from the hymn of the Naassenes. Eusebius speaks of a Cappadocian bishop Firmilianus suppressing certain hymns in honour of Christ, and substituting others in His praise. The movement against 'human hymns' spread, and from the middle of the third century onward the tendency was to confine Church praise to psalms and canticles. In the selection of canons appended to the Horologion, the 59th of the Council of Laodicea is still quoted, 'Private psalms are not to be used in Church, nor books not received into the canon, but only the canonical books of the Old and New Testament.' Traces of this phase are to be found in the form assumed by the Greek offices. The Psalter and canticles form the nucleus around which all else has gathered. The growth of these accretions was gradual, and was more favoured in some places than in others. Cardinal Pitra has published some interesting narratives bearing on this point. According to one, the monks of the Nitrian desert were true to their character in this matter.

'One of the Abbot Pambo's monks went into Alexandria to dispose of his handiwork. He spent sixteen days there, passing his nights in the porch of St. Mark's Church, where he overheard the service, and learned the *troparia* (versicles). When he came back, the Abbot asked him why he was so troubled, and he answered, "Alas father, we spend our days here in vain in this desert without singing canons* or versicles. For

* The reference to canons is an evident anachronism, as they did not come into use until the eighth century. The Greek Saints' lives, etc., have suffered much from their editing after the Iconoclastic period.

when I was in Alexandria, I saw the use of their church, and how they sing, and I have great sorrow that we too do not sing canons and verses."

'Then the old man answered and said, "Woe is us. For the days are come when the monks will forsake the solid fare ordered by the Holy Spirit, and will follow after songs and tunes. What compunction, what tears, can be born of troparia; what compunction in a monk when he stands in chapel or in his cell, and lifts up his voice as oxen do? For when we stand before God, we should do so in great compunction, and not in elation. For the monks did not come out to this desert to stand before God and be elated, and sing songs, and arrange tunes, and wave their hands, and shift their feet, but we should offer our prayers to God in great fear and trembling, with tears and groanings, with piety, and with compunction and modesty in our voice. Behold, I declare to you, my son, that the days will come when the Christians will destroy the books of the holy Gospels and of the holy Apostles and inspired Prophets, erasing the writings of the Saints, and writing troparia and heathen discourses, and their mind will run to the conversation and discourses of the heathen. It was for this reason that our fathers ordained that the scribes in this desert should not write the lives and words of the ancients on parchment, but on paper, for the coming generation will erase the lives and words of the fathers and write after their will."

'And the brother said, "What, will the manners and traditions of the Christians be changed, and will there be no priests in the churches, that these things should happen?" And the old man answered, "The love of many will wax cold, and there will be no small affliction among the nations."'

Another tells of a Cappadocian Abbot Paul whom a Persian invasion in the fifth century had driven from his monastery. After some wanderings, he joined an Egyptian community, but there found to his sorrow that his cell-mate would not allow him to sing the troparia which he had been in the habit of using. His abbot to whom he appealed, read him a lecture on the ascetic life, and would not permit him to sing his troparia even when he was alone in his cell, warning him that any one who had a care for his soul should beware of the snares of song.

A third narrative shows the steps by which the Greek offices assumed their present form. The Abbots John and Sophronios made a visit to Neilos, Abbot of the monastery on Mt. Sinai. On their arrival, he performed the evening offices substantially as they now stand, but without troparia, etc.

'And I said to the old man, "Why Abbot do you not observe the order of the Catholic and Apostolic Church?" And the old man said to me,

"He that observes not the order of the Catholic and Apostolic Church let him be anathema both in this present life, and in that to come." And I said to him, "Then thou, why dost thou in the evening offices of the Lord sing neither troparia to the 'Lord I cried,' nor a troparion to 'Hail gladdening light,' nor 'God the Lord,' in the canon (*i.e.*, the apodeipnon), hymns of rest (*καθίσματα ἀναπαύσιμα*) to the portions of the psalter, nor troparia to the Song of the Three Children?"'*

We may conclude that the insertion of hymns in the service was gradually resumed after its suppression in the third and fourth centuries. There are other facts which support this view. The great field of the hymn-writers was not the Liturgy, the form of which was fixed at a comparatively early date by the Fathers Basil and Chrysostom, but the offices of the Horologion, the Greek Breviary. The oldest additions to canonical matter were simple responses. The Apostolic Constitutions speak of the Psalms being sung by a precentor, and the people joining in the akrostichia, *i.e.* repeating the final lines as a refrain. Sophronios says that Epiphanios, Basil, and Chrysostom added 'exclamations' (*ἐκφωνήσεις*) to the Liturgy. These were no doubt such forms as the Doxology, as 'In peace let us beseech the Lord,' as *Kyrie eleison*, which has been preserved in its original tongue by the Western church. Again, many technical terms in Byzantine hymnography are to be explained not by the form of the pieces they denote, but by the position they occupy in the office, or the posture assumed by the worshippers when they sang them. *Kathismata* are the verses sung sitting between the sections of the Psalter, or *staseis*, at which the choir stood. *Apolytikia* are similar verses attached to the *Nunc dimittis* (Νῦν ἀπολύεις) and so on. The same process may be traced in the form of the hymns as it advances from the prose-like responses through the irregular rhythm of the earlier pieces to the exact and elaborate rhythms of the later canons and verses.

Hymns of one or more verses thus came to be connected with parts of the offices, and from the notices cited above, we may conclude that their use was generally established in the more important centres by the middle of the sixth century. We have

---

* *Pitra*, pp. 42-44: *Christ and Paranikas*, pp. xxix.-xxxi., where the originals are quoted.

some Church hymns which are older than this. The well known 'Hymn of the Lights' is mentioned by St. Basil, and as may be gathered from the words of the Abbots John and Sophronios, was in their day regarded as canonical, and furnished with versicles of its own. Keble's translation, 'Hail gladdening light' has found a place in many of our hymn-books. We give the original as divided in Professor Christ's *Anthology*, which read like modern Greek according to the accents, will give a better idea of the form of the oldest Greek hymns than any explanation of ours could.

Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης
ἀθανάτου πατρὸς οὐρανίου
ἁγίου, μάκαρος,
Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ,
ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλίου δύσιν,
ἰδόντες φῶς ἑσπερινὸν,
ὑμνοῦμεν πατέρα, υἱὸν
καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα Θεόν.
Ἄξιος εἶ ἐν πᾶσι καιροῖς
ὑμνεῖσθαι φωναῖς αἰσίαις,
υἱὲ Θεοῦ, ζωὴν ὁ διδούς·
διὸ κόσμος σε δοξάζει.

The morning hymn 'Glory to God in the highest,' and the evening hymn 'Children praise the Lord, praise the name of the Lord', are of equal antiquity, and have passed in whole or part into the services of the West.

Of the hymn writers before the time of Justinian we know little. Anthimos and Timokles are said to have been the first writers of troparia. A hymn of St. Auxentios is preserved by his biographer, and the service books contain numerous hymns by John the Monk, whom some assign to this period. But for the most part, these early hymns are difficult to identify. They were often given to the world anonymously; they were remodelled, or displaced in favour of later productions. Byzantine hymnography was a vigorous growth. So the praise of God abounded, the singers, the 'humble' as many styled themselves, were forgotten. Among the numerous anonymous verses in the service books, there may well be many of this period, but more we cannot say.

The form then cultivated was the troparion or verse. Thought and form are equally simple, and the freshness of these early pieces is a grateful relief from the painful elaboration of a later period. We quote the following, which may well be ancient :—

> 'Hail the day of Resurrection.
> Let us array us for the rejoicings.
> And each other let us embrace, saying,
> Brethren, even to those that hate us.
> Yea, for sake of the rising again let us
> All offences now pardon.
> And thus let us cry aloud—
> The Christ is risen from the dead,
> In death grim Death beneath foot trampling ;
> And to the tomb's inhabitants
> He grants immortality.'

One of the earliest pieces of which the author is known is 'The only-begotten Son and Word of God,' which forms part of the second antiphon in the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, and is ascribed to the Emperor Justinian, whose century and the following was the greatest period of Greek hymnody. Romanos, Sergios, and Sophronios together with Andreas Pyrrhos, Byzantios, and others are among the great names of this time.

The first named has been termed 'the Pindar of rhythmical poetry' by a French scholar, M. Bouvy. His poetical powers are said to have been a veritable gift. The Menology tells how the Virgin appeared to him one Christmas eve, in a dream, and gave him a paper volume saying 'Take the paper and eat it.' Whereupon he wakened from his sleep, and going into the church, ascended the ambon, and began to sing his famous Christmas hymn. He is said to have written more than a thousand hymns. There is a dispute among critics as to whether the Emperor Anastasios, under whom he is said to have flourished, is the first or second of that name. Professor Krumbacher, after considering the evidence at our disposal, is led to favour the earlier date both on historical and æsthetic grounds. Of Romanos' thousand hymns only a few remain. Some, like his Christmas hymn, are now represented in the service books by mere fragments of a verse or two.

'Tis to-day the Virgin mild
Giveth birth to the Head of all being,
And the earth the narrow cave
To Him inaccessible proffers.
Angel bands unite with shepherds
Telling His praises.
With the star for guide the wise men
Fare on their journey.
'Tis for our sakes there is born now
The little infant, from all eternity God.'

The same fate has overtaken another famous hymn.

' My soul, O my soul get thee up. Why dost thou slumber?
The end cometh shortly, and thou wilt sore be troubled.
Be sober again, so will Christ our God be merciful,
Who in all places is, and who all things doth fill.'

For the mutilation of the hymns of Romanos we have to thank the depraved taste of later times. He was not without admirers, but he was too simple and natural for those infected with classicality, and more able to appreciate elaboration than inspiration. 'For the commentators on religious poetry, Zonaras, Prodromos and the rest, Romanos seems as good as non-existent. The men after their hearts were Gregory Nazianzen, John of Damascus, and Kosmas. With them there was more opportunity for pouring out their schoolboy learning than his grand yet popular and simple poetry afforded.'*

The fertility of Romanos was unbounded. He wrote hymns for all the festivals of the year, and for many Saints' days, all marked by dramatic force, richness of idea, and plain nervous expression. He is not free from the fault of his race, length; yet in each of his twenty-four strophes, his favourite form, there is something to sustain our interest. We may turn from him after glancing at his hymn on the twelve Apostles. It consists of an introductory verse followed by twenty-four strophes, the initial letters of which form the acrostich, τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ ὁ ψαλμός. The subject is our Lord's charge to the Apostles. There is a human interest both in the writer's own meditations and in his treatment of the various characters, which makes the hymn wonder-

* Krumbacher, p. 668.

fully fresh and captivating, especially when one comes upon it after those of later writers, as in Professor Christ's Anthology.

'Make strong my tongue, my Saviour;
Open Thou wide my mouth,
And having filled it, stir Thou my heart up
That what I say I may follow,
What things I do teach the first may practise.
For he that teacheth and doeth, He saith, is great in the kingdom.
If then I say, but do not,
As re-echoing brass I shall counted be.
Wherefore to utter things bounden,
And do things fitting, grant Thou me,
Who only knowest the hearts of men.

. . . .

These His own lambs the flock's chiefest Shepherd—
Those whom fear wide had scattered
In the day of the Cross—He gathered after His rising again.
For, standing high up on the mountain,
To His flock He made music, a song of sweetness,
Giving them heart, as to weakness somewhat speaking in parables.
He cried out saying, "Take courage.
For alone I the world have overcome.
And I the wolves have driven away.
With Me was no man: alone was I,
Who only know the hearts of men.

"Go ye forth then unto every nation.
And the seed of repentance
Casting into the earth, with teachings water copiously.
See to it, Peter, how thou instructest,
Remembering thine own fault, for all men feeling,
Not austerely because of the maid who did shame thee.
And if anger fall upon thee,
Call the voice of the cock to remembrance,
And of thy tears be thou mindful
In whose streams I washed out thy transgression,
Who only know the hearts of men.

"Lovest Me, Peter? Do My commandment.
To my flock be a shepherd,
And love whom I do love, with erring men sympathising,
Remembering My loving kindness toward thee.
For though thrice thou deniedst Me, I received thee.
Thou hast a robber door-keeper in Paradise, encouraging th

To him send thou whom thou choosest.
By you Adam makes his return to Me,
And cries 'The Creator has given me,
The thief, the door, Cephas the keys, to guard,
Who only knoweth the hearts of men.'"'

The following lines are ascribed to Anastasios, another writer of this period.

'To be quiet, my brethren, give heed. Henceforth
Unto him that lies there be not troublesome;
But be gentle, all tumult bidding begone,
And behold with your eyes the great mystery.
In the awful hour remain silently,
That by peace attended
Depart may the spirit.
To a conflict great it is drawing nigh,
And fearing great fear, importunes Christ.'

We may add a hymn on an earthquake by another sixth century writer, St. Symeon Stylites the younger.

'When the earth by the fear of Thine anger was troubled,
The mountains and hills were shaken together, O Lord.
But with an eye of compassion looking upon us,
Be not in anger wroth against us, Lord.
On Thine own hand's work show Thy compassion;
From the earthquake's dread menace set us free,
Thou that art good and the Lover of men.'

Historical events are often recorded in Greek hymns. The most famous historical hymn of all, the *Hymnos Akathistos* of the Patriarch Sergios, belongs to this period. The orthodox view of its origin and authorship is well stated by the late k. Papparregopoulos.*

'In 626, the Avars allied themselves with the Persians, and attacked the capital while the Emperor was campaigning in Asia, but were compelled to retire in disorder after a forty days' siege. Emperor, Patriarch, and people, all with one accord ascribed this triumph to the protection of the All-Holy Theotokos, the Guardian of the city. As an eternal memorial of their gratitude they decreed the office of the Hymnos Akathistos, which is still in use among us, and was subsequently connected with the memory of the two sieges in which the Arabs were bravely driven back from the

* *Histoire de la Civilisation Hellénique*, cap. iii.

City. What Greek does not know that incense like hymn which is sung at intervals in the office in honour of the peculiar guardian of the Christian people?

> "Thou Leader invincible, songs of praise,
> Thou Freer from terrors, thanks I raise,
> I, Thy City, Mother of God to Thee.
> Thou who possessest might invincible
> Out of all dangers do Thou deliver me.
> Hail Bride without wedlock, so shall I cry to Thee.""

Other critics have doubted whether the hymn be not later than all these sieges, and in fact a hymn of triumph over the enemies of the Church's own household. The question is probably insoluble. The name Akathistos is due to the fact that the hymn is sung standing, the converse, in short, of Kathisma. The verse translated above is the introductory one, and is often used as a versicle in other places. It is followed by twelve long, alternated with as many short, oikoi or stanzas, the initial letters of which form an alphabetical acrostich. In the present form of the office, the hymn is divided into sections of six stanzas each prefaced and concluded with the opening verse. A variety of other matter is introduced, including a canon by Joseph the Hymnographer. The rhymes are sometimes very elaborate, almost worthy to rank beside those of St. Bernard's *De Contemptu Mundi.*

Sergios' contemporary, Sophronios, Patriarch of Jerusalem, also wrote hymns which found a place in the Church services. More characteristic of him are perhaps his Anacreontic poems on St. Paul and St. Thecla, and a piece of some topographical interest 'On the desire which he had for the Holy City and its venerable places.'

With the eighth century, Byzantine hymn writing entered on a new phase. The representative form was no longer the troparion, or the kontakion such as Romanos cultivated, but the canon. We have seen already that the word was used of an Office in the narrative of the Abbots John and Sophronios, and also of the nine odes or canticles from the Old and New Testaments. The term was now applied to hymns sung in connection with these latter. They consisted strictly of nine 'odes,' composed in

turn of several strophes, and each ode in a different metre. In many cases, the second ode, corresponding to Moses' charge to Israel, is omitted by the scribes, or is not supplied by the writer, unless the canon is meant for use in Lent, owing to the sombre nature of the subject and the tone to which it is sung. According to Cardinal Pitra, this, like other bad practices, dates from the twelfth century and the Schism. The first writer of canons was Andrew of Crete, who composed the Great Canon. After an introduction deploring his sins, he goes on to enumerate the most notable sinners, etc., mentioned in the Scriptures. The length of his poem is proverbial. One critic speaks of the good Bishop's dryness and wordiness not without reason, and the frankness of his confessions is not always to edification. John of Damascus, the last of the Fathers, also wrote many canons. Like Sophronios, he did much to arrange and improve the service-books, especially the *Oktoëchos*, or collection of hymns for Sundays arranged according to the eight musical tones. Another prolific writer of canons was his friend Kosmas, bishop of Maiuma in Phoenicia. We translate the eighth ode (corresponding to the Song of the Three Children) of his canon for the Exaltation of the Cross.

'Bless the Name ye children
Like numbered with the Trinity
Of the Creator, Father and God,
And hymn the Word who to the earth descended,
And the fire which changed to dew's distillation,
And on high exalt Him
Who life unto all
Affords, the Spirit all-holiest
Throughout all ages.

'Him on Cross uplifted
With His precious blood sprinkled,
Him the Incarnate Word of God
Loud praise all ye Powers in the heavens residing,
And mortals' recall unto bliss now celebrate.
Ye peoples worship
The Cross of Christ,
Whereby the world hath resurrection
Throughout all ages.

**'Dwellers on the earth here,
And in grace's family numbered
Exalt the Cross on which Christ once hung
With victor palms and holy pomp ; the spear, too,
Which the side of God's Word did pierce.
Let all nations witness
What salvation God hath wrought,
And beholding, glory give
Throughout all ages.**

**'Ye by God's election
Called to kingship be jubilant
Ye faithful lords of Christian folk,
And boast in that which weapon is and trophy,
The precious Cross from Godward apportioned you.
In this sign the boldness
Of nations hostile
Fierce onset daring shall scattered be
Throughout all ages.'**

The canon now became the form most affected by ecclesiastical poets. It is interesting to find older versions of the Triodion, or songs for the moveable feasts, consisting of the older form of hymns, while later recensions are entirely occupied by canons. Dr. Krumbacher mentions a fragment which is in a transitional form, partly hymns and partly canons (p. 686). Cardinal Pitra says (p. 21), 'The office of each day, combined with the periodically recurring hymns of the Oktoêchos, usually contains three canons in the printed books. In manuscripts, it is not uncommon to find four or five; while popular feasts have as many as seven, eight, or nine canons.' This form of composition was also turned to profane uses, and not a few examples survive.

From this time onward, the hymn-writers are legion, and contribute the greater number of the hymns which now find a place in the service books. Regular schools of hymnody sprang up, in Sicily, in Syria, and in Constantinople, where the monastery of the Studion was the centre for this as for other arts. The leading representatives of this school are the heroic Patriarch Methodios and Theodore Studites. The latter's hymn on the martyrs is not without charm.

'Celebrating the memory of the martyrs,
To the Lord let us send up our hymns
Being glad on this day with a holy joy.

'Fearing neither sword nor firebrands,
Strong in the faith, victorious ones,
In This ye tyrants overthrew.

'In death's stead life receiving,
Leap for joy ye dwellers in the heavens,
Glorious champions of Christ our God.

'Christ, that o'er death and life hast lordship,
To those that in faith this life depart
Grant with Thy saints eternal rest.'

Theodore's brother Joseph, who became bishop of Thessalonica, and was martyred under the iconoclast Emperor Theophilos, is to be distinguished from Joseph the Hymnographer, famous both for his adventurous life and for his industry. Some two hundred canons in the *Menaia* are from his pen. Two other writers of this school noted in the history of the time are the brothers Theophanes and Theodore 'the branded,' so called from their cruel treatment by the Emperor Theophilos. The former bulks more largely than any other writer in the service books. An interesting figure in this society is one of the few Byzantine literary women, Kasia or Kassiana, the heroine of the famous scene with the Emperor Theophilos. When with the golden apple in his hand, he was reviewing the noble maidens from whom he was to choose his consort, he stopped before Kasia, and ventured the remark, 'How much evil has flowed from woman,' she promptly retorted, 'But in woman too is the source of better things.' The retort probably cost her the diadem. She built a monastery, in which she spent her life; and wrote hymns, in addition to numerous poems and epigrams, which prove her to have been endowed with no small powers. Her hymn for Christmas draws an ingenious parallel between Caesar's kingdom and God's.

'When Augustus was monarch on the earth,
The many rules of men surceased.
When Thou becamest man by the Holy Maid,
The idol's many gods had end.

Under one wordly sovereignty
The cities were gathered.
Under one Lord's divinity
The nations believed.
The peoples were described at Caesar's decree.
On us faithful is inscribed Divinity's name,
Thine, who becamest man, our God.
Great is Thy mercy, O Lord. Glory to Thee!'

Her hymn for Wednesday in Holy Week has something of the old ring about it.

'O Lord, the woman fallen among manifold sins
Perceiving Thy divinity,
Assumes the office of Myrrh-bearer,
And mourning beareth myrrh to Thee before the day of Thy burial,
Saying, Woe is me, for night is about me
The sting of passion, twilight and moonless dark,
Even love of transgression.
Accept, I entreat, my tears' fountains,
Who in vapours aloft drawest the waters of Ocean.
Bow down, I pray, and give ear to my heart's bitter groanings,
Thou who didst bend the heavens, emptying Thee of Thy glory.
I will kiss Thy undefiled feet,
And will wipe them dry again
With the curling locks of my head,
The feet whose dread sound Eve in Paradise
Heard in her ears, and hid for terror.
The fulness of my sins, and the abysses of Thy judgments
Who can explore, Soul-saver, Deliverer mine!
Turn not Thy sight from Thy servant,
Thou whose compassion is infinite.'

Her wooer, Theophilos, also wrote hymns, and one of them, on Palm Sunday, has been received into the Triodion in spite of his iconoclasm. Its profession of orthodoxy, however, is most uncompromising and unpoetical. Two more imperial hymn-writers contribute to the service books—Leo the Wise, whose morning hymn describes the Resurrection and the events following, and Constantine VII., who wrote a set of *exaposteilaria*, or verses to follow the Canon. Leo appears to better advantage in his 'Ode of Compunction,' a meditation on the terrors of death and the judgment.

To mention the hymn-writers of this and succeeding periods would be merely to repeat the names of those otherwise famous in learned Byzantium, and would be of little further interest. The old spiritual afflatus was almost entirely gone. The revival of classical studies, which began with the cessation of the Iconoclastic struggle, made itself felt here as in other departments of Byzantine life, not altogether for the best. Elaborate versification, 'precious' diction, theological subtilty, and painfulness, were more esteemed than sincerity and plainness. A sign of the times was the custom of writing commentaries on sacred poetry. Kosmas had already commented on that of Gregory Nazianzen. Zonaras, Theodore Prodromos, John Glykys, and others, wrote elaborate commentaries on the more learned hymn writers, which are of historical importance. Equally significant is the fact that John of Damascus wrote his three canons for Christmas, Epiphany, and Pentecost in iambic trimeters. The acrostich was no longer the alphabet, or at most an indication of the writer's name, but often an heroic couplet or a troparion. In a canon for Maundy Thursday, Kosmas frankly declares, 'For Great Thursday I will write a long hymn.' The ingenuity which contrives to move within such fetters may excite our wonder, but can do no more. Pedantry was not only the bane of later Byzantine hymn-writing, but, what was worse, it led to the neglect of the earlier writers. What the Iconoclastic struggle and its confusions had not destroyed, succeeding generations suffered to moulder unheeded. As we have already said, the process can be traced by which the older collections of hymns were gradually supplanted by collections of canons. The hymns so deposed survived only in isolated fragments as versicles. Others were altered and re-arranged beyond recognition. Collections of hymns for literary purposes were the rarest exception.* For the most part they were recorded solely in service books, and these, after experiencing the devouring usage, as Cardinal Pitra calls it, of the choir, were cast aside. The final redaction of the service books at the beginning of the eleventh century removed a great incentive to hymn-writing, yet here and there it long continued to be culti-

* Krumbacher, p. 685.

vated. The last great school of sacred poetry was founded by the younger Neilos at Grotto Ferrata, near Rome, and flourished far into the twelfth century. Professor Christ states that the latest writer whose work finds a place in the service books is the Peloponnesian Nicolas Malaxas, who lived in the fifteenth century (p. 38).

It is a commonplace that religious poetry is never so interesting as secular. It deals with only one human interest—an interest of surpassing greatness, yet one only. The consequence is that it is soon exhausted, and each succeeding generation finds originality harder. This is tenfold truer of ecclesiastical poetry. There the poet is further confined by the limits of orthodoxy, and must beware lest his desire for originality betray him not into daring but into heresy. He is forced to walk in the old paths and utter the old form of sound words. Goethe somewhere speaks of the originality of modern writers consisting not in their having anything absolutely new to say, but in their being able to put it as if it had never been said before. We are reminded of this saying in reading the later Greek hymn-writers. Their striving after effect too often reminds us that what they have to say has indeed been said before, not so finely, perhaps, but better. The gift is not to be purchased. A verse of Romanos is worth pages by some others.

This weakness is not redeemed by the excessive number of narrative and occasional hymns which was naturally required. No learning or zeal can rid itself of the shackles imposed by a set subject whose treatment has become traditional. In Kosmas' canons and odes, which Professor Christ quotes pretty fully, the 'Three Children of Babylon' recur with monotonous iteration. In many other instances, given the occasion for which a hymn is intended, we can tell at once how it will begin and how it will end. Often we cannot escape the feeling that the same materials are being used up again and again, re-arranged and furbished to suit the occasion. True lyric feeling is often lacking. For this we must turn, at least in the later period, to pieces which were not meant for Church use. Leo's hymns are poor and lifeless compared with his 'Ode of Compunction.' At the same time there are many hymns of great beauty, not a few

of which, such as 'The day is past and over,' and 'Fierce was the wild billow,' by St. Anatolios, or St. Stephen Sabaites' hymn, 'Art thou weary, art thou languid,' are familiar to English readers.

Of the language of Greek hymns it is somewhat difficult to speak. If we miss the sonorous majesty of Latin hymns, the fault is our own. Prejudiced as we are in favour of classical metre, and unfamiliar with the accentuation of the language, which, with the rarest exceptions, was observed in Greek hymns, we must inevitably miss many assonances and rhythms which constitute their charm. When all has been said, the language is flexible, varied, and truly Hellenic. In the earlier writers it is simple and Biblical. Later, when classical studies revived, the Church poets are as profuse of ancient forms as Synesios and the other imitators of the classical poets. One thing is noticeable, theological terms, which sound barbarous in a translation, seem perfectly natural in Greek. Perhaps the most wonderful piece of diction is to be found in the *Hymnos Akathistos*, in which the assonances, the plays upon words, and the rhymes, must be read to be appreciated. This power of language was often a snare, and betrayed many into mere punning. The following on St. Basil may perhaps plead irresistible temptation :—

> Ὁ *ἐπωνύμως κληθεὶς τῆς βασιλείας*
> *ὅτε τὸ βασίλειον σὺ ἱεράτευμα,*
> *τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔθνος ἅγιον*
> *φιλοσοφίᾳ*
> *καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ, πάτερ, ἐποίμανας,*
> *τότε διαδήματι σὲ κατεκόσμησε*
> *τῆς βασιλείας βασίλειε,*
> *βασιλευόντων*
> *ὁ βασιλεύων καὶ πάντων κύριος,*
> *ὁ τῷ τεκόντι συννοούμενος*
> *ἀϊδίως υἱὸς καὶ συνάναρχος,*
> *ὃν ἱκέτευε σῶσαι καὶ φωτίσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.*

Every variety of metre has been exhausted in these hymns. As a general rule several kinds of verses are employed in the course of each strophe, so that the result is much more irregular than our stanzas. What may thus be lost in dignity and severity, is more than gained in flexibility and lightness. In

most hymns the form once adopted is adhered to with great consistency strophe after strophe. The more famous became the models for later writers. The opening words of the *heirmos*, or model, are prefixed to the hymn, which follows it line for line. These *heirmoi* are collected in a volume, the Heirmologion. Both in the older original hymns and the later imitations, slight variations often occur, sometimes with surprising effect. It is, however, unsafe to be too positive in this matter, as our texts are far from perfect. Once we become accustomed to the rhythms, we cannot but acknowledge their beauty, changing in the most unexpected manners, never becoming heavy or monotonous, now breaking out in jubilant tones, now ending in some haunting refrain.

Turning to the contents, what some may consider a characteristic of Greek hymns, is their introduction of polemics. It was only natural that men who had lived through the troubles of the Iconoclastic controversy should give vent to their feelings with some frankness. The writers of the Studion were but human; they or their friends had for conscience toward God endured grief, suffering wrongfully; and it is no wonder if their bitter memories sometimes find expression. We are not surprised to find that the only two hymns of the Patriarch Photios quoted in Professor Christ's collection are fiercely polemical (they are both on St. Methodios). Such occasions as the Sunday of Orthodoxy, the Fathers in council at Nicaea, etc., were only too tempting. A verse on St. Basil speaks of him inflicting a death wound on heresies hateful to God. One on St. Cyril describes him as rooting up the tares of Nestorios. These and the like pale into insignificance beside the canon on our Lady of the Iberians, which Cardinal Pitra quotes in his introduction (p. 14). The Emperor Theophilos is described as godless and hated of God; his officials as devils' satellites, hateful to God, like-minded with their Lord. But the true spirit of Greek hymnology does not reside in such passages, but in its deep mysticism, and its endeavours after purity of life. It is when it turns from the confusions of earth and is possessed of eternal mysteries that its true nature is revealed.

Another grateful feature is the national feeling which asserts itself here and there. We have already alluded to hymns on historical events, and the Hymnos Akathistos, the Hellenic *Te Deum.* There are many others which support the contention that the Church was a centre of national life in the Byzantine Empire. The hymns on St. Constantine are perhaps the most striking example. An ancient verse on the Exaltation of the Cross runs as follows :—

> Thou that of Thine own will wast raised aloft on the Cross,
> Unto the kingdom new, which is called after Thy name
> Show Thy compassions' abundance, Christ our God.
> Cause to rejoice in Thy strength
> Our Imperial faithful lords,
> Victory granting to them
> Over all of their foemen.
> Thee on their side may they have
> Weapon pacific, invincible trophy.

There are many other matters, such as the music of these hymns, and their adoption in other Christian countries, to mention only the chief, which invite attention ; but space does not allow us to do more than to refer to them before passing from this interesting and little known subject.

WILLIAM METCALFE.

ART. VI.—EARL-MARISCHAL AND FIELD-MARSHAL.

Some Letters of the Last Earl-Marischal.

AMONG the Jacobites of the eighteenth century there are no more interesting figures than the two brothers Keith, the last Earl-Marischal of Scotland, and he who became the trusted Field-Marshal of Frederick the Great. Their story combines all the romance with which high descent, youthful enthusiasm, and great sacrifices enhance the misfortunes of the votaries of a fallen cause, with the respect that attends on

the courageous carving out of a new career in foreign lands, on intimate association with the greatest practical and literary intellects of the age, on high character and honourable bearing in all vicissitudes, on a soldier's death, and on restoration to lands and honours for unique service in exile to the native land, too late, alas! to do more than gild with a last ray the clouded sunset of an ancient line.

No Scottish house, amid all the glorious traditions of Highland clans and Lowland families, has a more honourable record than that of Keith. For 700 years complete it held the proud position of Marshal of Scotland; its titles of honour—first lordship and then earldom—were unique in being taken not from territorial possessions, but from the high office of State it never demitted, and there is honourable pride in the explanation of its annalist that, if, in comparison with others, the Keiths were few in the number of cadet families, and behind in the boast of a 'pridefu' kin,' the reason was that 'Having been in every action, and by virtue of their office of Marischal present at and attended by their friends in every battle, the males were seldom allowed to increase to any considerable number.'

From the day when the Danes were broken at Barry, and the royal fingers of Malcolm II. traced in the blood of Camus, their commander, on the virgin shield of Robert Keith, the lines which became the three pallets on the bloody chief, to the misty morning when James Keith, *pugnans ut heroas decet*, fell with an Austrian bullet in his heart, the Keiths were ever to the front in the sternest stress of battle, and their chaste and simple shield showed none of the stains of treachery and dishonour that dim the lustre of other proud bearings to those who know the past.

A curious old tradition makes the Lowland house of Keith of kin to the Clan Chattan of Badenoch, and narrates how the race fought the Romans in the Hercynian forest, and came by Katwyck on the Rhine, and Katwyck on the coast of Holland, to their first settlement in Caithness, from whence they were driven to a refuge in the Highland hills. Mythological as this may be, there are other curious traditions of common origin between certain Highland clans and Lowland houses (for

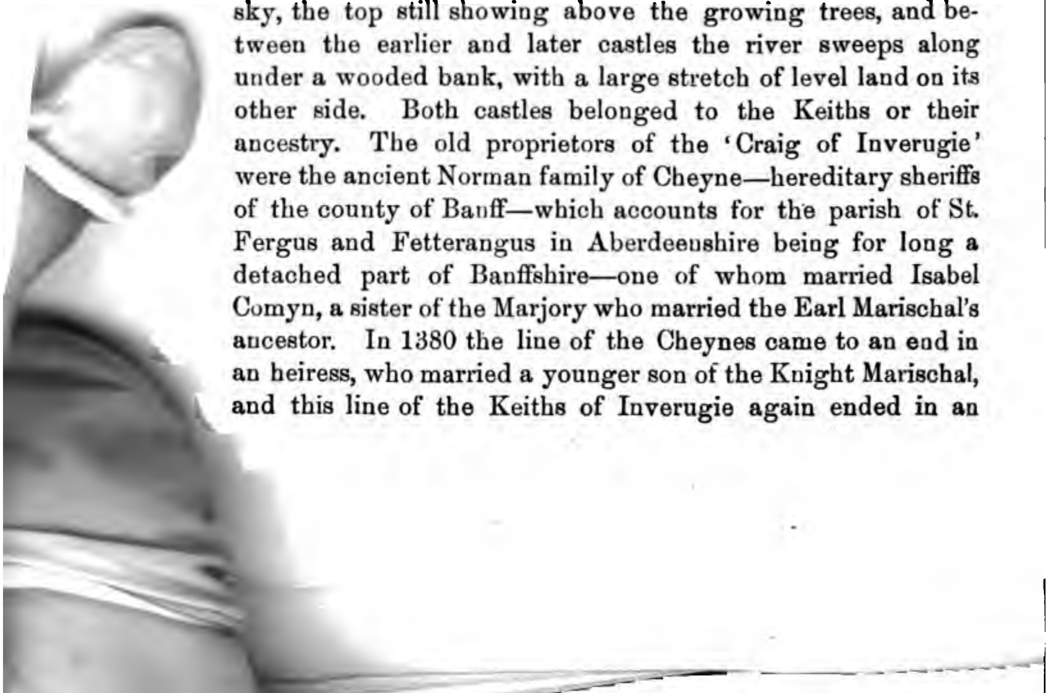
example, the Forbeses and Mackays), but whether the first Keith was of the blood of Clan Chattan or a Norman knight from the South, his descendants were Scotsmen to the core. Sir Robert Keith, uncle of the 'good Sir James of Douglas,' was a steadfast adherent of King Robert Bruce, stood by him in the fight at Inverury which reduced the North, and led the Scottish cavalry in the well-timed charge which scattered the English archery at Bannockburn. The eldest son of the time fought at Otterburn, and took Ralph Percy prisoner, while one of his sons 'commanded the horse, and made great slaughter of the Highland rebels' on 'the red Harlaw.' Another eldest son, who died before his father, 'fought most valiantly at Flodden field, where he left Sir William Keith of Inverugie, and Sir John Keith of Ludquharn, with other friends.' But it was not only on these and many another stricken field that the Keiths proved their quality. The family character embraced the gift of sound judgment, and to the house of Keith alone belongs the high honour of devoting a large proportion of what it gained from the spoils of a corrupt Church to the service of higher learning, and linking its name with a distinguished university. Of the Earl-Marischal of James III's days, it is said: 'He was of a calm temper, profound judgment, and inviolable honesty, always for moderating and extinguishing divisions, and from the ordinary expressions he made use of in giving counsel, he was called 'Hearken and take heed.' His son made the decisive declaration in Parliament which secured the adoption of the Confession of 1560, and his grandson, who went on the embassy to Denmark to bring Queen Anne to Scotland, was the founder of Marischal College in Aberdeen, and the author of the haughty inscription placed on its walls, on the Tower on the lands of Deer, and on his houses in Peterhead, 'They say, what say they? let them say.'

The earliest possessions of the family were probably the lands of Keith Marischal in East Lothian, but although at one time the 'Earl-Marischal's fortune exceeded any possessed by a Scots subject,' and included lands in the seven shires of Haddington, Linlithgow, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin,

and Caithness, the country with which it was to be most intimately associated was the coast of Kincardineshire and the lowlands of Aberdeenshire. The services of Sir Robert Keith to King Robert at Inverurie were recognised by the grant of the neighbouring lands of Hallforest, the nucleus of the future Earldom of Kintore. Sir Robert's grandmother had been Marjory Comyn, a daughter of the first Comyn, Earl of Buchan, and Marjory, the heiress of Fergus, the last Celtic Earl, and upon the forfeiture of their representative, the king bestowed upon Keith 'the greatest part of his cousin, the Earl of Buchan's, lands.' The chief mediæval stronghold of the family was the great castle on the impregnable cliff of Dunottar, but the region most closely entwined with their later fortunes, and most eloquent with associations of their fall, is that lying in the north-east of Aberdeenshire, to which the letters which follow mainly relate.

In the extreme north-east corner of Scotland, where the Keith Inch, on which once stood a castle of the Earl-Marischal built on the model of the palace of the King of Denmark, juts out into the deep blue and green of the wide North Sea, stands the red granite town of Peterhead. The sharp eye of Cromwell's officers fixed upon it as the place 'most commodious for a port to all the northern seas,' and now the great bay to the south has its southern shores covered with the walls and stores of a great prison, and is being slowly converted into a huge harbour of refuge. To the north the coast trends away in a succession of sandhills, with a rock and a dangerous reef here and there, to Rattray Point and Kinnaird Head. Inland lies the broad expanse of Buchan, once described by Dr. John Hill Burton as 'a spreading of peat-moss on a cake of granite,' but now all chequered with fields, dotted perhaps more closely than any other part of Scotland with the substantial buildings of small farms, and dominated, if the word can be used of so modest an elevation, by the heather-covered hill of Mermond, with the white horse on one flank, and the white stag on another. About two miles from Peterhead the Ugie flows through the sandhills to the sea, and near its mouth could be traced the foundations of an old forgotten

castle. Ascending the stream, one comes on a scene of quiet beauty, hidden in the folds of the surrounding ground, and rich in its memorials of past greatness. The stream winds in a little valley, wooded here and there, and at one spot forms a horse-shoe round a ridge of higher land. On this ridge stand the ruins of Inverugie Castle, and behind there rises a rounded hill with a trimmed and flattened top, a few steps up which take you out of the sheltered valley, and give you full command of all the country round. This hill was the Castle hill, the Mote hill, or Gallows hill, on which justice was done in the days of the heritable jurisdictions, and certainly those who enforced it took care that the culprit's 'latest look of earth and sky and day' should be a generous one. Inland he would see the green meadows by the banks of Ugie, the heather ridges of Mermond and Ludquharn, the wooded knolls overlooking the sheltered vale ten miles away, where the monks of Deer guarded their old Gaelic Book, handed on from the foundation of St. Columba, and said Masses for the soul of their own founder, a Comyn, Earl of Buchan, while on the other hand stretched the long line of golden sand, rose the smoke of the small town of Peterhead, and glittered the encircling expanse of the German Ocean. On the other bank of the river, and up a little way from Inverugie, the great square pile of ruined Ravenscraig, raised on a rock where the river flows through a narrow rocky gorge, stands clear against the sky, the top still showing above the growing trees, and between the earlier and later castles the river sweeps along under a wooded bank, with a large stretch of level land on its other side. Both castles belonged to the Keiths or their ancestry. The old proprietors of the 'Craig of Inverugie' were the ancient Norman family of Cheyne—hereditary sheriffs of the county of Banff—which accounts for the parish of St. Fergus and Fetterangus in Aberdeenshire being for long a detached part of Banffshire—one of whom married Isabel Comyn, a sister of the Marjory who married the Earl Marischal's ancestor. In 1380 the line of the Cheynes came to an end in an heiress, who married a younger son of the Knight Marischal, and this line of the Keiths of Inverugie again ended in an



heiress in the sixteenth century. She married her chief, and the Inverugie estates in the parish of St. Fergus were consolidated with the other property of the Earl Marischal. In the seventeenth century, when Dunottar was made a prison for the Covenanters, and its dungeon became known as the Whigs' vault, the later Castle of Inverugie, built, or at all events largely added to, by the Keiths, became the favourite residence of the family.

The displacement of property which followed the Reformation largely increased the possessions of the Keiths. The lordship of Altrie was formed for a second son out of the lands of the Abbey of Deer, and soon fell by inheritance to the Earl, while he succeeded the monks of St. Mary as superior of Peterhead. But there were those who shook their heads, and recounted with awe the tale of the countess's vision, who had dreamt that she watched a body of men in the habit of the monks of Deer come to the rock of Dunottar, and begin to pick at it with pen-knives, and when she brought her husband to jeer at their folly, behold the castle was a ruin, and all their rich furniture tossing on the tempestuous sea. The legendary saying of the rhymer acquired a new significance:—

> 'Inverugie by the sea
> Lordless shall thy lands be;
> And underneath thy ha' hearthstane
> The tod shall bring her bairnies hame.'

The Earl retorted with his scornful motto carved on his college and elsewhere, and more than a century had yet to pass before the doom fell. With cadets of their name around them, at Ludquharn, Clackriach, Bruxie, and other old Buchan mansions, the family of the chief seemed to sit secure in their grand castle on the banks of the Ugie.

When Queen Anne died the Earl Marischal was a young man, and his brother James a lad of eighteen. Local tradition long retained the memory of the affection the two brothers showed for each other in their boyish days in Buchan, and which never failed down to the day of Hochkirchen. Their father had opposed and in his place protested against the

Union. Their mother, a Drummond of the high
Perth, was an enthusiastic Jacobite, and it was prob
owing to her influence that they, come of a house that had been reformers, and in the civil wars belonged to the moderate Covenanting party, threw their fortunes into the scale of the Stuarts. 'Woman,' was her reply to the old servant who expressed regret, 'if my sons had not done what they did, I would have gone out myself with my spindle and my rock,' and among all the Jacobite songs there is none that speaks more eloquently of a sad heart and unconquerable mind, than that attributed to her—

'I may sit in my wee croo' hoose,
At the rock and the reel to toil fu' dreary;
I may think on the day that's gane,
And sigh and sab till I grow weary:
I ne'er could brook, I ne'er could brook,
A foreign loon to own or flatter;
But I will sing a ranting song
That day oor king comes ow'r the water.

. . . .

A curse on dull and drawling whig,
The whining, ranting, low deceiver,
Wi' heart sae black and look sae big,
And canting tongue o' clishmaclaver.
My father was a good lord's son,
My mother was an Earl's daughter,
And I'll be Lady Keith again
That day oor King comes owre the water.'

For the last time the old towers of Inverugie looked do
on a Keith setting out for war, when the Earl Marischal, at
head of a squadron of horse largely raised among his fri
and neighbours the Buchan gentry, after drinking King Ja
health in the castle yard, rode away to the inconclusive
of Sheriffmuir, and the conclusive jealousies and inde
of the Earl of Mar's camp. Before the collapse of the
the Earl made his way to Inverugie to secrete his most pr
belongings and dismiss the old servants of his house. It
that, when, riding away for the last time, he reach
end of the road, where the castle was lost to view, he

turned round, and after a deep sigh, again turned his horse's head, gave him the spur and went off at a fast trot. Many years after, as an old man, he was to come again thus far, and no farther.

The Earl found his way to the Court of St. Germains, and he and his brother obtained commissions in the Spanish service, and were actively engaged in the rising of 1719, so sharply nipped in the bud by General Wightman. On this occasion James Keith made his escape from Peterhead.

Henceforth for many years the lives of the two brothers were spent in foreign armies and at foreign courts. To the honour of this younger Keith, his steadfast Protestantism barred his way to promotion in the service of Spain, but like many another northern Scot, he found his opening in that of Russia, and the story is a famous one of how, when negotiating a treaty with a grave Turkish Pasha, after business was concluded the attendants were ordered to withdraw, and the Pasha, addressing him in broad Scots, revealed himself as the son of the bellman of Kirkcaldy. At Ockzakoff he received the wound by which his old companion in arms, serving under the banner of Austria, recognised his body on the field of Hochkirchen. It is said that among the causes which led to his quitting the Russian service was the desire of the Empress Elizabeth to raise him to a perilous height by making him her consort on the throne, and with pardonable pride his Scottish biographer observes that the alliance would have been no disgrace to her, for he could boast of a lineage far more ancient and famous than she. In 1747 he entered the service of Prussia, was at once made Field-Marshal, and ere long acquired perhaps a greater confidence from Frederick the Great than any of his native generals.

James Keith was one of the finest examples of the highest type of the Aberdeenshire Scot.

'A man,' says Carlyle, 'of Scotch type: the broad accent with its sagacities, veracities, with its steadfastly fixed moderation and its sly twinkles of defensive humour, is still audible to us through the foreign trappings. Not given to talk unless there is something to be said, but well capable of it then. Frederick, the more he knew him, liked him the

better. On all manner of subjects he can talk knowingly and with insight of his own. On Russian matters Frederick likes especially to hear him, though they differ in regard to the worth of the Russian troops.'

And at Zorndorf and Kunersdorf Frederick had a rough demonstration of the soundness of Keith's judgment as to the fighting qualities of the slow and steady Muscovite infantry.

'Sagacious, skillful, imperturbable, without fear and without noise, a man quietly ever ready. He had quelled once, walking direct into the heart of it, a ferocious Russian mutiny,—or uproar from below. He suffered with excellent silence much ill-usage from above withal—a man fiery enough and prompt with his stroke when wanted, though commonly so quiet. "Tell Monsieur,"—some general who seemed too stupid or too languid on this occasion—"Tell Monsieur from me," said Keith to his aide-de-camp, "he may be a very pretty thing, but he is not a man (*qu'il peut être une bonne chose, mais qu'il n'est pas un homme*)."'

To this day Scots abroad are known, men of good metal and stern fibre from whom sentiment is not to be expected, men not given to paying compliments, who never pass the statue of Marshal Keith in Berlin without raising the hat, but never, perhaps, to a brother Scot has a better memorial been raised than the words in which Carlyle records the close of his career:—

'Croats had the plundering of Keith: other Austrians, not of Croat kind, carried the dead general into Hochkirch Church: Lacy's emotion on recognizing him there—like a tragic gleam of his own youth suddenly brought back to him, as in starlight, piercing and sad, from twenty years distance,—is well known in books. On the morrow, Sunday, October 15th, Keith had honourable soldier's burial there—"twelve cannon" salvoing thrice, and "the whole corps of Colloredo" with their muskets thrice; Lacy, as chief mourner, not without tears. Four months after, by royal order, Keith's body was conveyed to Berlin; reinterred in Berlin in a still more solemn public manner, with all the honours, all the regrets; and Keith sleeps now in the Garnison-kirche: far from bonnie Inverugie; the hoarse sea-winds and caverns of Dunottar singing vague requiem to his honourable line and him in the imagination of some few. "My brother leaves me a noble legacy," said the old Earl Marischal; "last year he had Bohemia under ransom, and his personal estate is 70 ducats" (about £25). In Hochkirch Church, there is still, not in the graveyard as formerly, a fine modestly impressive monument to Keith; modest urn of black marble on a pedestal of grey, and in gold letters an inscription not easily surpassable in the lapidary way: *Dum in prælio non procul hinc Inclinatam*

suorum aciem Mente manu voce et exemplo Restitutebat Pugnans ut heroas decet Occubuit D. xiv Octobris. These words go through you like a clang of steel. Friedrich's sorrow over him ("tears," high eulogies, "*loua extrêmement*") is itself a monument. Twenty years after, Keith had from his master a statue in Berlin. One of four: to the four most deserving: Schwerin, Winterfeld, Seidlitz, Keith, which still stand in the Wilhelm's Platz there.'

But perhaps as expressive, though brief, was his brother's answer to the request for materials for his biography—*Probus vixit, fortis obiit*—words now engraved on the pedestal of the statue presented by the King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany to the town of Peterhead.

After the battle of Glenshiel had crushed the abortive rising of 1719, the Earl Marischal made his way to Avignon, and was employed in the service of the exiled King. But to him as to Bolingbroke the service of a phantom King, and make-believe Government, was irksome, and an index of his feeling is afforded by his dislike to wear the Garter conferred by the Chevalier, on the ground that such honours became ridiculous when he from whom they were derived was not in a position to make them respected. His Protestantism proved a bar to his as to his brother's elevation in the Spanish service, but he lived for long at Valencia having 'many kind friends in Spain, not to mention the sun.' The wound of his brother at Ockzakoff took him to Russia, and his knowledge of the world led him to dissuade Prince Charles Edward from placing any reliance on the promises of France, and to a breach between him and the exiled Court. He took no part in the rising of 1745, where the Prince found his absence 'a great loss,' and wrote that he would 'rather see him than a thousand French.'

After a residence in Venice he joined his brother at the Court of Frederick the Great, who sent him as Ambassador to Paris, and subsequently to Madrid, and made him Governor of Neuchâtel where he extended his hospitality to Rousseau.

Ultimately on acquiring information of the Family Compact between the two branches of the house of Bourbon, he communicated his knowledge to the elder Pitt. This great service was recognized by the removal of his attainder, and in Sep-

tember 1761, he found himself again in Edinburgh. Succeeding to the Earldom and estate of Kintore, he repurchased his old estates from the York Buildings Company, amid the tumultuous cheering of those who attended the public sale.

Sometime after the purchase, the Earl went to revisit Inverugie. The good people of Peterhead headed by the Magistrates came out to meet him, and after a banquet in the town he started in his carriage, attended by the St. Fergus farmers on horseback, and a large assemblage from Peterhead, for the Castle. So enthusiastic were the old tenantry of his family that one old man is said to have set fire to his house to make a bonfire, and to have thrown his money on the top declaring that he would 'thack it wi' gowd.' But when the top of the hill from which the Castle could be seen was reached, the carriage was stopped, and the Earl standing up gazed on the roofless tower, with one black rafter bare against the sky. Then he signed to the coachman to turn the horses, and drove away never to return.

The Earl Marischal seems very soon to have determined to sell the St. Fergus estates. He stayed for some time at Keithhall, but he had grown too long in warmer climes to take root again in his harder native soil. It is indeed said that he had invited Rousseau to come and reside with him at Inverugie, but the changed condition of all things at home, the worries of a landowner's position new to its obligations and duties at his time of life, and probably some financial difficulties determined him to dispose of the reacquired remainder of his Buchan property, portions of the original estate having already been sold before his restoration. The following letters relate mainly to this final sale and to his relations with the purchaser. They are highly honourable both to seller and purchaser, to the exiled peer and to the successful judge, and they form a remarkable illustration of how unjustly reputations suffer among contemporaries, and upon what a frail foundation popular judgments as to the conduct of men are often based.

The purchaser, James Ferguson, who became Lord Pitfour while the transaction was going on, was a distinguished member

of the Scots bar. He had acted as Counsel for the Jacobites at Carlisle in 1746, had an extensive practice in the Courts, and was much relied upon as a sound adviser. His professional brethren had conferred on him the highest honour in their power by electing him Dean of Faculty, and among the portraits of Scottish judges delineated for posterity by Ramsay of Ochtertyre there is none more pleasing than the character he presents of this 'amiable and able man.' His own paternal estate lay in the parish of Old Deer and the lands of which the Earl Marischal intended to dispose, stretched along the Ugie from its marches to the sea. Of the purchase now made Ramsay says :—

'It was a very desirable purchase on that account, yet it got him a great deal of ill-will. He was accused and by none more loudly than by his old friends and neighbours of having taken advantage of Lord Marischal's ignorance to get a scandalously good bargain; yet after having been more than thirty years in the family, in times when prodigious rises took place in other estates, it does not appear to have turned out a very lucrative bargain. Whether that has been owing to humanity or indolence is of little consequence; but it goes far to acquit Lord Pitfour and his son of any felonious purpose of immediate lucre. And their moderation towards the people of that estate does them the more honour, that some of the first families of the Kingdom were during this period, racking their rents, with unfeeling greed inattentive to consequences.' The Earl Marischal 'considered himself as under high obligations to Lord Pitfour for the zeal and professional skill he had displayed in his complicated affairs. . . . In one point of view this transaction must be regretted, because to a person of his sensibility, far advanced in years, nothing could make up for the wound it gave his popularity both at Edinburgh and in the North. It was indeed observed that after making the purchase he seldom went to Pitfour.'

The letters now printed, which were recently discovered among a batch of Aberdeenshire family papers, prove conclusively that Ramsay was right in discrediting the justice of the popular talk, while the testimony he affords indicates that the Earl Marischal was successful in securing the considerations to which he in his letters attached importance. Less frequent visits to the North on the part of an old judge, never very robust, and with but ten years to live, may be accounted for by the distance of his home, by the difficulties of travel for

[illegible]

Marischall.

To Mr. [illegible] of [illegible].

[illegible] congratulates him on his elevation to the Bench [illegible] after the conclusion of the sale, there was no [illegible] in the Earl's mind.

[illegible], 30 April, 1764.

[illegible] by Mr. Leith that you are named *Lord of* [illegible] with the publick that the Court has made so good a [illegible] a week since at Slains. By what he said I *hope* [illegible] not have reason to repent your bargain with me, and I shall be [illegible] to be of some use to a man of such [illegible] reason to like the bargain for I am so ignorant of country business that I should have found more trouble than profit in [illegible] my affairs myself. I ever am with particular esteem and *regard,*

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient Servant,

Marischall.

The following does not bear the year, and may also be of 1764 when the Earl Marischal was in Aberdeenshire. It is evidently addressed to Mr. Ferguson, younger of Pitfour.

'L^d^ M—ll's kind compliments to Mr. Ferguson. He hopes by the 12th June he may be towards Harwich. He shall stay at Edinburgh only to have advice of L^d^ Pitfour on what you know and spoke of.

Reid was with me about the fishing. I gave the general answer referring to you with which he was satisfied.

ABERDEEN, 17 May.

The next relates to a piece of land afterwards part of Pitfour, which apparently was not sold along with the rest of the Marischal property on account of over rights over it.

EDINBURGH, 22 May, 1764.

SIR,—If the lands of Gavil sometime possessed by the deceased Thomas Forbes in wadset and now by the relict of George Hay, should come to sale I shall be very willing that you make the purchase in the manner and way as you yourself shall judge right. I ever am with particular regard and friendship,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

MARISCHALL.

To Mr. James Ferguson of Pitfour.

The following addressed 'To John Mackenzie, Esq., of Delveen,' is specially interesting, written as it is by one who knew the great world so well, who in the society of Frederick the Great and Voltaire sighed for youthful summers among Macphersons and Macdonalds, who through long years had been the most distinguished of these Scottish exiles.

'Whose hearts were mourning for the land
They ne'er might see again,
For Scotland's high and heathered hills,
For mountain loch and glen;
For those who haply lay at rest
Beyond the distant sea,
Beneath the green and daisied turf
Where they would gladly be,'

and who though, by the force of age and habit compelled to go 'a little nearer to the sun, is found remembering early winters on the banks of Dee and Don.

POTSDAM, 27th May, 1765.

SIR,—I have the favor of yours and tho Mr. Keith will take the trouble of my affairs shall allways count on your friendship and assistance when necessary. The money being paid to the company I hope mine as first creditor will soon be paid after adjusting the clear claims.

I agree with you in your fears that my nephew has not gained in winning some bets at Newmarket. I wish it may not draw him in. Newmarket and White's are two dangerous places, especially for young folks. He is very fond of shooting, it were happy that he took a liking to the Highlands. Were I of his age I would certainly pass my summer among Macphersons and Macdonalds, and my winter on the banks of Dee and Don, without ever seeing White's or Newmarket, which I never saw.

I am with particular regard,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient Servant,

MARISCHALL.

The following is endorsed 'E. Marischal's letter to Mr. Ferguson, 7th June, 1765.' It may very probably have been addressed to a Mr. Walter Ferguson, a writer in Edinburgh.

"It is very probable that there may be folks who say I might have made a better bargain in selling my estates in Buchan by parcels: it possibly might be so, yet it would not have been an easy matter to me, considering both my want of knowledge and my time of life. In making the first offer to Lord Pitfour I had in view to serve a good man who never in his life failed to serve those he thought deserving; to clear myself of long bargaining with diverse people in selling by parcels; and also I meant to give the old tenants of my family a good humane man for master who, I dare-say, will not rack them but deal justly by them as he has always done by every one. If it should happen that Lord Pitfour has made even a better bargain than he expected make him my compliments and tell him I am glad if it be so, and that I do not repent of my bargain. Adieu, I am ever with the greatest regard and friendship,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient Servant,

MARISCHALL.

POTSDAM,
7th June, 1765.

I wrote last winter to the toune of Peterhead that I had got a . . . them, but had no answer. Desire Mr. Ferguson to enquire if my letter to hands. You may enquire of Mr. Arbuthnot, Bankier, if Mr. Fer- e not in Edinburgh.'

The following is unaddressed, and it does not appear who the correspondent was.

POTSDAM, 7 December, 1765.

SIR,—It is allways with great pleasure that I hear from you or of you, so the accounts of your health be good. I wrote to you before my compliments by Mr. Douglas, and having no answer concluded you was in France or perhaps in Italy sunning yourself. I have writ to Hamburg and count you will in a short time receive the china. My estate in the North lay so much out of your way, and I supposed you so little used to country affairs that I could not think of troubling you. I believe L^d Pitfour made a good bargain, yet if I had not dealt with him I should have made a worse one: I knew nothing myself how to dispose of a large tract of land estate of which the value was different. I should have been quite in a wilderness, or rather quite bewildered: it is much easier to find an Alexander the Great than another Alexander Forester, and I was forced to go in the hands in which I found myself; and I again repeat that my bargain was better with L^d Pitfour than it would have been without him. *I do not care to tell all I saw*, but of him I do not complain for without him I should have made a worse bargain. I saw it plainly: to one I offered a very small part which lay convenient for him, he offered 20 years purchase though I bought at the roup for thirty; to another I offêred a considerable piece of land at the price I bought it which he also declined. I made the two offers from the regard I had for the characters of the two gentlemen; who did not find my offers reasonable. Don't say a word of this, I tell it only to you; that you may see how folks think when their own private interest intervenes and both wanted to buy and had desired it of me. My conclusion is to add to a particular disinterested man all the good opinion I withdraw from others and that therefore I am more than I can express your most humble and obliged servant,

MARISCHALL.

The next from Potsdam, is touching in the highest degree, when one remembers, the blighted youth, the great position lost, the death of the 'brother beloved,' the long exile, the restoration when honours and lands, and native air had alike lost their savour. Classic philosophy and Christian resignation have rarely surpassed the old Earl Marischal's 'Few have so good a lot.'

à my lord
My Lord Pitfour
à Edimbourg en Ecosse
par Londres.

POTSDAM, 7th July, 1767.

MY LORD,—I had the honour of yours in which you told me you was setting out on the Northern Circuit. This was partly the occasion of my delaying thanking you for your obliging care in my concerns in which I hope both you and your son will continue to advise Mr. Keith. I shall leave to him to continue the necessary steps in making forthcoming my grant : the company will chicane as long as they can but I count on justice by the Barons of Exchequer and shall patiently wait.

My health is not bad. No ailing but old age by which I grow daily weak and infirm, without pain, few have so good a lot. My respects to my Lady and best compliments to your son, believe me, ever with great regard and particular friendship,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,
MARISCHALL.

The last is a note of thanks and compliment to Mrs. Ferguson of Pitfour, herself a Murray of Elibank, and is racy in its allusion to the peculiar features of Old Edinburgh, where the Judge's Town House looked across the High Street to the tower of St. Giles.

L[d] Marischall presents his respects to Lady Pitfour, thanks her for the present of very fine table linnen, he sends her a cassolette to burn lavender water or other sweet waters, though not so necessary as formerly in Ald Reeky. His best compliments to all the family. POTSDAM, 31st July, 1770.

When in Scotland in 1764, the Earl Marischal was urged by Frederick to return to Prussia. 'I cannot allow the Scotch,' wrote the King, 'the happiness of possessing you altogether. Had I a fleet I would make a descent on their coasts to carry you off. The banks of the Elbe do not admit of these equipments,'—a later Hohenzollern has thought otherwise—'I must therefore have recourse to your friendship to bring you to him who esteems and loves you. I loved your brother with my heart and soul; I was indebted to him for great obligations. This is my right to you, this my title.' At Berlin the Earl ulti-

mately settled, the King building a villa cottage for him at Sans Souci. There he lived, a young woman a Turkish foundling saved by his brother at the sack of Ockzakoff refusing to marry away from him, and even there, wrote his kinsman, 'the feats of our barelegged warriors in the late war accompanied by a pibroch in his outer room have an effect on the old Don which would delight you.' At last on 28th May 1778, he passed away, never losing in his illness his sweetness of temper, and, with a touch of his old jocular humour, offering to the British Minister to convey any commissions he might have for Lord Chatham who had died a fortnight before. And still the ruin of Inverugie remains the best monument of his ancient race, and emblem of his shattered fortunes, and the rock of Dunottar typifies no less faithfully the soldier brother who stood as firm in the stress of battle.

ART. VII.—THE TWO GREATEST OF SCOTTISH CATERANS.

THE directors of the Highland Railway, solicitous for the welfare of their passengers, show at one of the best known, and not least important of their stations, a special thoughtfulness, which is, perhaps, not so much appreciated as it deserves to be by the tourist rushing to find health and golf at Nairn, or the sportsman bent upon demonstrating the temper of English stoicism by facing the discomforts of a soaking Twelfth of August upon a Scottish moor. The traveller who has been surfeited with the leafy riches of Perthshire scenery, has rushed through the Pass of Killiecrankie with the fervour of Macaulay's prose, if not with the roaring fury of the Highland clans, and has panted up the ascent to Dalnaspidal, relieved as it is from absolute dreariness by the brawling Garry, is glad to rest for a few minutes at Kingussie Station, stretch his legs on the platform, and drink the cup of tea which is offered for his acceptance. During the brief respite from the

occasionally too severe task of realising the grandeur of the Grampians which is here offered him, his eye cannot fail to note a grey pile of ruins, surmounting a conical green mound, about three-quarters of a mile distant on the south side of the Spey, which has now superseded the Garry in the landscape as the Garry superseded the Tay. If he has time to make enquiries, or to consult a guide-book, he ascertains that these ruins are popularly known as Ruthven Castle, but that they are in reality all that is left of the barracks erected by the British Government about the middle of the seventeenth century to aid in keeping the always turbulent Highlands in order. But if he is wise enough to halt for a few days at Kingussie, and make it his head-quarters while he is engaged in exploring the beauties of Speyside, he will learn a great deal more about the history of Ruthven Castle. No fortress in Scotland has suffered more the brunt of war; none has been so often destroyed and so often rebuilt. "Standing at a crossing point of tracks north, south, east, and west, in the great valley of the Spey, it saw and felt every raid westward by the Gordons, Grants, Mackintoshes; eastwards by Macdonalds, Camerons, Macleans and Campbells; southwards by them all, with Macphersons, Mackenzies, and many more; and northward by the regular forces of the kingdom." Huntly, when fighting "the bonnie Earl of Moray," repaired it. Argyll besieged it when it was held by Macphersons. Montrose, Monk, Lilburn, and Mackay in turn garrisoned it. Dundee burned it. It was in front of Ruthven that the remains of the defeated army of Prince Charles—a force of several thousands strong which, well led, might have accomplished much—rallied after the disaster of Culloden, and it was there that most of them received, with rage and grief, the somewhat cold-blooded *sauve qui peut* transmitted to them by an aide-de-camp.

Yet the more one studies Ruthven Castle and that Highland region which it appears even yet to guard with dignity, but with a mournful ineffectuality, against invasion from the South, the more one historic figure seems to overshadow all the others that have for six centuries been associated with it. This is the extraordinary man, Alexander Stewart, Earl of Badenoch

Buchan, and Ross—the strong son of a weak father, the strong father of a still stronger son—who, about the close of the fourteenth century, was granted Ruthven Castle by the Crown as he was granted the other inheritances and strongholds of the Red Comyn. Everybody is familiar with his portrait as it is given in the story which Sir Thomas Dick Lauder has named after him. Nearly seven feet in height, of herculean strength, impatient of parental control, the slave of fierce passions and miserable superstitions—his atrocities, his almost regal hospitalities, his empty terrors, and finally his abject humiliation, give a certain fascination to one of the dullest even of historical romances. Yet it is this Wolfe of Badenoch that lives to the present day.

'The name by which he is best known in history—the Wolfe of Badenoch —describes him to the life. Cruel, vindictive, and despotic—a Celtic Attila as he has been called—he resembles one of those half-human, half-bestial barons depicted in Erckmann-Chatrian's romances, who were the terror of France and Germany during the middle ages.'

So he is designated by the latest historian of the Badenoch region, Sheriff Rampini, in the excellent *History of Moray and Nairn* which he has contributed to Messrs. Blackwood's series of County Histories. Mr. Rampini then proceeds to condense the best part of Dick Lauder's romance into this account of the historic outrage which, in 1390, gained for the Wolfe everlasting infamy. The story could not have been better or more succinctly told:—

'By his wife (Euphemia, Countess of Ross, and, when Alexander Stewart married her, widow of Walter de Leslie) he had no children, and he had accordingly left her to live with another woman—a certain Mariot, daughter of Athyn—who had already borne him several sons. The outraged Countess applied to the bishops of Moray and Ross for redress, and in 1389 they, as consistorial judges, pronounced, at Inverness, degree of adherence in her favour against her husband, ordering him at the same time to find security for his future good behaviour towards her in the sum of £200. This was more than the Wolfe could brook, and he determined upon revenge. He seized upon some lands belonging to the Bishop of Moray in Badenoch. The Bishop promptly excommunicated him. All the savagery in his nature was now roused. Sending out the fiery cross he gathered his fierce caterans together—'Wyld, wykkyd Hielandmen,' Wyntoun calls them—and swooping down from his stronghold of Lochindorb, he burned the town of Forres, the choir of the church of St. Lawrence

there, and the manse of the archdeacon in the neighbourhood of the town. Intoxicated with success, he resolved upon still further reprisals. Tramping over twelve miles of heather and holt which in those days separated the towns of Forres and Elgin, he arrived in the cathedral city one morning early in June, 1390. It was the day of the feast of the Blessed Abbot Botolph. The honest burgesses were awakened from their peaceful slumbers by the noise of crackling timbers and blinding clouds of smoke. The whole town was in flames. Meanwhile the ruthless incendiaries were at work on the public buildings. The parish church of St. Giles was blazing, the hospital Maison Dieu was in a similar condition ; so were the eighteen noble and beautiful manses of the canons situated within the precinct walls ; "and, what is most grievously to be lamented, the noble and highly adorned church of Moray, the delight of the country and ornament of the kingdom, with all the books, charters, and goods of the country placed therein." '

But although Sheriff Rampini accepts the 'Celtic Attila theory of the Wolfe—does not the 'Boar of Ardennes' ir *Quentin Durward*, come nearer the reality than the 'Celti Attila ?'—he does not swallow tradition and Sir Thomas Dicl Lauder's reading of it absolutely. He declines to believe i the final triumph of the Church and the abasement of it savage enemy.

'The popular tradition that before his death, which occurred on th 20th February, 1394, he repented of his crimes, and actually did penanc for his sacrilege, rests on no higher authority than that of the cleric scribe who wrote the "Quædam Memorabilia"—an unauthoritative chron cle of events in Scottish and English history between the years 1390 an 1402—appended to the Chartulary of Moray. None of the old historia mention it. Fordun says nothing about it ; neither does Wyntour neither does the "Liber Pluscardensis." It is hardly likely that an eve which would have so eminently vindicated the authority of Moth Church should have been omitted by such devoted Churchmen. Un further confirmation is obtained we must set down the story as one those pious fibs which unfortunately are not uncommon in the writings ecclesiastical chroniclers, whose zeal for the honour of their subjects w often in inverse proportion to their own veracity.'

But the visitor to Strathspey who can afford to spend a fe days revelling in its scenery finds more traces of the Wolfe Badenoch than the ruins of Ruthven Castle and the possibi ties suggested by its commanding site. If he accepts t wisdom which is certain to be offered him by a multitude

counsellors, he will make his way by driving from Kingussie, or by walking from Aviemore, to the most beautiful of all the minor Highland lochs, Loch-an-eilan, on the borders of the Rothiemurchus forest—a sheet of water some two or three miles in circumferance, and literally embosomed amid woods and hills, from the highest of which, the great white Ord Ban, clad with birches almost to its summit, a view can be had of eight lochs, and, in fine weather, a glimpse can be had even of Ben Nevis. But the word Loch-an-eilan means 'Lake of the Island,' and on this island, which is but a short distance from the shore, stand the ruined walls of what must have been a tolerably strong fortress. On enquiry he will find that this castle was built by the same Wolfe of Badenoch who occupied Ruthven Castle, and sacked Forres and Elgin.

But the Wolfe of Badenoch is identified in romance if not in sober history even less with Ruthven or with Loch-an-eilan, than with Loch-in-dorb, that 'lake of black water' which is some ten miles from Grantown and three from Dava, the nearest station to it on the Highland line. For it was from Loch-in-dorb that in 1393 Alexander Stewart descended on the Laigh of Murray and burnt Forres and Elgin. Tradition indeed, associates Loch-in-dorb with 'fair women and brave men,' who lived long before the Wolfe and the fascinating 'Mariota filia Athyn' for whom he forsook his Countess and defied the terrors of the Church. Was it not in Loch-in-dorb that in 1336 Sir Andrew Moray, Regent of Scotland in succession to the Douglas who was killed at Halidon Hill, besieged Catherine de Beaumont, widow of David de Hastings, Earl of Atholl, and 'a' the ladyis that were lovely,' because she and they were partisans of England? The castle of Loch-in-dorb fell into the hands of the Comyns and was, of course, transferred with the rest of their lands to Alexander Stewart when he became lord of Badenoch. It must have been a place of considerable size and great strength, for the ramparts which rise round the whole edge of the island to the height of nearly thirty feet enclose five courts, one of which seems to have been used as a kitchen garden, and doubtless supplied

materials for those barbaric feasts which found a place if not in history, at least in the story of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder.

Alexander Stewart therefore, had at least three fortresses in his possession of commanding strength in themselves and also of supreme strategical value—Ruthven, Loch-an-eilan, and Loch-in-dorb. Even the novice in military matters can see that the man who occupied them, must have had a keen eye to the possibilities of political power involved in the planting of fortresses in the proper places. With such power as he had placed in his hands, he might, it is evident, have been something more than merely Lord of Badenoch and King's Seneschal in the region between the Perthshire Highlands and the Moray Firth. He might have been to all intents and purposes an independent monarch. And the question is was he not? The object of those of the following pages which are devoted to him as distinguished from that still more brillian adventurer and leader ot caterans, his son, is to show with th help of such historical authorities as appear to be now avail able that at least he may have been.

Who was Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan and Wolfe (Badenoch? Robert II., the only child of Walter the Hig Steward of Scotland by Marjory Bruce, who was born in 131 and ascended the throne of Scotland in February, 1370, ar whose character and personal appearance have been admirab hit off by Froissart with a stroke of genuinely French realis as 'a man not valiant with red blear eyes who would rather still than ride,' would seem when not more than twenty yea of age to have formed an irregular connection with Elizabe daughter of Adam Mure or More of Rowallan, the result which was a large family. Elizabeth had entered into marriage *per verba de presenti* with Hugh de Clifford when s was eleven years of age, and Clifford nine. But the marria had never been ratified; and on 12th October, 1344, in ant pation of her intended marriage to the Steward, that b was dissolved by papal authority. Another papal dispe tion, dated 22nd Nov., 1347, removed two further impedim to this marriage, which arose from Robert 'being related Elizabeth in the fourth degree of consanguinity, and hav

had illicit intercourse with a lady related to her in the third and fourth degrees.' They were undoubtedly married in 1349, but although there was a dispensation legitimating the *multitudo probis utriusque sexus* which had previously been born, it remained a point admitting of doubt among canonists whether such a provision in the absence of any assertion either of a previous marriage, or of ignorance of the impediments, conferred the full status. By 1355 Elizabeth Mure must have been dead, for in that year Robert obtained a dispensation which enabled him to marry Euphemia, daughter of the Earl of Ross and widow of the Earl of Moray. Of the legitimacy of the family which was the result of this union there was never any question whatever, and any legal doubts as to the capacity of the first family to succeed to the throne were obviated by two settlements of the crown made soon after the accession of Robert II. Alexander Stewart was the fourth son of Robert, by Elizabeth Mure, and if he was illegimate, so must have been his eldest brother, John, who succeeded his father under the designation of Robert the Third. It would appear that Alexander was always a favourite with his father.

Robert was certainly not long in giving practical evidence of his partiality for his possibly rebellious, but unquestionably capable son. There seems to be some doubt as to whether it was on the 22nd February, 1370, or the 22nd February, 1371, that King David died. If the latter is the correct date, only a few weeks passed before the king showed that it was his fourth son that he delighted to honour. It is on record that charters of the lands of Badenoch, with the fortress of Loch-in-dorb, were granted to Alexander Stewart on 30th March, 1371. In June of the same year he had a grant made to him of the lands of Strathaven. In October of the following year he was made Justiciary of Scotland north of the Forth, and king's seneschal or lieutenant from the border of Moray northwards. Alexander's career of honour and prosperity unquestionably lasted nearly twelve years. Between 1376 and 1379 fresh charters of land were granted to him in Banffshire, Sutherlandshire, Invernesshire, and Aberdeenshire. In

or shortly before 1382 he married Euphemia, Countess of Ross, daughter of William, Earl of Ross, and widow of Sir Walter Lesley. She and her predecessors had come to possess one half of the lands of the earldom of Buchan, in consequence of the marriage of the brother of a former Earl with the younger daughter of Earl John Comyn; and, on her marriage she resigned these lands (designated the barony of Kynedward) to the King, who, on 22nd July, 1382, re-granted them to her and her husband, Sir Alexander Stewart, who, from that date forward is called Earl of Buchan. Three days later, as is proved by an examination of the public records, grants were made to him of properties in almost every district of Scotland, including the islands of Skye and Lewis. Alexander Stewart was now at the height of his prosperity; at this time indeed, he was probably the most powerful subject of the Scottish Crown with the possible exception of the head of the house of Douglas. His marriage does not appear, however, to have brought him happiness. At all events, his next appearance in Scottish history, and that which is better known than any other, is unfortunately due in a sense to that unhappiness. Whether it was because his wife proved childless or not, it is beyond question that he deserted her for another woman of whom all we know is that she is designated as 'Mariota filia Athyn.' It may be considered certain, however, that his connection with Mariota dated a considerable time before his marriage with the Countess of Ross. By her he had five sons —Alexander, who, as will be seen, played an even more distinguished and erratic part in the history of Scotland than his father, Andrew, Walter, James, and Duncan. In 1389 some of these must have been grown up, though whether they were quite so old as they are represented in Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's story may perhaps be doubted. In that year, lawlessness and disorder, more especially in the border country or debateable land between Highlands and Lowlands, would seem to have given trouble to the Scottish Estates, for they issued an Order in Council at a meeting which was held at Perth in January of that year that 'the sons of Sir Alexander Stewart who were prisoners at Stirling should be kept at

security and not liberated without the authority of the Estates.'

It would not have been unnatural if Alexander Stewart's sons had sided with their father and mother in the great quarrel in which they were involved with Alexander Bur, or Barr, who was bishop of Moray between 1362 and 1397. The popular view of the origin of this quarrel has already been given in the language of Sheriff Rampini. The offended and deserted countess appeals for redress to the Bishop of Moray. He and his brother of Ross hold a consistorial court, at which the lord of Badenoch is 'ordained to live with the countess whom he had deserted for Mariota, filia Athyn, and he becomes bound not to maltreat his wife under a penalty of £200.' Getting into a savage passion, the extravagances of which are duly detailed by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, the Wolfe retaliates by seizing some lands belonging to the Bishop. This is followed by excommunication, and that in turn by the burning of Forres and Elgin in the early summer of 1390. It is not improbable, however, that Alexander Barr and Alexander Stewart were bitterly opposed to each other from the very moment the latter was appointed by his father his lieutenant and Justiciary north of the Forth. The Bishop of Moray, thanks to the activity of his predecessors, and particularly of the patriotic and also eminently astute Andrea de Moravia, was a great secular as well as spiritual potentate, and a landed proprietor in no fewer than five counties—Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Nairn, and Inverness. His diocese, according to Cosmo Innes, 'seems to have extended along the coast from the river Forn, its boundary with Ross to the Spey. Bounded by Loch Aber on the south, it included the country surrounding Loch Ness, the valleys of the Nairn and Findhorn, Badenoch and Strathspey, the valleys of the Avon and Fiddich, and all the upper part of Banffshire, comprehending Strathyla and Strathbog in Aberdeenshire.'

It is highly probable that Bishop Bar found himself in opposition to Alexander Stewart from the very commencement of the latter's occupation of the lands of Badenoch. Possibly he apprehended trouble in connection with his spiritr

ecclesiastical authority from a man who had no doubt a reputation as an audaciously free liver. But it seems certain that the two Alexanders came first into serious collision over a question of property or at least of 'superiority' in land. In the first year of his father's reign he is mentioned (*Exchequer Rolls*, vol. ii.) as 'intromitting with the rents of the Earldom of Moray.' He is further represented as in 1373 entering into possession of the 'abthanice' of Dull, and in 1376 refusing to pay customs at Inverness. Finally in 1380 the two potentates appear in open quarrel. 'In 1380,' says the *Registrum Moraviense*, 'Alexander Stewart, Lord of Badenoch, in the most formal manner, cites the holders of certain lands of Badenoch to appear and produce their titles at the Standard Stanys of the Rathe of Kyngucy. Amongst others, the Bishop of Moray appeared upon this citation, not however to prove his titles to his lands of Badenoch, but to protest against the jurisdiction and the whole proceedings of the Earl, whom he refused to acknowledge as his overlord.' Here, therefore, we have the origin of the quarrel between the two Alexanders—obviously both obstinate and self-willed men—in a dispute as to overlordship. Essentially, therefore, it was of the commonplace kind of which a great deal was heard from about this date forward in Scottish history till the Reformation, one of the secondary results of which was, as is perhaps too notorious, the seizure of the best and bulk of the Church lands by the nobles. It is extremely probable, however, that the Bishop of Moray now set himself deliberately to destroy the authority of the man whose life he condemned and whose overlordship he flouted. Probably Sir Thomas Dick Lauder is essentially in the right in representing the old king as ultimately turning against his son. Two blows were struck against Alexander in 1389 by the Church and by Parliament. As has been already seen, the Bishop of Moray, who had secured the co-operation of the Bishop of Ross, pronounced in favour of the Earl of Buchan's wife as against his mistress. In December of the same year, 'Sir Alexander Stewart of Badenoch was deprived of the office of Justiciary north of the Firth; and the mention in the Parliamentary record of his frequent and repeated

neglect of duty as the ground of his deposition, is suggestive of his having held that office for some time.' *

But Alexander Stewart was not a man to allow himself to be crushed by his enemies without letting them see the stern stuff he was made of. The common story is that his first move was the seizure of certain lands in the bishopric of Moray. It has already been seen that in 1380 the bishop and the earl had had a dispute over the property and overlordship of certain lands. In the *Registrum Moraviense* for 1381 and 1383 we have these two remarkable statements, which would seem to indicate that the bishop had seen it advisable, in spite of his defiance of 1380, to recognise certain of the Earl's claims as just: 'Alexander Dominus de Badenoch quietas clamat terras Episcopi de Logan-Kenny, Ardynche, et terras capellarum de Roth et Demachtan. . . Episcopus ad formam concedit Alexandro Domino de Badenoch et duobus heredibus terram de Ratmorchus.' It is at least possible, therefore, that the seizing of the bishop's lands which, according to tradition, was followed by excommunication, had nothing to do with the episcopal interference in Stewart's domestic concerns. But one can readily believe that the earl was boiling over with indignation against the persistent antagonist who had questioned his overlordship, had interfered in his private affairs, and had discredited him in the eyes of his father and of the Scots Parliament. He only waited for a fitting opportunity to strike—and to strike hard, effectually, and once for all. The opportunity soon came. Robert the Second died at his castle of Dundonald, in Ayrshire, on the 19th April, 1390. He was succeeded by his son, Robert the Third, originally John, one of the most unfortunate and quite the weakest of the Stewarts. There was confusion in Scotland—the confusion inseparable from the commencement of a new reign—and Alexander probably knew what a weakling the new king was. He did not wait for the coronation, but in June hurled his caterans from Loch-in-dorb on his enemy.

The burning of Forres and Elgin was doubtless an act of

* *Acts Parl. Scot.*, I., p. 556.

barbarity, but it was a masterpiece in its way. The march upon the doomed towns was brilliantly conceived and skilfully carried out. Both bishop and burgesses were completely taken by surprise. Nor is there the slightest evidence of a trustworthy nature that any punishment was inflicted upon the victorious Wolfe. There is, of course, the story that 'Lord Alexander Stewart, by special commission from Lord Alexander Barr, Bishop, was absolved by Lord Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, in presence of the Lord the King, the Earl of Fife, Lord William de Keith, Malcolm de Drummond Lord of Marre, and Lord Thomas de Erskyn, and many others at Perth, before the doors of the church of the Predicate Brothers, and thereafter before the high altar, from the sentence of excommunication on condition that he made satisfaction to the church of Moray, and that he send to the Pope for absolution from the former sentence of excommunication made against him.' But, as has already been seen, historical scepticism, perhaps too rudely, declines to see in this story of the repentance at Perth anything more than 'One of those pious fibs which, unfortunately, are not uncommon in the writings of ecclesiastical chroniclers.' Had the Wolfe's 'satisfaction' taken a tangible form, it is incredible that there should not have been some record of it.

According to tradition Alexander Stewart predeceased his opponent by three years, and died on 30th February, 1394. It is a remarkable, if not a suspicious circumstance, that if this tradition can be relied upon, he must, in spite of the record of his life, have died in the very richest odour of sanctity. The common belief is that he was buried in Dunkeld Cathedral. There, indeed, are still shown the grave of the 'Dominus de Badenoch' and a monument to him, consisting of his effigy recumbent in armour and as large as life, supported by a row of ornamental figures. This monument is somewhat defaced, and we are generally told that this mutilation was the work of a party of Cameronians stationed at Dunkeld in 1688. Why the Cameronians should have directed their wrath against the tomb of a man who did as much harm to a Roman Catholic cathedral as could have been accomplished by any Protestant

mob of the Reformation period is not quite clear. On this account, and perhaps for other reasons as well, historical scepticism has lately attacked the belief that the Dominus de Badenoch, whose effigy is to be seen in Dunkeld Cathedral, is the redoubtable Alexander Stewart. In a paper on 'The Monumental Effigies of Scotland,' which appears in the proceedings of the Antiquarian Society of May 13, 1895, Mr. Robert Brydall expresses the opinion that 'the tomb is that of another Dominus de Badenoch, who died on 20th July, year illegible, and that the armour is that of the fifteenth century.' But if Stewart died in 1394, how comes it that in the *Registrum Moraviense* we find this injunction under the year 1398, *Rex mandat comiti Buchanie ut castrum de Spyny Episcopo reddat.* This is clearly no mistake for 1389, for the king addresses the the Earl of Buchan as *Dilectus frater.**

What a field for conjecture, but unhappily for conjecture only, is opened up by this record in the *Registrum Moraviense?* It would seem certain, however, that the Wolfe had not confined his war of aggression—or of self-defence—against the bishopric of Moray to the lifetime of Alexander Barr. Scarcely had the new bishop, known as William of Spynie, entered upon office than he was attacked, and apparently with success,

---

* I may as well give the exact words of the 'Preceptum Regis ad reddendum Episcopo castrum de Spyni,' because they seem absolutely conclusive as to the date of the demand made upon the Wolfe and the name of the aggrieved prelate. Robertus Dei gratia Rex Scotorum dilecto *fratri nostro Alexandro Senescalli comiti Buchanie* selutem. Cum venerabilis in Christo pater Willelmus permissione divina Moraviensis ad nostram nuper accedens presentiam coram quibusdam baronibus ac nobilibus consilii nostri nobis fecerit fidelitatem suam reverenter et debite ut tenetur; ob quod liberavimus eidem Episcopo a manibus nostris omnes terras suas et possessiones episcopatus Moraviensis. Quare vobis mandamus et firmiter precipimus quatinus visis presentibus indilate et [a] quovis obstaculo impedimenti libere liberetis et liberari faciatis a manibus vestris et etiam a manibus quorumcunque custodum seu deputatorum vestrorum castrum de Spyni cum pertinentus suis presuli antedicto; nullas petentes expensas ab eodem pro ipsius castri custodia pro tem[illegible] [illegible]oquomodo; prout honorem vestrum servare et nobis [illegible] [illegible]pecialiter in hac parte. Datum sub testimonio n[illegible] [illegible]d Perth *tertio die mensis Maii anno regni nostri n*[illegible]

in his stronghold. That Alexander Stewart should have [illegible] at Bishop William in his own stronghold of Spynie is another proof that he was one of the greatest masters of foray warfare that Scotland has ever produced.

It seems impossible, therefore, to settle when Alexander Stewart died. Too much emphasis should not perhaps be placed on a curious story, which, however, receives some countenance from one of the indexes to the fifth volume of the Exchequer Rolls, and which represents 'Sir A. Stuart comes Buchanie' as having his discharge for £7 8s. 11d. as his contribution to the [illegible] good at Perth on 7th July, 1404. It may be assumed, however, that he was dead by the 20th September, 1406, for in a charter granted to his then all-powerful brother, the Duke of Albany, we find that ambitious and selfish prince designated 'Dux Albanie et comes de Monteith et Buchan.' As Alexander Stewart died without lawful issue, his lands reverted to the Crown. Doubtless they were granted to Albany by the feeble king. They reverted once more to the Crown, and finally Badenoch was granted to the Earl of Huntly in 1452.

Alexander Stewart had five sons by Mariota 'filia Athyn,' Alexander, Andrew, Walter, James, and Duncan. They seem from various vague allusions in historical records to certain 'lawless disturbances' in which they figured, and which led to their being imprisoned and 'bound over to keep the peace' more than once, to have heartily espoused the side of their father in his numerous quarrels. The eldest, Alexander, was destined to have a more brilliant career as a political and military free lance than even the Wolfe, although it was never his fate to govern a practically independent kingdom as it is now manifest his father did. But as the commander who, on the bloody field of Harlaw in 1415, stayed the victorious and ravaging progress of Donald, Lord of the Isles, and his Highland host, he has been declared by Burton and other historians to have done more for the civilisation of Scotland than even the victor of Bannockburn. It is to be regretted that even painstaking Scottish writers should have confounded the two great caterans. Thus, in one of the most trustworthy, accurate, and

deservedly popular of modern encyclopædias, I read that 'the male line of the Celtic Earls of Mar expired in 1377 with Thomas, thirteenth earl, whose sister Margaret married William, first Earl of Douglas. Their daughter, Isabella, in 1404, married Alexander Stewart, the "Wolfe of Badenoch," who, after her death in 1419, was designated Earl of Mar.' In this inaccurate fashion we have allusion made to the marriage of the second Alexander Stewart—an event which, extraordinary and melodramatic though it was, is but an incident in a life fuller of romance and vicissitude than that of any Scotsman, with the possible exception of Montrose.

The good Fordun has thus summed up the career and the extraordinary moral transformation of the Earl of Mar: 'In juventute erat multum indomitus et ductor catervanorum, in virum alterum mutatus placenter trans montes quasi aquilonem gubernabat.' The first important appearance of the second Alexander Stewart as a *ductor catervanorum* has been recorded by Burton in his *Scot Abroad* and his *History of Scotland.* What he says in the former may be quoted. 'This worthy (the Wolfe) had a favourite illegitimate son also called Alexander. He, as natural, followed his father's footsteps, and collected a troop of barelegged ruffians who reived and ravaged far and near. The Lindsays, Ogilvies, and other gentlemen of Angus, resolved to put a stop to this, and collected a body of men at arms and Lowland bowmen, a sort of force which held the Highland caterans in utter scorn as a set of rabble to be swept before them. The Wolfe cubs, however, alighted on the tactic which in later times made a Highland force terrible—a concentrated rush on the enemy. This the small body of Highlanders caught on the rugged banks of the Isla, and they were at once swept away, mail-clad horsemen and all, before the horde of savages they had despised.' Then Burton goes on to tell in the rugged verse of Wyntoun how Sir David Lyndsay pinned a Highlander to the ground with his lance, and how the doomed man, writhing up ('up throwing,' says Wyntoun), struck a savage blow at his conqueror with his sword. Scott utilised this incident, which has been recorded of other battles than that on the banks of Isla

including 'the red Harlaw' itself, and indeed is a common occurrence in savage warfare.

There is no record of the extent to which Stewart and his Highlanders pursued their victory, in which a large number of Lowland, and especially Perthshire, gentlemen fell. Still less is there evidence of its being avenged. The feeble Government of the day proclaimed him and his chief associates outlaws 'for the slaughter of Walter Ogilvy and others,' but no punishment was ever inflicted upon them, and it is not impossible that the Wolfe (for at the time of this raid the Earl of Buchan was certainly alive) and his son extended their authority into Perthshire. If it could be proved that it is actually the Wolfe who is entombed in Dunkeld Cathedral, such a view would be greatly strengthened.*

Although Alexander Stewart, the second, did not succeed on his father's death to the lordship of Badenoch, and does not appear to have thought himself strong enough to seize it, he had early in the fourteenth century obtained a high reputation as a leader of freebooters—a fact which encourages the belief that it was he and not his younger brother who overthrew the Perthshire knights in 1392. That a large number of his father's retainers adhered to him may be considered certain. At their head he considered himself equal to any undertaking. Nor was his confidence ill-founded, as appears from the next

---

* Bower attributes the Isla exploit to *Duncan* Stewart, and it is of course possible that the daring and successful leader of the caterans was Alexander Stewart's youngest brother. Some Scottish historians have followed Bower. Among them is Dr. Mackintosh, who thus tells the story given above in the volume on Scotland, which he contributed in 1890 to Mr. Fisher Unwin's 'Story of the Nations' series : 'The Wolfe's natural son, Duncan Stewart, led a party of his adherents across the mountains and plundered the Lowlands. In 1392 the landed gentry mustered and met him at Fasklune, but he completely defeated them. The Government ordered Duncan Stewart and his accomplices to be proclaimed outlaws for the slaughter of Walter Ogilvy and others ; but it is evident that Duncan Stewart was not harmed, for in subsequent history he re-appeared as the Earl of Mar.' Here Dr. Mackintosh is not so accurate as he usually is. Duncan Stewart may have been victorious at Fasklune, but it was Alexander who became Earl of Mar.

episode in his career which, even as told in the comparatively prosaic story of the *Douglas Peerage*, is aflame with mediæval romance:—'Isobel, Countess of Mar, succeeded her brother, James Earl of Douglas and Mar in his earldom of Mar, 1388. She married, first, Sir Malcolm Drummond of Drummond, as appears from a charter of Robert the Third to Malcolm Drummond, Earl of Mar, of a pension of £20 money furth of Inverness, in recompense and satisfaction of the third part of the ransom of Sir Randolph Percy, which exceeded £600. In this charter Drummond is called the king's brother, and Malcolm Drummond, Dominus de Mar, witnessed a charter of King Robert III., 1398. He died, without issue, before 27th May, 1403, when she was granted a charter in her viduity. She took as her second husband Alexander Stewart, natural son of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, fourth son of King Robert the Second. His first appearance in life was at the head of a formidable band of robbers in the Highlands of Scotland. He cast his eyes on the Countess of Mar, stormed her castle of Kildrummie, and, whether by violence or by persuasion, obtained her in marriage. On the 12th August, 1404, under the title of Isobel, Countess of Mar and Garioch, she granted her earldom of Mar and Garioch, with all other lands, etc., belonging to her by right of inheritance, to Alexander Stewart and the heirs to be procreated betwixt him and her; which failing, to his lawful heirs and assignees whatsoever, to be held as freely as she or her predecessors, Earls of Mar or of Douglas, held the same. . . It would seem that Alexander Stewart, enterprising as he was, soon became sensible that to seize the castle, to wed the heiress, and to carry off the earldom from the countess's lawful heirs, were measures too bold, even in an age of misrule. He, therefore, endeavoured to palliate his conduct, and on the 19th September, 1404, he presented himself at the castle gate of Kildrummie, and surrendered to the countess not only the castle but all its furniture and the title-deeds therein kept. In testimony of this he delivered the keys into her hands, freely and with a good heart, for her to dispose of them as she pleased. The countess, holding the keys in her hand, of mature advice, chose the said Alexander for her

husband, and in free marriage, gave him the castle, with its pertinents, the earldom of Mar, etc., to be held by her said husband and herself and the heirs to be procreated betwixt them; which failing, to the said lady and her lawful heirs; upon all which the said Alexander took instruments. In terms of this declaration the lady, under the title of "Isabella de Douglas Comitessa de Mar et de Garioch," granted a charter, 9th December, 1404, that it might appear to have been granted without force on the part of Alexander Stewart or fear on hers. By it she granted *in nostra pura et libera viduitate Alexandro Senescallo in liberum maritagium* the whole Earldom of Mar. . . This chapter was ratified under the Great Seal, 21st January, 1405. . . After this, Alexander Stewart was uniformly styled Earl of Mar and Lord of Garioch. . . The Countess died without issue, when in the terms of the charter last recited, the fee of the Earldom should have devolved on the heir of line, Janet Keith, wife of Sir Thomas Erskine, the more especially as King Robert III. had bound himself to Sir Thomas not to ratify any contract or accept of any resignation by which Isobella Douglas, Countess of Mar, etc., might attempt to alienate these earldoms or any part of these lands, given under his Great Seal, 22nd November, 1393. But this was disregarded by King James the First, whose great aim was to unite the ancient earldoms to the Crown, and thus to sap the foundations of a formidable aristocracy. Alexander Stewart, conscious that he had nothing but a life-rent right, used the device of resigning the earldom into the king's hands. Immediately upon this, a charter of the earldom was granted by the king, 28th May, 1426, to Sir Alexander Stewart and Sir Thomas Stewart, his natural son; to Sir Alexander for his life, and after his death to Sir Thomas and the lawful heirs male of his body, which failing, to return to the Crown. Thus the earldom, instead of descending to the heirs-general of the ancient earls, was limited to the heirs male of the body of Sir Thomas Stewart.'

It might well be believed that there could not be a more successful and complete exploit in the way of 'taking the dom of love by violence' than this of the second Alex-

ander Stewart—the seizure of the countess and the castle, the offer to set her free, and the final marriage sanctioned by the king. But tradition, accepted by more than one historian, has given a darker hue to the story, and has even imported into it an element of Borgian horror. Sir Malcolm Drummond, the first husband of the Countess of Mar, was said to have been murdered, and it was further averred that the murderer was the man whom she accepted, in the long run willingly, as her second husband! In the *Exchequer Rolls* (IV., p. 79), the crime is fastened on Stewart as if there had been no doubt upon the matter:—'One of the characteristically daring acts of these days was the murder of Sir Malcolm Drummond, brother of the Queen, and Countess of Mar, by a band of Highland marauders, headed by a son of the lord of Badenoch, Alexander Stewart, followed by an attack on the castle of Kildrummie, where the widowed Countess resided, made by the same Alexander, who, obtaining forcible possession of that lady, married her, and got with her her earldom and estates.' Tytler is not quite so decided—'He who was murdered to make way for this extraordinary intrusion of the son of Buchan was the king's brother-in-law, and there seems to have been little doubt that the successful wooer and the assassin of Drummond were one and the same person.' Wyntoun's account in the *Cronykill* of the death of Drummond and the 'intrusion' of Stewart, is even more guarded. Only one conclusion can with safety be drawn from Wyntoun's homely narrative—Malcolm Drummond undoubtedly predeceased his wife. There was a general belief at the time that his death was due to foul play, and that he had been set upon and murdered—or starved to death—by a body of Highland caterans. The fact that his widow subsequently entered or was forced into a marriage with Alexander Stewart was quite sufficient to start the story that he was the instigator of Drummond's murder. On the face of it, the story is incredible that the countess, especially after public opinion in Scotland had virtually forced Stewart to set her at liberty and give her freedom to marry whomsoever she chose, should have cast in

[illegible] a man whose hands she knew to be red with the [illegible] and husband of her youth.

[illegible] by fair means or foul, at all events successfully [illegible] He had obtained a position almost as [illegible] father. He was life-renter, at least, of [illegible] Mar and Garioch, and the most powerful [illegible] He had become the master of one [illegible] in the country. The large and [illegible] Castle of Kildrummie, standing on a [illegible] by two ravines, and covering with its [illegible] an area of between two and three [illegible] seats of the kings of Scotland, and [illegible] forces and the admirable strategy of [illegible] It is not quite certain when the wife he [illegible] a marvel[illegible] combination of audacity and [illegible] 1419 is vaguely given by certain [illegible] survive her second marriage. [illegible] existence seem to render it probable [illegible] February, 1408. After her death, or [illegible] Mar had resolved on the career his cir-[illegible] to enter upon. He was not to be [illegible] the 'splendid isolation' of a great [illegible] He would sink the *dux cater-*[illegible] courtier, the astute diplomatist, the [illegible] statesman. It may safely be [illegible] the valuable publications of the Spald-[illegible] upon the antiquities of Aberdeenshire, [illegible] as Mar was assured of his position by charters under the seal of Robert the Third—two followed close upon each other, being dated 9th December, 1404, and 21st January, 1405—he set to work, Highland chieftain though he was, to cultivate friendly relations with his neighbours, the essentially Lowland and Saxon burghers of the rising town of Aberdeen. He succeeded in this, as in almost every enterprise he turned his hand to. He was destined one dark but glorious and memorable day to earn the gratitude of Aberdeen and of Scotland.

No less skilfully and successfully did he now set himself to

play the part of a great Scottish nobleman in the eyes of England and the Continent. His recognition as Earl of Mar synchronized with the patching up of a peace between England and Scotland. At all events, the nobles of the larger kingdom felt freer to challenge the chivalry of the smaller to friendly 'joustings.' Mar seized the opportunity. On the 5th September, 1406, he is found obtaining a 'safe conduct' from the King of England for himself and seventy followers, for a passage of arms with Edmund, Earl of Kent. It would seem tolerably certain that Mar paid two visits to England in 1406. On the second occasion he went along with the Earl of Crawford as an ambassador to conclude peace with England. That he should have been chosen to fill a post of such a kind would seem, if not to give the lie direct to the story of the murder of his wife's first husband, at all events to make it quite clear that he was recognised as one of the ablest of Scottish noblemen.

Without dogmatising too much on the subject of dates it is pretty safe to assume that Mar spent the bulk both of 1406 and 1407 in England, and that he made the best of his time by showing himself at once a gallant knight and a master of statecraft. In 1408 he sought fresh fields and new pastures.

> 'The next yere eftyer folowand,
> A thousand foure hundyr the auchtand,
> The Erle of Marr past in Fraunce
> In his delite and his plesance,
> Wyth a nobill company
> Wele arayt, and dantely
> Knychtis and squieris, gret gentlimen,
> Sexty or ma, ful noumeryt then
> Men of counsale and of wertew
> Off his Court and retinew.'

We now come to an incident in Mar's wonderful career which is quite as notable as the seizure of the castle of Kildrummie, and even more mysterious. It is thus told in the *Historical and Genealogical Account of the Stewarts*, published in 1739. 'He (Alexander Stewart) went into the service of the Duke of Burgundy. He was designed "Dominus de Garrioch et Doffle in Brabantia." He claimed the sovereignty

of Holland in right of Jacquet, or as Abercromby calls her Jane, his second wife, daughter to the Earl of Holland, but, being denied his claim, he fought with the Hollanders at sea, and gained the victory and a great prize; and at length made peace or a hundred years' truce with them.' This story is evidently based on the narratives of Boece and Drummond of Hawthornden. Another version of the same story is given by the first Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, who, about a century after the death of the victor of Harlaw, collected all the traditions regarding him and committed them to Latin, which was translated by the Archdeacon of Moray. 'He was ane man of singular virtew, in his tender yeris, and was at the siege of Lodium, quhen it was tane by Phillip, Duke of Burgundee. And for the gret glore that he wan at the said tornay, he was maryit on ane lady namit Jane, countes of Holland. Nocht less, he was put fra her; uncertane quethir it come be the said countes, becaus scho had ane othir husband, or becaus the inhabitants desirit nocht to be mingit with uncouth blude. Within schort time efter, he returnit in Scotland and send his servandis in Holland, descreing the proffet of hi land. And becaus he got nocht bot repols thairof, he hel continewall waris on the Hollandaris quhill they war con stranit to pleis him for all the proffetis bygane, and tuke peac for Scottis for ane hundredth yeris. This Erle of Mar was au richt industrious and civill man; for he brocht out of Hungar into Scotland, sindry gret hors and meris, to spreid the cunt be their generatioun. Thus was the cuntre, within few yer efter, fillit ful of gret hors; howbeit afore his time was nocl but small naggis in this realme.'

Let us, so far as is now possible, attempt to rescue the tru from its environment of miraculous legend. There is doubt whatever as to the battle of Liége and the brillia part played in it by Mar. The early history of Liége was long struggle between its bishop-princes and its liberty-lovi burghers. Philip of Burgundy but anticipated in 1407, and the interest of John of Bavaria, 'the elect of Liége'— 'intruded presentee,' in fact—what Charles the Bold did nea sixty years after. Indeed, as late as 1684, 'the elect of Lié

only succeeded in effecting an entrance into the city with a foreign army at his back. Similarly Mar, Scrimgeour, and their gallant company, anticipated by their services to Philip and John the effective aid rendered by Crawford, Le Balafré, and Quentin Durward to Charles the Bold and Louis the Eleventh. There are too many allusions to the presence and achievements of Mar and his company in the various chronicles of the period for us to have any doubts on the matter. Guillaume Paradin, in his *Annales de Bourgogne*, says: 'Semblablement s'y trouva le Comte de Marausse Ecossais acre bien quatro combattants.' Des Ursins also mentions Mar. There is, indeed, no special allusion to him by any of the German writers on this period, but the explanation of the omission no doubt is that these historians regarded Mar and his detachment of 'combattants' as volunteers, and not as an integral portion of the besieging Burgundian force.

Mar's marriage is much more of a mystery—

> 'The Erle of Mar, of his prowes,
> That hiely commendits wes,
> A lady weddit, gret of land,
> The Lady of Duffyl in Braband.'

Thus Wyntoun, with his usual confidence. The writer of the history of the family of Horn (Nisbet, II., p. 71), says that the Earl of Mar's wife was Mary de Hornes, and that he got with her the lordships of Duffel and Walhem. Boece gives her name as Jacoba, while, as has been already seen, the Aberdeen historian styles her Jane. It will probably never be ascertained who it was that Mar married or if his marriage is a myth. It is highly probable, however, to say the least of it, that in some way or another he obtained a grant of lands in Brabant. There is a charter by 'Alexander Stewart, Earl of Marr and Garioch, and *Dominus de Dufle in Brobant*, to his brother, Andrew Stewart (Andrew fought by his side at the Battle of Liége), of the lands of Sandbalch, in Banffshire, which is confirmed by Robert Duke of Albany.' In 1440, Robert, Earl of Mar and Lord of Erskine, is found granting a charter which confirms a previous 'charter made by the deceased Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar and of Garioch, and lord of

[illegible] that Stewart con-
[illegible] was as unfortunate as the
[illegible] issue of it, and that it
[illegible] first had made him a life-
[illegible] practically certain that he
[illegible] course, on his death
[illegible] It may be assumed,
[illegible] Countess of Holland. That
[illegible] relatives a great deal of
[illegible] she is even said
[illegible] out of them. But
[illegible] of her husbands.
[illegible] Drummond of Hawthornden of
[illegible] bears a suspicious resem-
[illegible] Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.
[illegible] a grain or two of truth may
[illegible]

[illegible]—there is some doubt as to
[illegible] that the battle of Liége
[illegible] Paris and according to Michel,
[illegible] especially of female, eyes. On
[illegible] safe conduct' granted by the
[illegible] Earl of Mar and thirty persons in his
[illegible] from France through England to Scotland.' It
[illegible] they were back in Kildrummie
[illegible] course of 1409. They soon found
[illegible]

'[illegible] coming home with his foreign experiences, became a mighty general and sage statesman, and, like many others who pass from disreputable into creditable and profitable courses, he achieved the suppression of those who, while he was sowing his wild oats, were his companions and tools.' Thus, in his *Scot Abroad*, Burton somewhat flippantly alludes to the great service which Mar, aided by his companions-at-arms, was able to render to his neighbours more immediately, and his countrymen in general, and the importance of which has been adequately recognised in the satirist's own *History of Scotland*. Of late a tendency has been shown

to dispute Burton's view of the importance in its bearing on the future of Scotland, of the battle fought at Harlaw, eighteen miles from Aberdeen, on the 24th July, 1411, between the Highlanders under Donald, Lord of the Isles, and the Lowlanders of Mar, Garioch, Buchan, Angus and Mearns, under the Earl of Mar. It has been said that only a temporary check was given to the 'Highland Host' by the victory of Stewart, and that even the pretensions of Donald were revived by his son Alexander. But, on the other hand, it may be questioned if ever the caterans had such an opportunity as that which, thanks to the generalship of Mar, they lost at Harlaw. Scotland was in a state of anarchy when Donald, with his Islemen, burst upon Aberdeenshire, and threatened to burn its capital. The king was a prisoner in England. Regent Albany, who nominally governed Scotland, was not such a weakling as his son Murdoch, who succeeded him, but he was now an old man of threescore and ten. Moreover, he was universally detested by the other Scotch nobles for his selfish rapacity. It was, indeed, on account of a private quarrel that Donald raised the flag of rebellion. On the death of the Wolfe of Badenoch, the earldom of Ross fell nominally into the hands of the Crown, really into those of Albany. Donald claimed the earldom in virtue of his wife—the claim was subsequently allowed by James the First when put forward by the next Lord of the Isles—and took up arms in support of it. The chances are that had Donald been able to push south, he would have been joined by hosts of malcontents, and that he would have been able with perfect ease to overthrow such government as existed in Edinburgh. So strong a king as England then possessed in Henry IV. would not have been slow to take advantage of the situation thus created to accomplish the work which had proved too much for even such capable monarchs as Edward the First and Edward the Third. It might be too much to say that Alexander Stewart saved the independence of Scotland as effectually as did Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, but it is not too much to say that he was as great a benefactor to his country as was that High Steward of Scotland who, in 1193, and in the reign of Malcolm IV.,

overthrew and slew at Renfrew the first Lord of the Isles, the redoubtable Somerled. Of the courage and capacity of the man who, with a force of probably not more than 1,200 men, and many, if not most of them, the undisciplined though brave citizens of Aberdeen, had the courage to attack a ferocious enemy six, if not ten times, as numerous, and who, when that force had been cut to pieces and had lost all its best leaders but himself, still held his ground, there never has been any question whatever. The soldier to whom belong the honours of Harlaw was one of the greatest commanders that Scotland ever produced.

From 1411 to his death in 1435, Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, was one of the foremost men north of the Tweed. The fact that he is so often mentioned in public documents as 'Regis locum tenens' would seem to prove that for a time he held his father's old post of king's seneschal beyond the Highland line, if not of justiciary north of the Forth. Five years after Harlaw we find him travelling in England in winter doubtless to visit the friends he had made in his 'jousting' days. Charters seem to prove that in 1419 and 1423—the latter the year when James I. was released by the King of England—he held the post of Admiral of the Realm of Scotland. We shall probably never know the entire truth of Mar's achievements at sea, so curiously reflected in the extraordinary story of his war upon the Dutch. But in the British Museum there is a letter from the Duke of Bedford to his father, Henry IV., written apparently in 1405, and stating that 'the Earl of Mar, Alexander Stuart, is at sea between Berwick and Newcastle, despoiling English vessels.' In an English State document also there occurs this passage:—'The King to Robert Tempest, Sheriff of Northumberland, and John Elyngeham, his Sergeant-at-arms. Having lately ordered Robert Umfraville, then Sheriff, and others, to inquire into whose hands the merchandise of certain Scots wrecked in a Flemish ship at Werkworth, had come, and detain them till redress was made under the truce for a cargo of wheat and beans value 200 marks, shipped for the garrison of Calais, and goods worth £500 belonging to Richard Whytington and others of London, in the *Thomas* of London,

captured at sea by the Earl of Marr and other Scots, and learning that these Scots goods and prisoners of the greatest value were in the hands of Robert Ogle and others, commands the Sheriff to see they are at once delivered to Umfraville.' It is odd—or rather would have been odd in the case of a less extraordinary man—to find Alexander Stewart anticipating the naval exploits of the Bartons and Sir Andrew Wood, and even, after the manner of Drake singeing the beard of the time-honoured Dick Whittington.

When eight months after his accession to the throne of Scotland James the First set himself resolutely to break the power of the turbulent nobles, he found in the Earl of Mar a loyal supporter. Stewart figures in 1424 as one of the assize which at Stirling found Murdoch, Duke of Albany, his son Walter, his brother Alexander, and their grandfather, the Earl of Lennox, guilty of treason. In 1430 James named him one of the 'conservators' appointed on behalf of Scotland to conclude a truce with the King of England. The following year Mar, who was now probably between sixty and seventy years of age, sustained his one defeat. At all events the Scottish chronicles tell this story—

'Donald Balloch, a near relative of the Lord of the Isles, collected a fleet and army in the Hebrides, ran his galleys into the neck of sea which divides Morven from the little island of Lismore, and, disembarking at Lochaber, broke down upon that district with all the ferocity of northern warfare, cutting to pieces a superior force commanded by Alexander, Earl of Mar, and Alan Stewart, Earl of Caithness, whom James had stationed there for the protection of the Highlands. The conflict took place at Inverlochy. The Earl of Caithness, with sixteen of his personal retinue, and many other barons and knights, were left dead on the field, while Mar, with great difficulty, succeeded in rescuing the remains of the Royal army.'

The probability is that the importance of this surprise has been greatly exaggerated, for it is quite certain that James defeated Donald Balloch's superior, Alexander, the Lord of Isles, when he wasted the crown-lands near Inverness, and burned the town, and compelled him to implore mercy at Holyrood. In any case, it will be seen that Mar was able to

show a little of his old generalship by saving the remnants of the Royal army.

According to most of the old Scottish chroniclers Mar died on the 26th July, 1435. So highly was his memory respected that on the anniversary of his death a mass was said yearly for his soul's repose at the altar of St. Katharine in the cathedral church of St. Mary and St. Machar at Aberdeen. 'Septimo Kalendas Augusti obitus magnifici ac potentis Domini Alexandri Stuart comitis de Mar et de Garwyach ac locum tenentis Domini Regis Scotorum.* This commemoration was provided out of the bounty of Master John of Clat, canon of Brechin and Aberdeen.

The Earl of Mar's son, Thomas, predeceased him, and his estates lapsed to the Crown. The fabric of power which he had built up may be said to have disappeared at his death as completely as had that constructed by his father before him. It was left for the heads of other branches of his family to continue his work and to demonstrate that 'charm of the Stewarts,' the irresistible and immortal character of which is only now being thoroughly understood. But even among them there are no more notable figures than the two Alexanders as we get glimpses of them through the mists of history—the grim old baron, the father, who held after his own curious fashion, that 'clericalism is the enemy,' and struck doughty blows at it with his mailed fist, and the brilliant versatile son, who after a youth of extraordinary and audacious adventure, became one of Scotland's greatest captains, statesmen, and patriots.

Z.

---

* *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis,* Vol. II., p. 202.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 4, 1898).—Professor Kühl of Königsberg, in a short article, discusses the meaning of the passage in the Epistle to the Philippians, ii. 12, 13. In his work on this Epistle, Prof. Holsten has spoken, our author thinks, in a very uncertain, nay, contradictory manner. In the exegetic part of his treatise he gives one interpretation of this passage, and in the critical part of it a different one. Prof. Kühl offers here his own views of it, and sets himself to prove that, when rightly interpreted, it in no way militates against the Apostle's fundamental conception of salvation as originating solely in the Divine love, and as effected by the operation of Divine grace in the soul. What has misled so many critics in regard to these verses is, he thinks, their having looked at them in the light only of the section immediately preceding them, viz., vv. 5 to 11, instead of in the light of the whole section, beginning at ch. i. 27. St. Paul's theology does not admit that any man can by his actions, by his moral or spiritual activity, earn salvation or effect it in himself; but on the other hand, no man can be saved unless he continues to watch over the gift of God bestowed freely upon him, and through this watchful care, guard its progress in him against anything and everything that might arrest or retard it.—The second article here is by Dr. Ehni of Geneva. It is on 'The Origin and Development of Religion.' He begins his treatise by a summary review of the history of the studies that have been directed in recent years to this subject. Any attempt now to define religion must, he says, be based on the fact that religion is an universal phenomenon, and take into account that the definition must embrace religion in its lowliest as in its loftiest forms. Regarding it as the attitude of the mind and spirit of man towards Deity, and more a practical than a mere theoretical relation, Dr. Ehni examines the chief theories promulgated recently by the more eminent students of Comparative Religion. He takes up first the theory of Animism, and shows that evidence is lacking to prove that animism is either the earliest form or even a universal form of religion. The uncivilised races whose religious beliefs and customs we can to-day study, have a long history behind them, and it is impossible for us to say whether

that history has been one of progress or of retrogression, or now the one and now the other. We find evidence here and there that now the one and now the other has taken place, but who will say in any individual case which had the precedence. The comparison with the child's development is no safe guide to us in this matter, for heredity has to be taken into account here, and, with respect to primitive races, that is an entirely incalculable quantity. Fetichism is next examined, and its inadequacy to be regarded as the primitive form, or even a primitive phase of religious development, is demonstrated. It is shown to be a degenerate or corrupt form of higher spiritual ideas. Ancestor-worship is found no less unsatisfactory as the starting-point of religious beliefs and rites. Passing from the critical to the constructive part of his article, we have first Dr. Ehni's views as to conscience, the existence of which in us is, according to him, that which renders religion possible for us. It is through the conscience that God manifests Himself to us, and religion is the result of that manifestation. Basing religion, then, on this, Dr. Ehni proceeds to trace the development of religious ideas and practices, always under the influence of the immediate action of God Himself through the conscience. Religion reaches its highest form in Christianity. The three factors which contribute to condition religious forms in the course of history are feeling, will, and intellect. Each may, and at times does, assert itself over the others. In races as well as in individuals we find sometimes the one and sometimes the other predominating. Different types of faith are the consequence. This is seen even in the Christian Church. The Roman Church differs from the Greek Church through the predominence of the intellect in the former and the potency of emotion in the latter. In the Protestant communities the different sects owe their origin and their prominent features to the action of one or other of these factors. Only in Jesus Himself do we see the harmony of all three realised and manifested.—Dr. Kleinert, under the title, 'Nikolaus Drabik,' gives us a description of a work which attracted in its day a considerable amount of attention. It was the joint product of three of the Bohemian 'prophets,' Christopher Cotter, Christina Poniatovia, and Nicolas Drabik. It was published first under the title, *Lux in Tenebris.* Dr. Kleinert gives a short account of the authors, of the nature of the 'visions' detailed in the book, and of the movement of which these three persons were the inspiring spirits and most prominent leaders.—The other articles here 'Melanchthoniana in Mecklenburg,' by Dr. F. Latendorf,

and 'Wie wurde Cochläus Dechant in Frankfurt?' by Herr Paul Kalkoff of Breslau.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (August, 1898.)—'Bei der Glockenboje,' a powerful story by Johannes Wilda.—'The latest Verdict of Heresy on Modern Philosophy' is a 'slashing' review of Willman's attempt to restore scholastic at the expense of modern idealism in his recent *History of Idealism.*—Recent discoveries furnish Georg Busolt with the means of describing Athens as it appeared at the zenith of its glory.—The letters written by members of the Prussian Court in 1822-26 are concluded.—Georg von Bunsen's memoir of 'Fried. Felix von Behr-Schmoldow,' so closely identified with the German Fishery Society, describes a typical Prussian squire. The writer died before he had finished the sketch of his friend, and it has been completed by his daughter, the novelist.—(September, 1898).—'The Parrot' is one of Ilse Frapan's scenes from provincial life.—E. Hubner writes on the 'Bibliography of Spain,' apropos of the new Baedeker. He speaks warmly of Ford's handbook, and Borrow's Spanish books.—Adolf Hausrath's account of the statesman Julius Jolly, 'Baden im alten Bund und neuen Reich' is brought to a close.—'Zarathustra' by Hermann Oldenberg describes the researches of Anquetil Duperron, Jones, and Burnouf, and discusses Zoroaster and the contents of the Avesta.—Georg Gerland writes on modern methods of observing earthquakes, and the various theories of their origin.—Otto Ribbeck, the philologist, and Sebastian Hensel, Mendelssohn's nephew, are commemorated.—The 'Literarische Rundschau' deals with recent Brahms literature.—(October, 1898).—With this part the 'Rundschau' enters on its twenty-fifth year of publication. Fiction is represented by Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, 'Der Vorzugschüler,' and Paul Heyse 'Das Märchen von Herzblut.'—Felix Salamon gives an account of Mr. Gladstone's career.—'Plants in Pictorial Art,' by the late Ferdinand Cohn, traces the artistic representation of plants in various times.—'Die Bastille' is based on M. Funck-Brentano's *Légendes et Archives de la Bastille.*—'Selections from Gottfried Keller's letters to Jacob Bächtold.'—A notice of the late George Ebers, and reviews of recent political and literary events conclude the number.

RUSSIA.

THE RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHICAL JOURNAL (Voprosi, Philosophii i Psychologii) Questions, Philosophical and Psychological, begins its 42nd number with an article on 'Auguste Comte and

his Significance in Historical Science,' by M. Gerye, who thinks that the time has become more friendly and auspicious for a proper estimate of the claims of Comte, and holds that every theoretical estimate of his system should be preceded by an acquaintance with his personality and with the influence of the position in which he was born. The family to which he belonged was strictly Catholic and monarchical. We have seen the influence of the writings of Joseph de Maistre but on the other side, one of the teachers from whom Comte derived his intellectual life was one of the strongest adherents of the philosophy of the eighteenth century, the admirer and biographer of Voltaire and Condorcet. In his culture, Comte was a pupil of the Polytechnic school, where specially he acquired a firm grounding in mathematics. Comte was for many years repetent and examiner in the Polytechnic school, by which his mind must have been definitely turned in the direction of the mathematical sciences. Indeed, mathematics and physics were known *par excellence*, as the 'Sciences.'—Upon this follows an article by M. C. M. Sukianoff on the positive Biology as a part of the Philosophy of Auguste Comte, being the report of a lecture delivered before the Philosophical Society in St. Petersburg on the 14th of March, 1897. The lecturer begins by remarking the contempt which those who cultivate biological studies do not conceal towards philosophy. He defines his own position and relation to the Biology of Comte.—The next paper is by M. P. G. Vinogradoff, and has for its subject, 'Progress.' Herder, Kant, and Condorcet attempted at once to lead a pathway into the thick wood of history. Fixing the attention on the chief attempts of the second kind, for cultivated people it is obligatory to explain what is one's position with regard to this capital question. Does man advance or what is the signification of his going forward? If he goes forward, by what way and under the influence of what forces? To these questions are given very diverse answers according to the position of the writers. The chief memorial of this direction was the famous Encyclopædia of the Arts and Sciences, which was considered a sort of Bible by the cultivated men of the time. The writer follows elaborately the conclusions of Condorcet as to progress.—The last article in the general part of the journal is by Mr. Alexander Voedenskie on the 'Fortunes of Philosophy in Russia.' The author begins with an estimate of the present state of the study. He asks what was to be expected from Philosophy in Russia? Does not one hear that there is no proper ᐧd philosophy in Russia? Admitting that this is the

case, Russia is no worse off than the other European nations. Even Greek Philosophy was not a purely indigenous thing. Locke and Leibnitz were under the influence of Descartes, Kant of Hume and Rousseau. Our author passes on to notice the preparatory period. He looks back to 1755, the year of the opening of the Moscow University, and finds a beginning of the philosophy even in literature thirteen years after that event. At that time, French influence was nearly supreme in Europe, and, as the writer points out, the French influence, in Russia designated 'Voltairism' was sufficiently characteristic to repel Russians from the study. Otherwise, there was something in the study of French philosophy tending to weaken it and lead to its disappearance. The general result was that the whole fifty years' existence of philosophy during its first period in Russia was only a preparatory existence. We thus come to the second period of Russian philosophy, that of the prevalence of German Idealism. Various things occurred, which might have been expected to facilitate the development of a school of philosophy. The first was the accession of his Imperial Majesty, Alexander I. The well-known clemency, intelligence and humanity of this monarch, his ready sympathy with the advancement of all that was advantageous to the intelligence and progress of the race, gave promise of a halcyon period in the history of the Russian Empire. In 1809, in addition to the teaching of philosophy in the University, the St. Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy was established. In the seminaries which existed in Moscow and Kieff, Logic, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy were taught, and in 1813, there was added the history of Philosophy, while in the Universities and even in the Gymnasia, were taught Logic, Psychology, the Philosophy of Law, Æsthetics and Moral Philosophy. The new German schools of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling, were introduced and found representatives in Russia. Even Fichte was taught in Charkoff by Professor Schad. Kant was, as was to be expected, somewhat more popular. In Kazan there was a lively controversy on the Kantean Philosophy. Schelling was the most popular of the new German school, while Hegel was introduced some thirty years later, when he in a great measure took the place of Schelling. Some of the philosophical Professors of these times were exceedingly popular. Among the rest in Moscow was Pauloff, who in the words of Herzen, taught Physics and Village Economy, and expounded them on the basis of Schelling, supplemented by Oken. From 1830 to 1840 a new method was taken up to propagate the philosophy which it

was not safe for the professors to expound to their hearers. This was by means of students' clubs or literary circles which met in private for the study of the philosophic which might not be safely expounded from the professor's chair, and which led to the development of many distinguished men, amongst others might be noted, Stankeirtch as the leader of such a circle to which also the poet Kolgoff belonged. Beginning with the philosophy of Schelling, they passed on to the study of Hegel and other philosophers. After the work of hunting philosophy out of the Russian Universities had continued for thirty years, we have to record in the time of Alexander II., a revival and second development, when from the year 1863 up to the present, philosophical studies have at last found a resting-place on Russian soil.—This concludes the articles in the general part of the journal, with the addition of an article by Lombroso on 'Continuous Thought in Children;' another on 'The Logical Character of Existential Judgments,' in the special part, and the usual critical and bibliographical notices.

ITALY.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (July 16th).—E. Masi contributes a review of the *Letters, etc., of Silvio Spaventa*, edited by Professor Croce.—Neera commences a new story entitled 'An Old House.'—L. Rava has an interesting paper on the 'Pontifical Restoration in Romagna.' After referring to Lord Byron's mention of the political demonstration in Ravenna on January 5th, 1821, the writer goes on to describe the course of the political situation, the return of the Pope to Romagna, and the new re-actionary tendency.—Mario Rapisardi contributes a fine poem, 'The Ascetic.'—C. Tivaroni writes on 'Mazzini and Parengo in the Venetian Conspiracy, 1865,' his remarks being founded on new documents. He publishes here two or three letters from Mazzini to Parengo, in one of which Mazzini writes: 'From 1859 up to now, especially as regards Garibaldi and the Committee of Unity, I have not received a penny from Italy. I collected the money which served for the organisation of work in Venice, partly from some English friends, and partly from some Italians (in London ?), and the balance was spent during the movement in Friuli. I have no funds. The money of the "gift," which is not in my hands, nor in Grillenzoni's, is sacred to the future spring.'—P. Mantegazza writes on 'Women in Science,' among whom Mary Somerville is given a high rank. Among living Italian scientific women he names Countess Lovatello, archæologist; Marchioness Paolucci, naturalist; and Signora Pigorini-Beri, folklorist.—An anonymous author reviews

the 2nd volume of General della Rocca's autobiography, quoting numerous passages, notably the description of the meeting of Garibaldi and the General at the siege of Capua.—Follows a section of Afan de Rivera's forthcoming book on *Hydraulic and Electric Traction on Railways.*—In the bibliographic review, R. Garnetti's *Short Review of Italian History* is favourably noticed, with copious quotations.—(August 1st).—'Thomas of Modena and Ancient Painting at Treviso.'—'Small Reforms in Higher Teaching.'—'King Murat and his Court, 1808.'—San Vitale at the tomb of Leopardi.'—'The Lido and Venice.'—'Electric Traction on Railways.'—'A Ciabattine Poet.'—'The Present Condition of Italy.'—(August 16th).—M. Ferraris contributes a thoughtful paper on 'Bismarck,' in which he specially points out how the great statesman, by giving Germany a constitutional but not parliamentary *régime*, saved his country from the political convulsions that menace the Latin nations.—Under the title of 'Reading Lucretius,' G. Negri reviews Professor Genssani's long work on that ancient author.—C. de Lollis relates the career, and comments on the works of the Spanish poet, Don Gaspar de Arce.—P. Lioy sends a clever fantastic paper entitled, 'Evocating a Spirit,' the spirit being Girolamo Fracasloro, artist, poet, doctor, and philosopher.—G. Frizzoni writes a monograph on Jacob Burckhardt, his personality, thoughts and works.—Fanny Salazar reviews *The Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, quoting copiously.—F. d'Ovidio discusses the guarantees of university professors and the disciplinary proceeding in those schools.—'An Italian Catholic' discusses the forcible dissolving of Catholic associations during the late disturbances.—(September 1st).—P. Molmenti here concludes his story of *Il Moretto* of Brescia; and Neera's novelette, 'The Old House,' is also finished.—O. Z. Bianco contributes a paper on 'Comets.'—G. Mantica has a biographical sketch of the life and works of Diego Vitrioli, the greatest Latin scholar of modern times, who died last May. He was a native of Reggio di Calabrio, and his fame commenced in the year 1845, when he published a Latin poem, 'Xiphias,' in three cantos, which gained the gold medal at the Royal Institution of Amsterdam, and was recently translated into Italian by Professor Correale. King Victor Emanuel sent Vitrioli from Turin the Order of St. Maurice, accompanied by an autograph Latin letter from his Majesty, a very unusual, and it may be said unique, honour. Vitrioli was a professor at several universities, and member of many Italian and foreign academies. His '*Elegie*' are his best work, and of them the poet Carducci wrote to him, 'Your style puts

mine to shame.' Vitrioli led a most retired life at his villa near Reggio. He was a grave and silent man, and to his fellow-citizens seemed an 'ancient monument;' but his intimates knew him to be a restless, nervous man, full of life and fire, with rapid enthusiastic speech and lively brilliant eyes. He composed many epigrams. He collected a real museum, and gave each room of his house a name alluding to some classic reminiscence. On festive occasions he used to crown with roses the busts of Homer, Virgil, Cicero, and Ovid, and write verses in their honour. He possessed a very valuable library of classic authors, and a rich collection of the autographs of almost all the celebrated literary men of Europe from the year 1845 till now. He wrote satires on modern comparative grammar, and many against German professors, one of which ran:

> '*Germanos olim Latium si perdidit armis,*
> *Perdunt Germani grammaticis Latium!*'

His verse was very melodious, and he preferred his elegy 'Decimilla,' remarkable for that quality, to his deeper and more original productions. He was sincerely religious, a thorough conservative as to literature, fought against romanticism and all new schools, and had even a secret aversion to New Italy. His complete works were published at Naples in a splendid edition, and two recent editions of his selected works have appeared at Reggio di Calabria.—'A Deputy' following up his former article, discusses the practical realization of the Czar's proposal. At the end of his paper he says that it clearly is the duty of Italy to accept and support with all her might the proposition of the Emperor; and throughout the paper the writer is enthusiastic in favour of the idea, 'the word of peace that, from the land of Tolstoi, shines as in letters of gold over the world.'—(September 15th).—L. Palma contributes a paper on 'War and Peace between the United States and Spain.'—E. Castelnuovo commences a new novel, entitled 'The Return of the Arethusa.'—Senator di Tavani sends the first part of a paper on 'Ministerial Designs of Reform.'—Professor Tamassia gives his impressions of Kiew.—C. Filangieri discusses the blockade of Santiago from the maritime defence point of view.—Professor Cian describes Turin in the olden time as known by native and foreign travellers.—A. Franchetti cites the example of a model school in Florence during the riots of last May.—N. Colajanni writes on 'Custom Experiments;' and C. Ricci contributes a long and instructive article on 'Education.'—Nautilus writes on 'The Subsidies given to the Mercantile Marine.'—S. Casana discusses the present

politico-social condition of Italy, deploring the weakness in the State caused by the differences between the clerical and the republican and socialist parties. He concludes: 'A painful task weighs at this moment on Italian statesmen, who, not being able to rely on any rapid effect of moral force, must be on the watch to extinguish any spark of a possible conflagration. They should strive to curtail this ungrateful phase as much as possible, and it ought to be followed by a glorious episode of Italy's regeneration, brought about by a firm government of truth and justice.'—Nemi reviews Mrs. V. M. Crawford's article on 'D'Annunzio,' published in the *Cosmopolis*, saying that the writer judges the Italian Romancist from an entirely English point of view, which is so different from the Italian. The critic quotes many of Mrs. Crawford's observations, for he thinks they hit the truth, and will be of service to young Italian authors. He finds that Mrs. Crawford's criticism has much analogy with that of Dr. Garnett in his *History of Italian Literature.*—'A Deputy' writes on the Czar's project for disarmament, and says, 'In spite of the difficulty, scepticism and diffidence felt at first, the work of the Czar will have a success, more or less slow, but sure, being informed with an essentially practical spirit, and with unshakeable firmness of intention. If princes who have dedicated their lives to the formation of formidable armies with which they have gained victories, and become glorious in history, still more glorious and sublime, before Humanity and before God, will shine those sovereigns who devote ther lives to the conquest of the olive of peace and of love between the nations.'

RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (July 16th).—F. Ramorina sends a paper entitled 'How Classic Mythology Survived the Wreck of Paganism.'—'Industries in Italy,' is an instructive article by G. Paravicini.—'A Country Tale,' by T. F. Coduri, is concluded.—F. P. Liuso contributes an astrological criticism on the 'Paradise' of Dante.—Then comes the first instalment of a novel, 'A Duel,' by F. Crispolti.—(August 1st).—A. V. Vecchi describes the battles of Cavite and Santiago as an excellent lesson for Italy.—P. Stoppani reviews G. Morandol's new work, *An Elementary Course of Philosophy.*—G. Falorsi writes a critical artistic paper on Francesca da Romini in Dante's poem.—F. Donaver revives the memory of the late Italian minister, Vincenzo Ricci, publishing many letters from his correspondence.—G. E. Saltini writes the story of Bianca Capella and Francesco I. of Medici; this first instalment describes the education of the prince.—C. Giorgieri-Contri contributes the first part of a new story, 'Caterina.'—(August

16th).—Signor Fogazzaro publishes here a lecture he delivered lately at the Royal Venetian Institute, on 'Science and Pain;' an excellent exposition of the theme in its widest extent. Pain, says Fogazzaro, is the origin of science, the stimulus to all effort, the educator and regenerator of individuals and peoples. A severe and inexorable judge, an infallible index to all moral and physical disorder, as well as the first counsellor and initiator of order, science co-operates with pain in purging the world of evil, and also in finally consoling all living souls.—L. Grilli resuscitates a forgotten poet, Cosmo Betti, quoting many of his poems.—(September 1st).—Elevtero reviews E. S. Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning*, saying that it had not yet been much noticed in Italy. In conclusion the writer points out that Catholicism has need of reform in Catholic countries, and he implies that in Italy the clergy are in general neither cultured nor civilized, that the sermons preached by favourite orators are more superficial and rhetorical than evangelical or profound, and that it would be to say much if one said that the Scriptures were even known to exist by the population in Italy. Cardinal Manning's moral testament, when his conversion, his life, and his opinions are known, has a formidable force.—'Reconstitution or Dissolution,' is an essay by A. M. Ferretti, who points out ten reforms which he thinks would raise Italy from the slough of despond in which she now sticks. These reforms are: 1, Religious conciliation in full accord with the temporal and religious authorities, and the formation of a really conservative party; 2, Severe restrictions; 3, The liberty of instruction on the basis of religion; 4, Agricultural legislation; 5, Reform of the army proportionate to the budget; 6, The systematising of the Erythrean colony; 7, The radical reform of the universities; 8, Reorganisation of charities; 9, Administrative decentralization; 10, Tributary reform in view to the conversion of rents.—U. Pesca sends the first part of a review of General Rocca's *Memoirs*, 2nd vol., in which Victor Emanuel figures in all his grandeur in the campaign of 1860. General della Rocca was one of the King's most intimate friends, notwithstanding that he did not fawn upon the Countess of Miraflore, which scandal mendaciously said was the only path to the King's friendship. On the contrary, Victor Emanuel never allowed the Countess to interfere with his personal friendships.—V. Mantovani discourses on 'Horses in the Army,' and G. Grabinski reviews *Le Desastre*, by P. & V. Marguerite.—The other articles are continuations.—(September 15th).—An interesting paper is on 'The Mother [illegible]alian Poetry,' by E. B. Conigliani.—G. Allievo writes on

'Herbert Spencer's Theory of Moral Education compared with his Psychological Conceptions.'—R. Ferrini describes some recent inventions.—B. d'H. writes on 'Charities,' and F. Crispolti concludes his romance, 'A Duel.'—G. Senigaglia describes the origin of the 'mask' in Stenterello.—M. A. Redevilla has something to say about Don Lorenzo Perosi and the reform of sacred music.

ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE (Year 23, No. 2).—Besides the conclusion of the documents from the Vatican archives concerning Innocence III. and Johanna of Naples; and of D'Ayala's notes on the Freemasons of Naples in the Eighteenth Century; we have here the edition of a Latin chapter from the *Table of Amalfi*, by F. Ciccaglione.—G. Mercalli contributes a paper on 'Apocryphal or Suspicious Seismic-Volcanic Notes in Ancient Neapolitan Chronicles.'—G. Ceci describes 'Gamblers and Games in Naples in the Eighteenth Century.'—R. Bevere writes on the 'Sacred Vestments used in Naples in the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Centuries.'—In the Bibliographical Review, St. Clair Baddeley's *Robert the Wise and His Heirs*, is noticed at length. The reviewer calls the book the best treatise on the period described, but regrets that it fails to fully satisfy the wish expressed by a Naples academy for a monograph on Robert of Anjou, in which his position as to the great question of the time would be studied. In Baddeley's book the internal condition of the realm has been neglected, and the very title shows that the author had in mind rather a biographical sketch than general history. Worthy of imitation is Mr. Baddeley's use of the Vatican documents, and his book ought to be studied by all learned men.

EMPORIUM (July).—This is a very interesting number of this beautiful illustrated magazine. 'In the Rubric; Contemporaneous Artists,' is a paper on M. L. O. Roty, by P. B. After a brief sketch of the beginnings of industrial art, the writer gives an account of Louis Oscar Roty, the modern French medallist, born in Paris, 1846, who has particularly contributed to the renaiscence of a beautiful art. The first medals by which he achieved fame were one of the 'Republic' and one of 'Joan d'Arc.' Since then he has gained ever increasing fame, especially for his metal tablets, on which he produced excellent portraits, among them, being one of the great Pasteur, and one of Taine's daughter.—Follows a paper on 'Walt Whitman,' by L. Ortensi, who calls the American poet's life and poems 'a treasure of affection, self-denial, love and

truth.' He gives a sketch of Whitman's life, and declares that he went further than the Italian poet Carducci in the path of superb disdain of all coercive rules of rhyme or rhythm in poetic production, and with superb results. He declares Walt Whitman to be the most truly extraordinary and unique personage of American literature.—'Goethe and Schiller's Houses at Weimar,' is a paper by G. Sacerdote.—Alessandro Luzio sends a paper on 'Radetzky,' with numerous reproductions of drawings from the Album of the brothers Adam, picturing events during the campaign in Italy, and some Milanese caricatures of the period.—Helen Zimmern sends a paper on 'American Bank Notes,' with their history and facsimiles.—P. B. writes 'In Memoriam of Sir E. Burne-Jones.'—(August).—'Contemporaneous Artists: Auguste Roden,' by P. B.—'Illustrious Contemporaries: John Ruskin,' by Helen Zimmern.—'In the Century of Graconio Leopardi,' by G. Fumagalli.—'Leopardi and the Modern Soul,' by F. Momigliano.—'The Electric Working of Metals,' by 'The Electrist.'

RASSEGNA PUGLIESE (July), contains—'Antonio di Bitonto,' by G. Vallaca.—'The Centenary of Leopardi,' verses by Ida del Fusco.—'My History of Linguistic Controversy in Italy,' by V. Vivaldi, and a review of *Criminals who Write*, a work of I. Ferriani. (August)—'An Unedited Letter of Scipione Ammerato,' by C. Valosca.—'The Martyrs of '99 in Bersani's Poem,' by G. Praitano.—'From Niccola Pisano to Niccolo Bolognese,' by F. Carabellese.—'The Papal Encyclical on the Suppression of Catholic Societies,' by X., who concludes his paper by saying that Leo XIII. has lived long enough to see the falling to pieces of an edifice which he raised, as his flatterers say, with wise art, but which, regarded by results must be termed unhappy. The nations on whom he basec his hopes are in a deplorable state, as is plainly to be seen ir Spain, and the other, France, is at present giving to the worl the spectacle of unexampled moral perversion. One might b tempted to say that the protection of the Pope carries no goo fortune with it. The best one can wish for the Papacy an the Catholic religion is that Leo XIII. may be the last *politica* Pope.—'The Survival of the Body,' by I. Ferrara, is a trans lation into Italian of the writer's own French article in th *Revue des deux Mondes* of August 1st, on the mode of preservin the human corpse, invented and carried out by Profess Marini of Naples. Most readers will not be aware of the fa that Professor Marini, by his method of petrifaction, made medal out of a portion of Garibaldi's blood shed on the fiel of Aspromonte. In the centre of this medal is the inscriptio

'The blood of Garibaldi is for ever red.' The medal is hard and lucent as polished stone. On receiving the medal Garibaldi wrote to the Professor:—

'My dear Marini,—Thanks for the beautiful medal, the work of your extraordinary genius. Your native land will be proud of you, and my children will have an imperishable souvenir of me, and of the author of the amazing work.

'With gratitude,
'Yours,
'G. GARIBALDI.'

There are several fine specimens of Professor Marini's petrifactions in the Naples Roman Catholic Cemetery.

RIVISTA POLITICA E LETTERARIA (August 1), contains:—'The Minister of Foreign Affairs,' by X.X.X.—'The Agrarian Question,' by Professor Frigieri.—'A Dream: the Revenge of Italy,' by Alfa e Omega.—'Monarchy, Garibaldi and Moderates,' by A. Fazzari.—'Giovanni Prati in Intimate Life,' by G. Stiavelli.—'The Exportation of Force,' by an Ex., etc. (August 15) 'Prince Bismarck in Italian Politics,' by X.X.X. —'The End of Narcissis' (a novel), by G. T. Piccardi.—'Ancient and Modern Carthagina,' by V. Grossi.—'The Revenge of Italy,' by Alfa e Omega.—'The Soul of Leopardi,' by A. Tartarini.—'Vine Exhibition at Asto,' by V. Nazari, etc.

NATURA ED ARTE (August 1), contains:—'Felice Cavalloth, dramatist and poet.'—'Remininiscences of Monte Carlo.—'The Masterpieces of Guiseppe Bezzuoli.'—'The Graphites.'—'Men and Things in Spain.'—'Views in Maremma.'—'Jokes.'—'Perfume.'

RIVISTA D'ITALIA (July 15th)—contains:—'G. Savonarola and the Present Hour,' by Professor Villari.—'The Army and the Theory of Militarism,' by Captain F. Ranzi.—'Again the Moon' (verses), by V. Aganor.—'The Branch of Olive,' Act I. (comedy), by G. Rovetta.—'The Wall—Paintings of Schifanoza (illustrated), by E. Panzacchi.—'The Love of Leopardi,' by G. Chiarini.—'The Italians at Constantinople,' by P. A. Palmieri.—'Leopardian Controversy,' by D. Gnoli. —'Vasco della Gama,' by A. V. Veichi.—The 'Review of Fine Arts' contains a long and appreciative monograph on Sir Edward Burne-Jones.—Social-Science, Music, Politics, etc., have each a valuable review, and notes about letters and art close each number. (August 15) contains:—'Prince Bismarck,' by L. Lodi.—'Letters in the Century of Leo XIV.', by D. Gnoli.—'The Importance of Modern Armies,' by Jack la Bolini.—'The Branch of Olive,' comedy, conclusion, by G. Rovetta.—'A

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and the narratives of [illegible] early days followed [illegible]. Later, however, it became [illegible] in Islam, and traditions were [illegible] sayings were put into the mouth of [illegible] use. Striking instances of this [illegible]—[illegible] A. Réville, under the [illegible] replies to criticisms [illegible] in his recent work *Jésus de Nazareth*, by M. A. Sabatier in this *Revue*. He [illegible] complains at the outset of the silence [illegible] influential organs of public opinion in Paris [illegible] his book, and deprecates the idea that he [illegible] M. Sabatier's criticisms. He craves that his [illegible] be regarded as a friendly, if learned, conversation on the subject with which his work was taken up. As he himself puts it, '*Ne [illegible] pas, causons*'—'Let us not argue, let us have a friendly chat over it.' On some points, as *e.g.*, the place assigned to Moses in his book, the dreams of Herod of dynastic supremacy over the Roman empire, etc., he stoutly defends the position taken up in his work. On others he acknowledges the justness of Sabatier's criticisms, and promises to give due weight to them in a second edition if that should be called for. As to Sabatier's strictures on his views as to the historic value of the fourth Gospel, he shows that M. Sabatier has misunderstood the drift of his remarks as to these.

He defends his views also as to the Infancy narratives, his opinion as to Christ's reasons for not earlier declaring his Messianic character, and as to several other points.—A short note on *Le Mahabharata dans la litterature buddhique* follows from the pen of M. S. D'Oldenburg.—Next we have the concluding part of M. Marillier's elaborate view of Dr. Jevons' *Introduction to the History of Religion.* He sets himself here to show that the explanations which Dr. Jevons gives in his book regarding the relations of public and private cults, the relations of religion and magic, the significance of funeral rites, and the functions of the priests and their social position among primitive races, are in many particulars arbitrary, and far from being established by the *data* at our command. Much which Dr. Jevons avers is little better than pious conjecture. It lacks verification. So thinks his critic here. Dr. Jevons makes Totemism, too, M. Marillier says, play a far more prominent part in the genesis and evolution of religion than there is any ground for attributing to it. Many of the facts on which Dr. Jevons bases his conclusions are not only susceptible of quite other interpretations than he gives to them, but some of them have a very different significance than that which he assigns to them. Great, then, as is the value of Dr. Jevons' book in M. Marillier's eyes, and warmly as he has spoken of its merits in the course of this elaborate notice of it, he yet feels constrained to point out these defects in it which mar its scientific character. Dr. Jevons presents his work as a scientific study. Unfortunately his theological bias has asserted itself too often in spite of himself, and has deprived his work of that claim.—M. Marillier furnishes also to this number a very full summary of the articles which have appeared in *Melusine,* Vol. VIII., and of those which have appeared in the *Revue des traditions populaires,* Vols. XI. and XII. He reviews, too, Dr. H. Clay Trumbull's *The Threshold Covenant;* while M. Maspero gives a highly appreciative notice of Dr. W. M. Flinders Petrie's *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt.*

Revue des Études Juives (No. 2, 1898).—In an anonymous paper a brief account is given of Nicolas Anthony, who, born in the Catholic faith, passed over to Protestantism, and then sought admission to the Synagogue as a Jew. Failing to get any synagogue to run the risk of admitting him, and realising the danger to which his acknowledged conversion to Judaism would expose him, he dissimulated, took orders in the Protestant Church at Geneva, and finally went mad. On his partial recovery he was condemned by the Genevan pastors,

[illegible] burned to ashes. This was [illegible] and what followed it, have [illegible] in any authentic form. [illegible] are furnished in this paper, [illegible] finished.—'Erreurs [illegible] historiques' is the title [illegible] of M. W. Bacher, and [illegible] which Professor [illegible] to M. Bacher) [illegible] of the *Beiträge zur* [illegible]. The general value of [illegible]. The title it bears is 'Zur [illegible].' It treats of the his- [illegible] and his treatment of, the [illegible]. M. Bacher thinks, in [illegible] sufficiently familiar with the [illegible] his information, and from [illegible] them. Dr. Schlatter [illegible] for his predecessors [illegible]. He presents his [illegible] almost axiomatic, form, [illegible] disputed.—M. S. Krauss [illegible] tractate, 'Derech Ereç.' [illegible] with its form, its divisions, [illegible] its contents. He regards the [illegible] are illustrated, as later addi- [illegible] several of these stories are awanting, [illegible] they are greatly altered, [illegible] have taken considerable liberties with [illegible]. In another section of this study, M. Krauss deals [illegible] named in the treatise. Fewer names [illegible] are mentioned in it than in any of the [illegible] bears the title, 'Tannaim et Amoraim,' two of the orders of Jewish [illegible]—those extending from about [illegible] up to the close of the fifth century A.D.—The article which follows deals also with one of these orders, the Saboraim—the order under which Jewish writers are classed who wrote between the beginning of the sixth century A.D. up to about 590. This article is by M. S. Epstein. He describes this order as intermediate between two periods that were fundamentally different from each other—that of the Amoraim who produced the Talmud, and that of the Gaonim who raised it to the dignity of a closed Canon, and set themselves to interpret it and spread it. The Saboraim were the last redactors of the Talmud. But the period during which they

flourished is an obscure one, and the information at hand regarding it is very contradictory. M. Epstein goes over the ground which M. Isaac Halévy covered in that section of his recent work which appeared in the *Revue des Etudes Juives* in 1896, under the title, 'La cloture du Talmud et les Saboraim,' and controverts several of M. Halévy's statements made there. —M. I. Levi furnishes a paper on 'Le tombeau du Mardochie et d'Esther.' This tomb is pointed out to travellers by the Jews of Persia with great pride. It has been often described, and a picture of it is here given which is taken from *The Jewish Chronicle* of March 4. M. Levi quotes the descriptions given of it by several travellers, and gives the inscription which is on the sarcophagus of Mordecai and Esther. The blunders of the inscription are pointed out as indicating the amateurish hand to which we owe the inscription. M. Levi shows very clearly that the Persian Jews have been altogether misled in regarding the tomb as that of either of the persons whose names have been attached to it.—M. D Kaufmann furnishes two studies, one entitled 'La lutte de R. Naftali Cohen contre Hayoun,' and the other, 'R. Dan Aschkenasi, exégète.' —M. Lambert furnishes two 'Notes exégètiques,' one on Exodus xxii. 22, and the other on the Hebrew terms rendered in our English versions 'usury.'—M. Levi has a note on the death of Yezdegerd, according to Jewish tradition.—M. Poznanski discusses 'Un fragment de l'original arabe du Traité sur les verbes dénominatifs de Juda ibn Bal'am.'—The 'Bibliographie' is furnished by MM. Levi and H. Hubert.

Revue des Deux Mondes (July, August, September).—In the first of these six numbers, the place of honour is occupied by an essay on Mr. Gladstone. It is from the pen of M. Francis de Pressensé, whose main object is to bring a tribute of respect and admiration to the memory of 'the most illustrious of the sons of political England, in the present century.' Of the spirit in which the very able and well-balanced sketch of the great statesman's career is written, some notion may be formed from the following sentences. They are taken from the general estimate of Mr. Gladstone with which the article closes. 'Such is the history of the man. It is that of a country and of a century. More thoroughly than any of his contemporaries, Gladstone was the embodiment of the England of his time. The unity of this life appears above all its variations. Gladstone was a great Liberal, a Radical, the man of progress and of the people, because he remained a Conservative in the profound and vital sense of the word. It was because he believed with all his soul in the solidity of the social and

political institutions of England, that he dared to fight against abuses and to raise a splendid edifice of bold reforms. It was because he had faith in the people and in the throne, in the masses and in the classes, that he sometimes seems to shake the very foundations of the State. It was because he knew that Liberalism is immortal, and that nothing can destroy that beneficent power, that he did not hesitate to break up the old Liberal party, and to cast it into Esou's caldron, so that it might come forth again with renewed youth and renewed strength. To this, I do not hesitate to add that what made Gladstone so lofty and so pure a figure, what places his greatness above all rivalry, is before all and above all, that sincere religion, that noble faith in God, which produced and maintained his generous faith in humanity. And now, what will remain of his work? From the political point of view, it seems that he has left the Liberal party in a bad plight, and that all the causes which he served are in jeopardy. Legislatively, we know that the politician rarely works for eternity or even for any lasting time. As a writer, Gladstone has left nothing that can endure. Eloquence is the most ephemeral thing in the world. His harmonious and sonorous voice will never be heard again. It will never roll out in the masterly and fiery periods of his speeches. He will never again keep the attention of a people or of an assembly spell-bound by his thrilling words. Others will arise, who will be the favourites of the hour. It is even possible that his special form of religion—although he thought he had fixed it firmly on the Eternal Rock—may itself submit to the influence of that universal law, which decrees that all human things shall ceaselessly undergo transformation, grow, and decline. And yet, of this long life there will remain something precious, something which will never be lost. . . . He has shown to the fullest extent, how much conscientiousness there can be in a statesman.'—M. le Comte Henry de Castries devotes an article of considerable length to the French Congo and the Independent State, and urges on France the advisability of offering no opposition to Belgian policy, in that quarter, lest an opportunity should thereby be given to England of stepping in and reaping where she has not sown.—In the mid-monthly number, M. Charles Benoist deals with the Austria of the future and the Europe of the future. A careful study of the complex and delicate question brings him to a threefold conclusion—the extreme difficulty which there is for Austria in remaining such as she now is; her helplessness to be anything else; and the necessity for her existence. There must, he says, be an Austria

in Europe; and, for the sake of international peace, it is incumbent on Europe to maintain the integrity of the Austro-Hungarian kingdom.—Continuing her series of trans-Atlantic sketches, the lady who writes under the name of Th. Bentzon, devotes an article to 'Education and Society' in Canada—the French portion of it, that is; and she draws a vivid picture of that deep and sincere love for France, which still pervades all classes, without being incompatible with the staunchest loyalty to Great Britain.—M. Lazare Weiller's article, 'The Suppression of Distances,' is partly scientific and partly political. On the one hand, it gives a most interesting and instructive sketch of what electricity has done, by means of the telegraph and the telephone, towards the practical annihilation of distances, and it considers what it may still succeed in accomplishing. On the other, it draws a dismal picture of what might result from England's monopoly of telegraphic communication with America, South Africa, and the East—both Near and Far—and urges the establishment of independent lines.—In a continuation of his extremely interesting investigation into the condition of peasants and artizans during the last seven centuries, M. le vicomte d'Avenel passes on to a consideration of the price of food in modern times.—In the first of the August numbers, le comte Benedetti devotes a long article to the European concert. Are we to conclude, he asks, that it is a fiction, a sterile, and perhaps dangerous, conception? 'Certainly,' he answers, 'we consider it, at the present moment, unsuited to render any useful service to the peace of Europe, which is only maintained by hostile groupings; but the European concert is the image, the commemoration of a past, of which the return is a consummation to be wished; and, for this reason, if we had any advice to give, we should not counsel our government to sever itself from it. It is, at any rate, an observatory, from which a better view of affairs is to be got; and such being the case, it should not be abandoned.' —Yet another description of the battle of Waterloo. This time the author is M. Henry Houssaye. Without comparing it with former accounts, or attempting to determine its accuracy, as against theirs, it may be recommended as a brilliant narrative; and one which, from a purely literary point of view, will amply repay perusal. It runs through two numbers.—The same judgment may be pronounced on an article of a very different kind—M. Em. Michel's 'Rubens at Home.' It is charmingly written; and presents a vivid, but in no way fanciful, picture of the great master's way of life, in the midst of his family, in Antwerp.—The immense political

and economical results which will accrue from the trans-Siberian railway are ably, instructively, and interestingly set forth by M. Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu in a long article, of which the gist is as follows. The trans-Siberian will not carry much merchandise between China and Central and Western Europe. It may play a considerable part in the commercial movement between China and Russia herself, and contribute to develop it. But, the facilities which it will afford for travelling will exercise considerable influence. In spite of the telegraph, of which the use is restricted by high charges, it is not without importance for European enterprise in the Far East, that a letter should take only 16 or 18 days, instead of a month or five weeks to reach Europe from China or Japan. It is of the greatest importance that men should be able to perform the journey more quickly, more frequently, and in greater numbers. The feverish interest with which all Europeans residing in the open ports, are following the progress of the trans-Siberian, testifies to the influence which it will have on the development of the Far East. The economic revolution which will be brought about by the longest of railways, will consequently not be limited to the opening up of the country traversed by it, great as that will be. It will strengthen the bonds between the two extremities of the Old World; and it will powerfully increase the means by which Europe can exercise its action on Asia. As soon as it was undertaken, the centre of European politics and of European ambitions was shifted from the Mediterranean Levant to the Far East. The events which took place last winter in those distant seas are simply the first consequences of the construction of the trans-Siberian.—In the same mid-August number, M. Henry de Savigny has an instructive paper on 'Pisciculture;' and M. Maurice Talmayr considers the influence of the wine-merchant on elections.—September brings, in its two parts, one of M. Frédéric Masson's interesting sketches of court life under Napoleon I. It is entitled, 'Josephine at the Tuileries.'—In a scientific article, M. A. Dastre gives an account of the recent discoveries in connection with the atmosphere and its constituents.—The account of a journey through Central Asia is contributed by M. Edouard Blanc; and M. Edouard Cat has an exceedingly interesting paper on 'Islamism and Religious Confraternities in Morocco.'

LE MUSÉON ET LA REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3 and 4, 1898)—'Les Huttes de Cham' is the title of the first paper in this double number. It is by M. E. Lefébure. Only the intro- [illegible] the study is given here. M. Lefébure endeavours

to determine the place and *rôle* of the deity Khem in the Egyptian pantheon. Like other deities in that pantheon, he is found to play many parts, and to undergo many transformations, which render it difficult either to localise him or define his functions. The Egyptians were, as perhaps most peoples are, an amalgam of different races, and the deities of all got more or less mixed up in popular thought, while the rituals by which each had been at first served became blended together, so that it is impossible for us now to unravel the tangled threads of the cult presented to us in the faiths and practices of the later ages. Khem seems to have been originally a god of the blacks, and to have been regarded, therefore, as their father. In some of the traditions concerning the negroes, a somewhat discreditable origin is given to them—a not uncommon way which the ancients had of libelling those whom they disliked or thought inferior to themselves.—Monseigneur Dr. C. de Harlez furnishes an article on 'Tchou-Hi et les Chinois modernes, ses disciples—sont-ils athées?' It is intended to supplement a previous study, and has been called for by recent works on this Chinese philosopher and the tendency of his teaching and that of his followers. The book specially dealt with here by Dr. de Harlez is that of the Jesuit father, Legall, missionary at Zi-ka-wei. Father Legall has based his *Memoire* on one of Tchou-Hi's writings, but our author here demands that in estimating that philosopher's teaching, a wider survey be taken than only of one of his treatises, and that the works of his disciples be also considered. He proceeds to present the results of this larger survey. He prefaces it by a brief account of the famous Chinese teacher himself. He was an innovator on old established faiths, and has suffered the usual fate of all such; but, like some of those too, he has influenced the trend of thought, and his work is bearing fruit in these days still. He died in exile and disgrace, but later generations have in some measure atoned for the wrong done him in his lifetime. Dr. C. de Harlez gives then a summary of his general teaching, and shows its influence on the trend of Chinese philosophy since. What he thinks has misled such writers as Father Legall is that they have not duly weighed the fact that the same terms in Chinese, as in other languages, are used sometimes with different shades of meaning, just as with ourselves Heaven is used to denote God as well as the expanse above us. Tchou-Hi uses the same name for God and heaven, but it does not follow that he denied the existence of God. He distinctly professes his faith in a personal deity who is the Lord of humanity

and of the universe. And as Tchou-Hi was not an atheist, neither are his followers to-day.—M. E. Beauvois continues his article on 'La contrefaçon du christianisme chez les Mexicains du moyen-age.' He seeks here to show that the testimony of early writers, who gathered their knowledge from the people's own traditions of their origin and wanderings, indicates that those from whom the Mexicans derived what knowledge they possessed of Christian beliefs and usages, were emigrants from the North Atlantic islands, who had, prior to their emigration, come under the influence of Christian missionaries. In the long course of their wanderings and their long contact with the idolatries and superstitions of the savage races in their path, much of what their ancestors had learned of the Christian faith and its usages had become forgotten, and all had become corrupt. M. Beauvois quotes his authorities for the various points he adduces.—M. le Compte H. de Charencey continues also his paper on 'L'historien Sahagun et les migrations mexicaines.' Sahagun is one of the early authorities on whom the previous writer relies. This part of M. de Charencey's paper is taken up with a series of notes on places and peoples mentioned by Father Sahagun in the course of his history.—M. de la Grasserie treats 'De la conjugaison négative ainsi que de l'interrogative et de la dubitative.' His purpose is to determine 'l'expression morphologique correspondante dans le plus grand mombre de languages possible.'—M. Ladeuze proceeds with his examination of 'The different Recensions of the Life of Pakhomus and their mutual Dependence.'—M. Perruchon furnishes an 'Aperçu grammatical de la langue ambarique ou amarinna comparée avec l'éthiopien.'—M. A. Marre gives another instalment of his translation of the 'Sadjarah Malayou.' This part includes chapters, or sections, XVI. and XVII.—A paper signed with the initials 'J. M.' is devoted to 'L'Epistula Eucherii et le martyre de la legion Thébéenne.'—The *Comptes-rendus* and the *Chronique* follow, and complete this double number.

REVUE SÉMITIQUE D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE (No. 3, 1898).—M. J. Halévy continues here his examination of the prophetical books of the Old Testament in order to show that their authors were acquainted with the Pentateuch, and especially with that part of it which the modern school of [illegible]torical criticism, almost unanimously, dates from the post-[illegible]c period. Here he takes up the Book of Ezekiel. He [illegible]ttention first to chapter 1, and more particularly to vv. [illegible] 26 to 27. The description given of the divine attend-

ants here has been, he says, the source of a multitude of metaphysical speculations of the most nonsensical character. Yet the vision itself is a mere transformation of the ideas entertained by the Hebrews and Assyrian-Babylonians regarding the Cosmogony and the dwelling-place of the deity, the transformation of these from architectural forms into living and intelligent beings. According to those ideas the world consisted of two parts, separated from each other by a free space, each part containing the water of the primordial abyss. Heaven was the solid and transparent roof, which bore the upper waters, and was supported by four columns placed at the four corners of the earth. Above the celestial waters dwelt the planetary gods, sons and grandsons of Anu. In Hebrew monotheism these latter were reduced to the rank of genii, or angels, while Jhvh was enthroned in the midst of the devouring fire and the resplendent light. Ezekiel's vision preserves this idea, but the four pillars with him become four living creatures, each with four wings, and four forms symbolising intelligence, strength, perseverance, and swiftness. Verse 21 treats specially of the firmament, *rakiah*. This term only occurs in Gen. 1, in two psalms, and in Daniel. Genesis 1, however, belongs to P. Dillmann's A. Cornill's treatment of the verse is criticised, and the Massoretic text vindicated. The translation, 'crystal,' M. Halévy objects to; it should, he says, be 'ice.' The ideas given expression to in this verse clearly betray the author's acquaintance with the first chapter of Genesis. In Ezekiel i. 26 appears a phrase, 'As the appearance of a man'—*k'marah adam*. This also betrays the writer's knowledge of Genesis. So does the phrase in v., 28, 'As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud, in the day of rain.' Nowhere else is this phrase found except in Genesis ix. 12-16, admittedly belonging to P. Similar proof M. Halévy finds in Ezekiel iv. 14. The reference there to animal flesh that becomes ritually unclean if the animal died a natural death or was torn to pieces by a wild beast, clearly points to the writer's acquaintance with the laws of ritual impurity which are given in Leviticus. Again, in Ezekiel xliv. 31, the limitation of eating such polluted food is confined to the priests. That shows acquaintance with Lev. xxii. 18. But compare also Deut. xiv. 21. In connection with Ezekiel 14, Halévy refers to a former study of his, in which he sought to establish the reading, 'Enoch,' instead of that of 'Daniel,' and if that is accepted, then Halévy sees here a proof that Ezekiel was familiar with the genealogical table of the Sethites, which belongs also to P. These are examples of M. Halévy's method of demonstra-

[illegible] of Ezekiel's accordances with the Priest-Codex. In the second part of his 'Recherches Bibliques,' M. Halévy continues also his 'Notes pour l'interprétation des Psaumes,' carrying forward his work in examination of the Psalms from Ps. cxx. to the end of the Psalter. As usual he suggests emendations in the text where he deems them necessary, and furnishes then a new translation of the text as emended.—M. F. Nau gives a preface to a translation with the original text of a Syriac work attributed to James of Edessa—'The legend of the sons of Jonadab, sons of Rechab, and the Fortunate Islands.' The text of the legend is given in this preface.—M. Perruchon continues also his 'Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie.'—M. Halévy examines a transcription of an Aramean inscription given in [illegible] of the *Compte rendu de la section classique de la Société de St. Pétersbourg*, suggesting some alterations in the text as there given. He gives too the first instalment of a new series of 'Notes Sumériennes,' and also furnishes the 'Bibliographie.'

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (August, 1898).—M. Binet describes various methods of measurement which he has employed in individual psychology, and concludes with the remark that they are not so much a means of measurement as of classification.—'The monocular Perception of Depth,' by B. Bourdon, describes a series of experiments made with luminous points. Some curious illusions are noticed, and the writer concludes that the monocular power of estimating distance is very imperfect and due partly to sensations of accommodations and convergence, but mainly to muscular movements of the head. M. G. Gaillard writes on the 'Search for the Particular.'—Other notes deal with recollection of dreams, and depersonalisation.—Mr. MacKechnie's recent work on 'The State and the Individual,' is reviewed by M. Belot, who while praising his impartiality and appreciation of the many-sidedness of his subject, remarks a tendency to get lost in details and 'lose in depth what he gains in surface.'—(September, 1898).—M. Dugas article on 'The Dissolution of Faith' is largely based on the views expressed by Mrs. Humphry Ward in *Robert Elsmere.* M. Dugas remarks that the surprising thing now-a-days is not the dissolution, but the maintenance of faith, and ascribes the latter in part to the superiority of clerical over secular education. He also points out that even Protestantism, in spite of its profession of being a rational religion, has recourse at last to a creed and the power of authority.—This side of the subject is treated of by M. Camille Bos, 'La Partie sociale de la Croyance.'—An elaborate discussion of the theory 'Motor Intuition' by M. Dubreuque.—'L'Expression des

Cadavre' by Ch. Fere draws attention to certain cataleptic phenomena in death from injury to the brain.—(October, 1898).—'Qu' est ce que le Crime?' by G. Tarde.—A biological article on Imitation and Mimicry by F. le Dantec.—J. Andrade 'Les Idées directrices de la Mécanique.'—Notes and discussions on recent articles.—A general review of the latest works on Mathematical Knowledge by P. Tannery.

REVUE CELTIQUE (July, 1898).—This volume opens with an article from the pen of the Editor under the title 'Esus, Tarvos Trigaranus,' the object of which is to show that the names of the greatest of the heroes in Irish epic literature, Cuchulainn and Setanta, are not primitives, but comparatively modern, that the first of the two was invented in Ireland and was the product of a legend which in itself is a deformation of the Homeric legend which shows Herakles overcoming Cerberus, and that the second is a Breton ethnographic term preserved in Ptolemy's *Σεταντίων Λιμήν*, a port on the western shores of Britain. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville then traces the connection between Cuchulainn and Esus and the legend Tarvos Trigaranus. Cuchulainn he identifies with the god Esus of the Gallo-Roman period, and is of opinion that the legend found its way into Ireland from Belgium about three centuries, B.C.—Dr. Whitley Stokes continues his transcript, with translation and notes, of the Irish version of Fierabras, the romance which according to Barbour, the Bruce related to his followers one night, to while away the time, on the shores of Loch Lomond.—M. Salomon Reinach next continues his extremely interesting and informing sketch of a 'Histoire de l'Archéologie Gauloise.'—M. J. Loth contributes the text and translation of a 'Parodie des *Mabinogion*;' M. E. Ernault an article under the title 'Le Breton *Concoez* "Gourme."'; and Professor Rhys a short note on Macalister's *Studies in Irish Epigraphy*.—The 'Chronique' is full and does not fail to mention the recent volume on Welsh MSS. issued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and a number of other publications issued in this country in connection with Celtic studies.—The 'Periodiques' contains a number of very useful notes.—Lastly, we have two indices to volumes XIII.-XVIII. of the *Revue* itself.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA (August, September, October).—Sudermann's novel 'The Wish,' which has been running through several numbers under the title 'El Deseo,' and the translation of Mr. Stead's volume on the Government of New

[illegible] which has also occupied a place in several of the preceding numbers are concluded in the September issue of this magazine.—S. Perez de Guzmán's articles, with the title '[illegible] the Austrians' and the sub-title 'Spanish Women in the imaginative Literature of Castile' are continued in all the three numbers of the quarter, and are full of information concerning the literature of Spain during its best period. In the first of the three articles the author notices the impulse given to Spanish literature by Queen Isabel, the foundation of the printing press at Toledo in 1477, at Alcázar in 1480, at Granada in [illegible], and at other places about the same period, the influence of Italian and French literature, and the extent to which the revival of letters was felt in Spain. Among the female authors mentioned are Mencia de Bobadilla, Maria de Castro, and Catalina de Valdierra. The number of high born ladies whom he mentions as taking part in the literary movement of the time and contributing to Castilian and Spanish literature is remarkable. Their contributions were chiefly in verse, and many examples of their work are given in the three articles, together with a number of biographical and other details.—In the August number, besides the continuations above noted, there is an article on 'The Science of Anthropology in Spain, 1897,' by L. de Heyos Sainz.—S. Fernando Aranjo contributes many pages both in this and the following numbers under the title of 'Review of Reviews.'—Here also as in the numbers for September and October, S. E. Gómez de Baquero writes the 'Literary Chronicle.'—Among other works noticed are S. Altimira's 'Critical Studies,' which are highly spoken of; Paul Groussac's 'From the La Plata to Niagara,' and Joaquin Toledo's 'Mysticism and its Manifestations in Philosophic Literature,' a doctoral thesis treating chiefly of the 'Spanish Mystics' of the Sixteenth Century, with some reference to the nirvana of Buddhism.—In the September number there is an unsigned article on 'The Genius of Canova.'—Sudermann's 'El Deseo' ('The Wish') gives place in the October number to a translation of one of Vladimir Korolenko's novels under the title 'The Fugitive of Saghalien,' which is preceeded by a notice of the author from the pen of one who signs himself X. Korolenko, who has won for himself a considerable name in Russia, was born in 1853, was imprisoned in Cronstadt in 1875, sent to reside at Perm in 1879, and finally banished to Eastern Siberia. For a time he resided at Nijni Novgorod, and it was while there that he devoted himself to literature and made his first appearance as an author. The first instalment of 'The Fugitive of Saghalien' introduces the

reader to the Siberian deserts, of the silence and awe-inspiring loneliness of which an impressive description is given.—In the September and October numbers we have two instalments of what promises to be a very outspoken series of articles on the recent war. The author signs himself 'Ignotus.' The articles are full of trenchant criticism of the Spanish Government, and accuse ministers of inaction, want of plan, and other faults. As yet the causes of the disaster only are dealt with, but the author does not hesitate to say: 'This has not been a war, but a whipping similar to what a little boy might receive.'—Another article of some consequence in the last of these numbers is on 'The Present Problem of Patriotism. The author, who is S. R. Altimira, deprecates divisive courses and writes strongly in favour of union and patriotism as a means of national recovery.—To the same effect writes S. E. Castilar in the 'International Chronicle' in the October number, who has much to say on the political and social condition of the country in his contribution to this and to the other numbers of the quarter.

HOLLAND.

De Gids (August).—Helène Lapidoth Swarth gives a fine symbolic poem, 'The Three Palaces,' and Mrs. Antink a sketch of a girl's life in the stone quarries of the Ardennes, rather wanting in interest. Another paper is devoted to a continuation of 'John Ruskin, Idealist.'—Byvanck, in 'Sentimental Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century,' gives extracts from the life and love-letters of Gerard Meerman.—A review follows of Tutein Nolthenius' book on Accident Insurance.—(Sept.)—This number opens with 'Pro Patria,' by G. Kalff, a highly patriotic article in which the rise and development of national feeling in Holland is traced from the earliest times onward. The last quarter of this century has brought, he avers, a remarkable strengthening of this feeling, as well as a more intelligent appreciation of the *rôle* to be played by a small neutral nation. He shows how of late, as recent literature and poetry witness, the nation has been roused to intense interest in all national concerns, and the Dutch name was never more dear than now to the people.—'Handwork in Primary Schools,' by Tutein Nolthenius, is first, an account of what is already a practice in certain schools, such as modelling simple objects in clay, etc. He tries to show that the introduction of this demands neither too much time nor too great expense, that it brightens school life, and, above all, forms a link between the school and real life, and will obviate the too common result

that children, on leaving school, dismiss as far as possible all they have learnt as uninteresting, and so forget it.—H. Kern gives 'A Peep at the Indian Stage,' *à propos* of Dr. Vogel's translation of the old Sanscrit play, 'The Mud Cart.'—A quaint paper follows in which Van Hamel gives an account of Louise de Coligny's 'Album of Poetry,' a small MS. volume at present exhibited in the 'Orange' Exhibition, arranged in honour of the young Queen's accession. Louise was the last of the four wives of Prince William I., and the stormy times she lived in, and her own sorrows, lend a living interest to the sonnets, complaintes, and chansons which, like most poetry of the end of the sixteenth century, are rather inferior productions.—Byvanck gives an interesting historical paper on the last years of the reign of William III., 1698-1702, continued in the Oct. number.—G. F. Haspels has a charming paper, 'Urk,' in which the island and its inhabitants are delightfully sketched.—H. P. G. Quack devotes a long paper to the late A. C. Wertheim, 1832-1897, the well-known Amsterdam banker. A Jew, thoroughly attached to his race, he was also devoted to Amsterdam, and in its financial, commercial, and city business, and in all that concerned the town's welfare, he never failed to assist and push on improvements of every kind.—There follows a review of Miss Augusta de Wit's book, *Facts and Fancies about Java*, a modest book, but one which is eminently successful in reproducing the charm of the East.—'The Descent of Illegitimate Children,' by Prof. Molengraaf, is written in support of the reform so urgently needed in the law of Holland as regards such children.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—The July number opens with a study by Dr. H. P. Bertlage of the much-vexed passage, 2 Cor., v. 14-17. The love which constrains Christians is said to be the love of God made known in Christ. Christ dying for all suffered the punishment due for sin, and became the principal figure in the new period in which we now live. Christians think of Him as the tried and glorified Head of the new period, and no longer regard Him in the light of His earthly existence. They are no longer their own masters or owners, but belong to Him, who for them and by His death and rising, has made an end of the old state of things. This is the thought Dr. Bertlage finds in the passage, but so short a *résumé* fails to do justice to his very careful and well-conducted investigation.—Dr. Knappert, whose papers on Germanic religion we have often noticed as they appeared in this magazine, writes on 'The Requirements for a Doctrine of the Germanic Gods,' in review of Dr. von Leuwen's *Germaansche*

Godenleer. The book is unsparingly condemned as not founded on any adequate study of the sources, and sacrificing accuracy to popularity. It is unfortunate, for an adequate account of Germanic religion is much wanted.—The number closes with an 'In Memoriam' of Dr. Hoekstra, one of the editors of the *Tijdschrift*, and writer of notable papers in it twenty to thirty years ago on ethico-religious problems, but also a man of warm heart and simple faith.—The September number has an important paper bv Dr. H. N. Meyboom on 'The Proverbs of Sextus,' a collection which was known to Christians of the early centuries, and used by them for edification. It has recently been made more accessible, a better Greek copy having been found in the library of the Vatican, and the Syriac translation having been studied with better instruments than those formerly available. Dr. Meyboom gives a conspectus of the body of teaching in these proverbs, according to subjects, and enables us to judge of a work once largely used in the Church as a book of devotion. In eating, drinking, the relation of the sexes, etc., the proverbs are strongly ascetic, and directly Christian influence appears but little.—G. Schläger gives a study of the use of the word κύριοσ in the New Testament, and finds that, as applied to Christ, it does not by any means always stand for a doctrine of His person, but simply expresses pious veneration.

GREECE.

ATHENA (Vol. X., Part 3).—The k. Kontos' 'Philological Observations' deal with the formation of the perfect and pluperfect tenses. 'On Rhetoric as a branch of Literature' by M. Panatzes.—The k. Hatzidaki has a last word in his controversy with Mr. Pappademetrakopoullos.—'An apparatus for determining the thermic conductivity of Hydrogen.'—'A more general formula for Fouret's Theorem.'—'De locis quibusdam Livianis Quaestiones Criticae,' by S. Bases.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (August, 1898).—In a series of articles running through the numbers for this quarter, M. A. Schinz describes the public libraries of the United States. He notes the public spirit shown in founding them whether by public or private means, and the excellence of their organisation. 'The great difference,' he says, 'between European and American librarians is that the one look at everything from the book's point of view, while

the others think of the reader.'—In 'Propos d'un Aquarelliste,' M. Glardon chats about his experiences as an artist.—'Chemin faisant' is an interesting Russian sketch.—M. Leger commemorates the late historian, Edouard Sayous.—(September, 1898).—In addition to the various serials, this issue contains a study of 'Extasy' by M. E. Mursier. He distinguishes three forms, an intense adoration, the visionary extasy of ascetics, and that in which not only the intellect, but the will is destroyed. He observes that the existence of a certain religious emotion after the intellectual elements of belief have disappeared, is an additional proof of Schleiermacher's theory that in the origin of religion, sentiment is prior to knowledge, piety to dogma.—(October, 1898).—In addition to its various serials this part contains—'Poétesses de France,' by M. Emile Troilliet.—'Les Bonaparte en Suisse,' by M. Eugène de Budé; and the usual excellent Chroniques of Swiss and foreign affairs.

SWEDEN.

THE ARKIV FÖR NORDISK FILOLOGI.—(Record of Northern Philology, Vol. X., No. 4).—A mistake was made in the last summary in entitling the number summarized No. 2, instead of No. 3. Here, therefore, we have No. 4. The contents of the number are, a critique of Professor Bugge's exposition of the runes on the Fyrunga-stone, by M. Eric Brate on Professor Bugge's own invitation. Brate has made an independent interpretation, and has since compared it with Professor Bugge's, which was placed at his disposal. This has led him to give up his own in part, but in other parts he holds fast to his own view, or in some cases comes to a new view, differing both from his own and from Professor Bugge's. He thinks his final view is now certain. M. Brate now goes into a most elaborate description of the inscription and its peculiarities, faults, etc., and gives the following as his reading of the inscription:—

A. line runofahik ragina Kudo tojeka
B. line unapou: suhurah: susih: hwatin
C. line hakupo

This is followed by an equally thorough examination and justification of this reading as against Professor Bugge's. M. Brate argues that the whole character of the Edda poetry is essentially similar to the ancient poetry of the other Germanic peoples; and he argues that a poetry of the same tendency was to be found in the North in the time of the more ancient

runes. And M. Brate believes from certain expressions, such as *runar regin kunnar*, that it belongs manifestly to the old stock of the alliterated formulae of this poetry, which must have arisen at a time, when faith in the heathen gods was still a living power. After a carefully reasoned out conclusion not only in relation to Professor Bugge's views as to the Fyrungastone, but also in regard to grammatical principles laid down by Professor Noreen of the Upsala University, M. Brate comes to the following results as to the proper form and meaning of the inscription :—

Runo fahik ragina kundo, tojeka Una pou
Suhura-h Susi-h Hwatin hakupō.

The translation he holds to be 'Runor rist I, who am of the kindred of the Gods, I Una made (also) Suhura och Susi ristningar at Hwata.' The connection between the names is left without indication, viz., Una, Suhura and Susi, a similar mode of grouping names is also in the runic inscription. The inscription's beginning falls, as already said, into two versified lines in the verse which bears the name fortryrdeslag,* viz.:

'Runo fahik A 1
Ragina Kundo A 1, vi.'

—2. On this follows a critique by H. K. Fridriksson on the words *dyggd*, *einna*, and *hreifa* (hyreyfa), (1), whether it is more correct to write with two g's or one? The conclusion come to is that this must depend upon the origin of the word, whether native or foreign, and the history of its development. This is followed by remarks and conclusions as to the verses in the Eyrbyggja Saga with explanations of them. This Saga has been published four times. The first time it was issued at Copenhagen in the year 1787 at the expense of P. F. Suhm, and was seen through the press by Grimur Thorkelin; then at Leipzig in 1864. For the third time the Saga was printed at Akureyri in 1882, and seen through the press by the priest Thorleifur Jonsson: while on the fourth occasion the Saga was printed at Reykjavik, 1896, by Valdimar Asmundsson, who also corrected the press. There are many verses in the saga. In the edition of 1787 there are explanations, or attempts at explanation, of some of the verses, with endeavours to explain other points after Gunnar Palson. These old comments were very defective, from the imperfect

* This verse is practically the same as that *Kviduhattr*, of which the Thrymsquitha may be taken as a specimen.

knowledge of the time. There was a decline from the ancient knowledge possessed and cultivated by the Skalds, and we should suppose that the time when the first edition appeared, in 1787, was such a time, as the author of these explanations does not fail to tell us, when this same branch of learning, the knowledge of the ancient Skaldic art, was in its childhood, or had fallen into a second childhood. The author recommends Sveinbjorn Egilsson's *Lexicon Poeticum*, which stands greatly in need of being re-edited and sent forth in a condition corresponding to the knowledge of the time. Following the Akureyri of 1882, we have the first verses on which comment is made on the nineteenth page. The author does not claim to have exhausted the subject, but only to have contributed towards the exposition of the Saga, or, more properly, of the verses in it.—The next paper is by M. R. C. Boer, the editor, if we mistake not, of a Saga himself, and is a critique on the 'Tale of Throud of Gate,' commonly called the Faereyinga Saga, Englished by F. York Powell; London, David Nutt, 1896. The reviewer congratulates us that in England also an interest exists in Old Northern literature, and we also learn that the above work is the second volume of the *Northern Library*. He praises, also, the printing and appearance of this second volume of the said Library. The Faereyinga Saga was given to the world in 1832 by no incompetent hand—Professor Carl Christian Rafn—in no less than three versions of the Icelandic original, with a Faerese and Danish translation. To this Professor Rafn prefixed an introduction of thirty-two pages dealing with the MSS. and sources generally of the Faereyinga, including the Flateyjarbok, with some inexactitudes. M. Boer praises the translation on the whole, though he is otherwise than satisfied with Mr. Powell's arbitrary division of the Saga and his curious use of the Icelandic in the citations, his alteration of the name and hero of the saga, whom he makes Thrand, and christens Thrond instead of Sigmund Brestisson. M. Boer says the name is arbitrarily altered. He tells us, moreover, that in order to impart to the saga the rounding of a modern romance, Mr. York Powell's has cut out whole sections, while he has added motives which are based only on his own imagination. Sections four and nine are declared to be fictitious matter. He comes down upon 'the miserable episodes that disfigure Nial's Saga and many more.' We may expect apparently a remodelling of the Saga literature. There are other arbitrary alterations, and M. Boer asks justly, page 384, what ground have we to apply the standard æsthetic to a work which is handed down

to us in the condition of the Faereyinga Saga?—The final paper is a review by M. C. C. Uhlenbock of a grammar of the Ur-Germanic, by W. Streitberg.

AMERICA.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (July, 1898).—With one exception all the principal articles in this number deal with subjects which are wholly, or nearly so, American and connected with the history of the United States. The first is from the pen of Mr. W. G. Summer. It bears the title 'The Spanish Dollar and the Colonial Shilling,' and discusses two questions—(1) What ought the Spanish piece of eight to have been, in weight and fineness, according to the mint laws of Spain, when it was adopted into the monetary system of Anglo-American? and (2) What was it in fact by weight and assay?—The second article is the exception referred to above, and is a scholarly chapter by Mr. Sidney B. Fay on the 'Execution of the Duc d'Enghien I.'—It is followed by an article over the signature of Max Farrand entitled 'The Delaware Bill of Rights of 1776.' Mr. Farrand gives the text of the Delaware bill in full, and compares its articles with those of the Maryland and Pennsylvania declarations.—Next we have an article describing and discussing Genet's attack on Louisiana and the Floridas.—In the section entitled 'Documents' we have a letter from Jefferson to George Rogers Clark, and secondly the Diary and Letters of Henry Ingersoll, Prisoner at Carthagena, 1806-1809.—The Reviews of books are numerous, and as usual well done.—'Notes and News' contains various items of information. The first 'Note' calls attention to the death of Mr. Gladstone, and to his publications.—The number concludes with an elaborate index to the third volume of the Review.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

[illegible] Being the Prayer-Book Version of the [illegible] a New Version arranged on opposite pages, [illegible] Glossaries by the Rev. S. R. [illegible] Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. [illegible]

[illegible] the version of the Psalms in the [illegible] Prayer, this little volume will prove exceedingly [illegible] with the original Hebrew or not. [illegible] that version of the Psalms labours under [illegible] The meaning of some passages it does not [illegible] expresses incorrectly. With a view to re[illegible] at least to guard the reader against them, and to [illegible] translation, Dr. Driver has here printed [illegible] the Prayer Book version of the Psalter, and on the [illegible] a new translation modelled as far as possible upon the [illegible] For the accuracy of this latter, Dr. Driver's [illegible] be accepted as sufficient. The [illegible] reads like a commentary on the older ver[illegible] use not only by English readers but by those [illegible] the Hebrew, as correcting for the former the in[illegible] they are in the habit of using, and as enabling [illegible] than they could without its assistance the [illegible] of the original. In printing the Prayer-Book [illegible] Dr. Driver has followed the example of the Great Bible, and [illegible] or explanatory glosses within brackets, in [illegible] the passages marked in the Sealed Prayer-Book of 1662 as [illegible] he has placed in square brackets. The volume is supplied with a scholarly introduction, in which some account is given of the origin and history of the Prayer-Book Psalter, and with two glossaries, one of which explains certain words and phrases of frequent occurrence in the Psalter, while the other elucidates the archaisms that occur in it and are likely to mislead the reader.

Leibniz: The Monadology and other Philosophical Writings. Translated with Introduction and Notes by ROBERT LATTA, M.A., D.Phil., etc. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1898.

Roughly speaking, we have here translations of Leibniz's Monadology and of certain other of his philosophical writings and a lengthy introduction to them. The first half of the volume is taken up with this latter, while the translations appear in the remainder together with an ample index, the value of which those who have occasion to use it will readily admit. This, however, gives but a very inadequate idea of the labour which Dr. Latta has devoted to the volume or of the manner in which he has pervaded its pages—with his own thought and researches. Numerous footnotes

generally of great significance occur on almost every page, and the translations are provided as well with prefatory notes, mainly bibliographical, and appendices of a more or less historical and philosophical character. The pieces translated are, besides the Monadology, those 'On the Notions of Right and Justice,' the 'New System of the Nature of Substances,' 'Explanation of the New System,' 'Third Explanation,' 'On the Ultimate Origination of Things,' the 'New Essays' and the 'Principles of Nature and Grace'—a selection which while excellent for its purpose, will commend itself to all students of Leibniz and his doctrine of monads. As for the translations themselves Dr. Latta can write good English himself, and his versions will excellently supply the wants of those who though desiring to read the pieces here translated, have no access to the original text. It is into the Notes, Appendices and Introduction, however, that Dr. Latta has thrown his strength, and it is in these that he is at his best and that his work will be most appreciated. The Notes are all that can be desired, while the Appendices throw additional light upon the philosophy of Leibniz and correlate it with other systems. As an expounder of the Leibniz's theory, and after all it is only a theory, and as Lötze has pointed out, must always be one, Dr. Latta is almost without a rival in this country, and his Introduction will bear favourable comparison with what has been written in this way either in France or Germany. He has a thorough grasp of the systems of Descartes and Spinoza, though with respect to the doctrines of the latter there are some points on which we should feel disposed to join issue with him. Spinoza was unfortunate in the language he chose as the vehicle for making known his system, and in reading his works one is always haunted by the feeling that, precise as he seems to be, he is not always expressing exactly what he desires to express, and that in order to apprehend his real meaning one has to go backwards and forwards, and to weigh one expression against another. But to return to Dr. Latta, if he has a fault at all as an expositor, it is that of now and again using more words than are requisite in order to make his meaning plain. Now and then, in fact, he falls into the fault of Butler, and in his nervous anxiety to be clear lets fall a word or phrase which has a tendency to obscure what is already clear. On the whole, however, his exposition is admirably clear and precise. What, for instance, can be better than the following: 'Leibniz's problem thus takes the form of an attempt to find a unit of substance which shall avoid the imperfections of both the Cartesian and Atomist's theory. This unit must be real and indivisible. Its reality must be of such a kind that it does not conflict with its indivisibility, and it must be indivisible in a sense which is consistent with the continuity of the whole. The basis of its reality cannot be quantity, for no quantity is indivisible. And its indivisibility cannot be exclusive, particularly in space or time, for indivisible points in space or time may form an aggregate, but cannot become a *continuum*. The unit of substance must be intensive rather than extensive, and the continuity of the whole must be not a mere homogeneity, but a continuity through infinite degrees of intension.' Then again, after contrasting the extensive with the intensive doctrine of substance, the latter of which regards determinations as primary or essential, and implicitly declares that whole and part are inseparable, he remarks: 'All specific determinations, states, or functions are determinations, states, and functions of the whole, not in the sense that they are ultimately reducible to one vague determination which is common to everything, but in the sense that the whole is expressed, symbolised, and therefore in some way included in each, however specific, individual, limited, it may be. Thus the parts are not determined or characterized without reference to the whole, and the whole is not a mere vague aggregate of independent

parts. In some sense each part must contain the whole within itself, each unit must include an infinite manifold. The whole stands not merely in a mechanical but in a dynamic relation to the part. The whole is not merely other than the part, but in some way passes into it and expresses itself through it. That, in general, is the conception of substance as essentially intensive rather than extensive.' This, on the whole, with the exception of one or two vague expressions, is also excellent. But it is a mistake to say that 'the whole is expressed' in the part; at anyrate, the expression is open to a couple of meanings, while the sentence beginning, 'In some sense each part,' is more rhetorical than philosophical, and is contradicted on the following page, where it is roundly affirmed that 'The part cannot contain the whole within itself actually and fully.' The whole may find expression in the part, but only to a limited extent. One might be disposed also to ask, still referring to the same sentence, how a unit, which in itself is strictly finite, can or 'must include an infinite manifold?' The reader, however, need not be at any loss, for Dr. Latta usually either sooner or later corrects any vagueness of impression his words may now and then have a tendency to leave upon the mind. Taking the introduction as a whole, however, it is a remarkable performance. For the study of Leibniz, the volume is of exceptional value. It is marked by rare ability and scholarship, and deserves great praise.

An Outline of Philosophy with Notes Historical and Critical. By JOHN WATSON, LL.D. Second Edition. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1898.

Professor Watson's excellent manual on Comte, Mill, and Spencer has met with so much favour that he has now published a new edition of it, with additions, under the title we have placed above. The volume aims at something more than giving the students an account of the systems of the three philosophers just named. Its aim is to furnish him with an outline of Philosophy itself. In the present edition the work has undergone revision and some alterations. These latter are chiefly confined to chapters vi. and x., which treat respectively of Biological Science and the Idea of Freedom, and are intended to make the author's meaning clearer. The 'Notes Historical and Critical' form the additions. For the most part they are expansions of the text, and discuss such topics as the Platonic and Aristotelian criticism of Sensationalism, Aristotle's definition of Philosophy, Agnosticism and Scepticism, the theories of Locke, Hume, and Berkeley on Mathematics, the doctrine of Non-contradiction, Natural Evolution and Lotze's Theory of Knowledge. A somewhat wider scope is thus given to the volume and its usefulness materially increased.

Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603. Edited by JOSEPH BAIN. Vol. I., A.D. 1547-1563. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House. 1898.

This volume is the first instalment of a new Scottish Calendar which is intended to supply students of Scottish history with fuller information respecting the period between 1547 and 1603 than can be obtained from the volumes published some years ago by Mr. Markham J. Thorpe, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. Many of the documents here printed were included in Mr. Thorpe's volumes, but the mode of dealing

with letters and papers which was then in vogue when calendaring them, allowed only the briefest indications of their contents to be given, and made the Calendars of them little more than catalogues. In the volume before us their contents are given with great fulness, and when of more than ordinary importance the text is printed in full, as in the Hamilton Papers and the Border Calendar. The advantage of this is obvious ; to the student it is an immense boon. The period covered by the papers in this volume extends from 1547 to 1563. The papers may be divided into four parts—those belonging, (1) to the Government of Arran (1547-54) ; (2) to the regency of Mary of Lorraine (1554-59) ; (3) to the troubles of religion, followed by her supercession and death, and the subsequent interregnum (1559-61) ; and (4) to the period between the return of Mary to Scotland in August, 1561 and April 1563. The first paper, which bears the date February 1, 1546, is a letter from the Earl of Arran to Pope Paul III. praying his Holiness to excuse James Forrester, the royal vice-treasurer, from answering to a summons to appear within sixty days before the Apostolic *Camera* on a charge of having attended the Regent two years before in the battle at Glasgow against the Earl of Lennox. The next refers to the garrison of St. Andrews, and their hopes of relief from England soon to be frustrated by their surrender to the French before Somerset's intended aid, under Admiral Elmes, could reach them. The terms on which the garrison stood with the Protector are shown by a letter of Patrick Lord Gray, who before long proved himself as great a double-dealer as his more notorious grandson, the Master of Gray. In a letter, dated from St. Andrews, he undertakes to do his uttermost to bring about the English marriage, to deliver up Broughty Castle, and to aid in recovering Perth. One of Somerset's chief correspondents at this period was William, Earl of Glencairn, then an old man, who had been taken at Solway Moss. From his letters here given, he apparently acted a treacherous part, sending all the news he or his spies could gather of the Governor's forces and intentions up to the eve of Pinkie. Though sometimes said to have been slain at Pinkie, it appears that he was not even there, the Governor having forbade him to be on the field, and besides, he was in Council with the Queen Dowager at Stirling on 12th January, 1547-8. In the following July, again, he proposes to Somerset to fortify a strong position on the Clyde opposite to Greenock, a proposal which if acted upon would, as Mr. Bain points out, have been as disastrous to the country around as Lord Gray's delivery of Broughty was to the borders of the Tay. Lennox also seems to have had a plan for establishing the English on the Clyde. On October 7, 1547, he writes to Somerset, that his kinsman, Colquhoun of Luss, who had been taken prisoner, has a notable house and strength (Dunglas Castle) very fit to be in the king's hands. Gray subsequently proved himself extremely active, and won great favour from Somerset, by whom he appears to have been at first implicitly trusted. This did not prevent him, however, from entering into a bond with the Queen Dowager to serve her daughter, or from taking her pay, of which Somerset seems to have been entirely ignorant, for three months later he sent Fisher, his secretary, to the 'King's town of Dundee' or Broughty Castle, directing him to send for Lord Gray and to give him the king's and his own thanks, with a gold chain, a pension of 1000 crowns, and 300 crowns for himself. Fisher was also to procure a secret meeting with Argyll, to give him a gold chain too, and on his signing certain articles against the Governor, to promise him a royal pension of 2000 crowns as an earnest of other favours. Much of the earlier part of the correspondence relates to the English occupation of Haddington, and to its subsequent siege by the French and Scots. Among Somerset's other

[illegible] was James Henrison or Herrison, the author of *The Godly* [illegible]. He wrote on July 11, 1547, to show him how four [illegible] the most rebell countre of Fyff—Inchgaw, Louchlevin, [illegible] might be seased, and offers his own services on [illegible] suitably rewarded. A year after he wrote to [illegible] credit with the Protector, to procure [illegible],' the object of the said 'little book,' of [illegible] to advocate the union of the realms under [illegible] papers by Henrison are given. He seems, how- [illegible] that he is left to seek his wages [illegible] that neither know him nor his services [illegible] of the truth of his suit, and hints that [illegible]. With the accession of Elizabeth, the [illegible] more interesting and still more important. [illegible] and her intrigues, as well as those of her [illegible] pleasant light thrown upon them. Knox, of [illegible] the correspondence, as well as Cecil, Ran- [illegible] James, Arran, Mary of Lorraine, and Mary [illegible] of the Queen Mother does not in the [illegible] her conduct here. The frankness and [illegible] and her daughter are in strong contrast to [illegible]. Both of them had a part which was [illegible] enlist one's sympathy. The elder shows [illegible] to have been a woman of great capacity, [illegible] volumes will tell more of her daughter. [illegible] of the present volume, how- [illegible] that the country was in a state of [illegible] Queen's foes were of her own household, [illegible] in the State were seeking their own ends, and [illegible] was in league, if not in the pay, of the [illegible]. Of the best of her servants, Maitland, [illegible] to show that he did his duty towards her, [illegible] her his services he was in receipt of a pension from [illegible] Knox, Elizabeth was pleased to use, though she never for- gave him [illegible] *Trumpet*. It is doubtful whether the corre- spondence [illegible] is altogether to the Reformer's advantage. His ad- vice to Cecil as to how to give underhand assistance to the Congregation, without committing Elizabeth, is of a very questionable character. In a letter, dated August 6, 1561, and written to Elizabeth, on his own assured- ness alone he makes accusations against his own Sovereign of harbouring sinister designs against her. Though good at flinging hard names at others, he does not seem to have been altogether pleased when the same liberty was taken with himself. Randolph reported to Cecil (August 15, 1560), that the bishop of Dunkeld on being asked to hear Mr. Knox, answered that he would never hear 'an olde condemned heriticke.' As Mr. Bain remarks, 'From the bishop's point of view it was true, if rudely spoken.' Randolph adds, however, Knox has been 'with hym [the bishop] for yt sens that tyme, so have others that have preached.' Referring to Knox's marriage when he was bordering on sixty, Randolph writes to Cecil :— 'Your honour will take it a great wonder when I write that Mr. Knox shall marrie a verie nere kynsewoman of the Duke's, a lordes daughter, a yonge lasse not above xvj. yeres of age! I rather think you will laugh at my madness to write so unlikely a matter than to believe it.' From one of Randolph's letters it appears that by October 23, 1560, Knox had written only one book of his *History*, and that if Cecil approved of its

being continued, Knox must have more help than he could get in Scotland. Knox is not always correct in his statements, and the testimony of eye-witnesses is frequently against him, as for instance, in his accounts of Maitland's address to the royal forces and fervent prayer on the field of Corrichie, and of Mary's demeanour on learning of Huntly's death. Compared with what Randolph writes to Cecil, both receive a different complexion, and the second is especially coloured by Knox's determination to see no good in anything Mary said or did. Here, however, we must stop. For the history of the period the volume, as need hardly be said, is invaluable, and further instalments of the *Calendar*, under the editorship of Mr. Bain, cannot but be eagerly looked for by students of Scottish history.

The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other Original Sources. From the German of Dr. Ludwig Pastor, Professor in the University of Innsbruck. Edited by FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS of the Oratory. Vol. V. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1898.

This volume contains an excellent idiomatic translation of about one half of Dr. Pastor's third volume. Seventy pages are taken up with the preface, a list of the volumes quoted in this and volume six, and the table of contents; two hundred and twenty-six pages are devoted to a sketch of the condition of society in Italy during the fifteenth century; about three hundred are occupied with the pontificates of Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI., while the remaining fifty contain a series of extracts from a variety of hitherto unpublished documents, and the index. As is now well known to most readers, Dr. Pastor has had the advantage of having had access for the purposes of his work to a vast store of materials in the shape of contemporary documents which previous writers were not permitted to consult. For the present volume also he has consulted a variety of sources, which, though open to other writers, were either overlooked or not used by them. While the Secret Archives of the Vatican have furnished him with the greater part of the information which he has now published for the first time, he has also drawn largely from the Ambassadorial Reports in the Italian Archives, especially from those in Mantua, Modena, and Milan, his more searching examination of which has enabled him to supplement and correct the information already obtained from them by Gregorovius and others. The sketch of Italian society in the fifteenth century deals chiefly with its social and moral condition, and is an exceedingly creditable performance, many-sided and thorough. While denouncing in strong terms the immorality and vice which prevailed in certain classes of society, he shows that throughout Italy and among all classes there was a strong and vigorous religious element which kept alive a robust piety, a domestic life of great purity, a widespread consciousness of the evils of the times, and profound longings for moral and spiritual reform. The citations which Dr. Pastor makes from private correspondence and private memoirs in proof of this are often very beautiful, and show that notwithstanding all that has been said as to the utter sensuality and worldliness of the times, society in Italy was not without its redeeming features, and had a side which was bright and beautiful as well as one that was dark and reprobate. The temptation to transcribe some of these passages is almost irresistible, but we must refer

the reader to Dr. Pastor's pages, where he will find much new light thrown upon the period, and an abundance of fresh information drawn from contemporaneous and authentic sources. Dr. Pastor's narratives of the reign of Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. will serve only to deepen the impression already formed of the characters of these two Popes. Much new information is given respecting them as well as respecting many of the incidents which occurred during their occupancy of the Chair of St. Peter, but all goes to prove that the prevalent opinion respecting them is in the main correct. Innocent was not a strong Pope, and is not to be compared with his successor. He was ably supported by Giuliano della Rovere and Raymond Peraudi, but the times required a stronger hand, and he was thoroughly unfortunate, though much might be said in his favour. The difficulties he had to contend with—his poverty, the hostility of Ferrante, the intrigues of Corvinus, of Lorenzo de' Medici, of Venice and of Bajazet, are all admirably set forth by Dr. Pastor with many new and interesting details, all of which confirm the opinion that however well-intentioned Innocent was, he was unable to cope with the circumstances in which he found himself. Even the one piece of good fortune which may be said to have fallen to him—the possession of Dachem—he was unable to turn to profit, and the great object of his life, the leading of a crusade against the Turks, which, if successful, would have changed the history of Europe, came to nothing. The rehabilitation of the Borgian Pope Dr. Pastor has rendered impossible. The proofs he has produced of the simony by which he secured his election, of his nepotism, and of his thorough worthlessness as a pope and as a ruler, notwithstanding his accomplishments and personal attractions, are incontrovertible. Next to the introductory sketch, Dr. Pastor's narrative of Charles VIII.'s campaign in Italy is the most brilliant piece of writing in the volume. Scattered throughout its pages are many points of interest and numerous corrections of details. In the introduction we have some excellent paragraphs on the Jews and usury, from which we learn that others besides Jews lent money at exorbitant rates, and that these were more complained of than the Jews. There is an excellent account also of the origin of the *montes pietatis*, founded by the Franciscans to save the smaller townsfolk from falling into the hands of money-lenders, Jewish or Christian, but more especially the latter. The Jewish money-lenders of Florence, however, seem to have been the most exacting. Their charge for loans, it would appear, was 32½ per cent., so that a loan of 100 florins would bring in by the end of fifty years the respectable sum of over 49,791,556 florins. In connection with the Monts de Piété, St. Bernardino is, of course, mentioned, and some details are given of his work. As might be expected, Savonarola's name frequently occurs, and various incidents in his career are referred to. In illustration of the immorality of the times, it is stated, that when Pius II. went to Ferrara in 1459 he was received by seven princes, not one of whom was a legitimate son. Among the notable men mentioned is Pico Mirandolo, of whom a brief but interesting sketch is given. Dr. Pastor commends Innocent's treatment of the Jews, a considerable number of whom settled in Rome during the fifteenth century. On the other hand, he vigorously defends him against charges which have been brought against him in connection with the persecutions for witchcraft in Germany, pointing out that long before Innocent the belief in witchcraft prevailed there, and that Innocent's Bull of 1459 contains no dogmatic decision of any sort upon the subject. Incidentally, the fact hitherto overlooked is pointed out, that the Tertiaries of the Franciscan Order numbered among them both Columbus and Dante.

Infessura's assertion that Innocent authorised concubinage in Rome is denied. Proofs are adduced that he punished the vice with severity in France, Spain, Portugal, and Hungary, while none is forthcoming in support of Infessura's allegation, which is set down as mere gossip. Dr. Pastor is not altogether persuaded of the exceeding beauty of Lucrezia Borgia, but believes that she was not so bad as she is sometimes painted. He agrees with Reumont that 'the most serious accusations against her rest on stories which, in their foulness and extravagance, surpass the bounds of credibility and even possibility, or on the lampoons of a society famed for the ruthlessness of its satire.' The cause of the murder of the Duke of Gandia is left uncertain, and no definite conclusion is come to as to who perpetrated the crime. The question, however, is discussed at considerable length. Dr. Creighton's volumes are still fresh in one's memory, but the perusal of this volume is by no means unnecessary for those who desire to obtain the latest information respecting Italy and the Papacy during the reigns of Innocent VIII. and his immediate successor.

Christian Rome: A Historical View of its Memories and Monuments. By EUGENE DE LA GOURNERIE. Translated and abridged by the Hon. Lady MACDONALD, with a Preface by H. E. CARDINAL VAUGHAN. 2 vols. London: P. Rolandi. 1898.

The work of which this is an abridged translation was published some forty years ago, and on the continent has been extremely popular, having passed through many editions. It professes to tell the history of Christian Rome as illustrated by the lives of its Popes and as recorded by its monuments of Christian art and devotion. Since it was written many things have been done in Rome, numerous new sources of information have been opened, and details of tradition have been corrected, so that in some respects it may be said to be scarcely up to date. Nor can it be said to be written with the breadth of view or scientific accuracy of such works as the Histories of Creighton, Reumont or Pastor. It does not, in fact, pretend to be. All that it aims at is to give an account of the chief events in the lives of the Popes as they were connected with Rome, and of the splendid monuments of Christian civilisation in which Rome abounds. And this it does in a most admirable way. Judged from the point of view from which it was written, it is indeed a most charming work, and though it may not be taken as a substitute for more modern guides, it may serve as an excellent companion to them. It represents the popular traditions of the Eternal City, and is full of thrilling events. Lady Macdonald's part of the work has been done with skill. But for the title page the reader would scarcely suspect that her pages are a translation.

Ireland, 1798-1898. By WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS. London: A. D. Innes & Co. 1898.

Mr. O'Connor Morris is the Judge of the County Court and Chairman of the Quarter Sessions for the united Counties of Roscommon and Sligo, an Irish landed proprietor living upon his ancestral estate, thoroughly acquainted with the Irish and well versed in the history of Ireland and in recent legislation for that country, while to readers of this *Review* his capability and quality as a writer are well known. The task which he has set himself in the volume before us is one which is quite congenial to his

tastes and one which, as might be expected, he has effectively carried through. The history of the period which his volume covers has been told before, and in some parts with more minuteness. The earlier part, for instance, which is here simply introductory, has been told by Mr. Lecky in his comparatively recent *History of England in the Eighteenth Century,* while much of its secret history has been told by Mr. Fitzpatrick in his *Secret Service under Pitt.* As for the latter part, the works upon it are almost legion. Still Mr. Morris's volume will take a place of its own. To say the least of it, it contains a handy and lucid narrative of the things which have been done in connection with Ireland and of those which have happened in it during the century between 1798 and 1898—a century which to all appearance is likely to be one of the most fateful in the history of that distressful land. Many of the events narrated are perhaps not sufficiently distant to admit of being regarded from a point of view which is purely historical. It may be, too, that politics still supply the light in which they are interpreted. Nevertheless, the opinions which Mr. Morris has freely scattered throughout the volume have always the appearance of having been carefully formed. They are indubitably those of a trained thinker and of one whose opportunities for forming them have been exceptional, and are deserving of the greatest attention. From beginning to end Mr. Morris is of opinion that it has always been the misfortune of Ireland to be governed by statesmen who did not understand the Irish, and whose best endeavours were rendered more or less ineffective and sometimes positively mischievous by reason of this ignorance. A strong Unionist, Mr. Morris condemns Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy; he approves of the measure by which the Church was disestablished, but condemns the land legislation which followed it. He allows that the Act of 1881 was a great measure, but regrets that the counsels of Butt and Longfield were disregarded. He has a good word to say of Mr. Balfour's Congested Districts Boards, but regards the land legislation of Lord Salisbury with as little favour as he does that of Mr. Gladstone. To discuss these and other questions which occupy the pages of Mr. Morris's volume would here, however, be out of place. We can only add that the volume is an earnest and able attempt to place the Irish question before the public, that it is written in a calm and judicial spirit, and deserves to be read and studied by all who would understand the problems with which it deals.

Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns: 1650-51. By W. S. DOUGLAS. London: Elliot Stock. 1898.

Mr. Douglas has here written a careful and elaborate account of Leslie's cautious strategy about Edinburgh, and of all the other incidents in Cromwell's Scottish campaign from July, 1650, to the battle of Inverkeithing in July, 1651. The narrative is written on the largest scale and with the greatest fulness, scarcely any detail which he has come across having been overlooked or not set down and discussed. For the necessary material, Mr. Douglas has had recourse to the Newspapers and Newsletters of the day, to private letters and diaries, and to a variety of other sources with which students of the period are more or less acquainted. His volume is a monument of patient and painstaking labour, but one is obliged to confess, somewhat heavy, and at times irritating reading. Much that is said is new, and of first importance for a minute understanding of the ideas and plans of the leaders, but many of the details and reflections with which the narrative is accompanied might with advantage have been spared. Though good enough and interesting enough in themselves, their effect, as it seems to us, is to distract the attention of the reader and to blur the main lines

of the story Mr. Douglas has undertaken to tell. Proportion and perspective have a large part in historical writing, but Mr. Douglas, in a large measure, ignores them. His main object, one would almost suppose, has been to throw down upon his pages all he could learn about his subject, along with whatever thoughts his researches suggested. In the choice of a style in which to tell his story, we cannot say that Mr. Douglas has been fortunate. It may be his own, though it everywhere wears the appearance of an imitation. Carlyle's style is not the best for historical purposes. In some respects it is objectionable, and will militate seriously against the enduring character of his historical works. Mr. Douglas's may or may not be fashioned after it, but its resemblance to it is not slight. But, after all, his work is painstaking, and whether it becomes popular or not, there is much in it that students cannot afford to overlook.

Studies in Scottish Ecclesiastical History in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. By M. G. J. KINLOCH. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. Edinburgh: R. Grant & Son. 1898.

No reader of the pages of this volume will hesitate to give an unqualified assent to the statement made by the Catholic Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, in his brief 'Prefatory Note,' that they 'give a graphic and interesting account of the state of religion in Scotland during the period of which they treat.' Beginning with the death of James VI. on March 27th, 1625, Mr. Kinloch traces the vicissitudes of religion and of religious parties, with now and then an incidental reference to politics, down to the year 1745. The story, as need hardly be said, is not one which can be read with unmixed pleasure. Along with much fanaticism there was much suffering, a great deal of which, during at least the earlier of the two centuries, fell upon helpless and for the most part uncomplaining adherents of the ancient faith. Of their sufferings and persecutions, they have left but few records, but what of their narratives has survived Mr. Kinloch has used with effect, and thrown not a little additional light upon their oppressions, struggles, and sorrows. As for the rest, the facts related by Mr. Kinloch are fairly well known. He has placed them, however, in an aspect somewhat different from that in which they are usually regarded, and, as coming from a Catholic, his narrative of them is well worth reading, even by those who are thoroughly acquainted with them as related by Protestant writers. Among the most interesting of his chapters are those on the National Covenant and the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, on the War which followed, and on the Solemn League and Covenant and the Westminster Divines, and the all too brief chapter on the Humiliation of the Land. Mr. Kinloch writes temperately and for the most part confines himself to a simple relation of the facts, though it is not difficult to see the direction in which his opinions and sympathies set. By far the strongest language in the volume is in the effective quotations from his authorities, and is often a strange contrast to that which is used by the author.

Sir Benjamin Collins Brodie. By TIMOTHY HOLMES, M.A., F.R.C.S. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1898.

Memoirs of the life of Sir B. Brodie are not wanting, but Mr. Fisher Unwin's series of 'Masters of Medicine' would have been incomplete without the volume Mr. Holmes has prepared for it. Much of what Mr. Holmes has written may be 'ancient history,' and the controversies he has

[illegible] are now practically forgotten, or at any rate are remembered [illegible] and there is much in the volume [illegible] than temporary value, and is likely to find numerous readers outside the medical profession as well as within it. In the [illegible] B. Brodie's Autobiography, and the [illegible] and Sir Henry Acland, and a number of other [illegible] have been used, and the result is a succinct [illegible] great surgeon's career, in which the principal incidents in his professional and private life are [illegible] set out in an unadorned but [illegible] way. A large portion of the volume is taken up with narrating the [illegible] Sir Benjamin, his studies, lectures and reforms at St. George's [illegible] in which he was subsequently [illegible]. These last, Mr. Holmes has treated with judicious brevity, and [illegible] states that in his opinion the subject of his biography was wrong. Mr. Holmes writes with a full knowledge of the [illegible] which has been made in all branches of the healing art since Sir Benjamin Brodie's day, but pays a high tribute to the results he obtained. His success as a surgeon, however, he ascribes less to his manual dexterity and more to his care in the after-treatment. 'Brodie excelled most men,' he remarks, 'in care and in sagacity in interpreting symptoms and [illegible] the indications for treatment.' One strange thing comes out in the narrative, and that is that Brodie had no special liking for the art in which he won his fame and by which he made his fortune.

University Addresses: Being Addresses on Subjects of Academic Study delivered to the University of Glasgow. By JOHN CAIRD, D.D., LL.D., late Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1898.

The Master of Balliol has thoughtfully dedicated this memorial volume of his brother's writings to the students of Glasgow University, and there are few students, we should say, who have passed through that famous school of learning during the last twenty or thirty years to whom it will not prove highly acceptable. No Principal of a Scottish University was ever more popular either within the walls of his own University or with the public than the late Principal Caird, and it is doubtful whether any one who has held that office in Scotland has had a larger influence over his students or done more, directly and indirectly, to shape the philosophical and theological opinion of the country. The volume before us is valuable as indicating the kind of influence he exercised and the broad and catholic culture of his own mind. As the title indicates it is a selection from the essays or lectures which the late Principal was in the habit of addressing to the students at the beginning and close of the annual sessions. Their delivery was always anticipated with pleasure both by the students and by the public, and never failed to secure the attention of an audience always difficult to impress. The subjects of the lectures are not of an exclusively academic interest, most of them appeal to a very wide circle. Even the first two which bear the titles 'The Unity of the Sciences' and 'The Progressiveness of the Sciences' and are mostly taken up with University studies are not purely academical. There is an element of universality about them and the first of them more especially touches one of the most important questions of the day. The question of the Scottish Universities, notwithstanding the labours of the late Commission is hardly yet settled, and the words let fall by the late Principal, respecting the functions of a

University, though spoken long before the Commission referred to came into existence, are still worth careful consideration as the words of one who from his character and experience was entitled to speak with authority. From a philosophical point of view, the two essays in question contain many fine points of criticism and are marked by the author's well-known skill as an exponent of opinion. Five of the essays are of a more or less biographical character, though each of them is by no means wanting in criticism. The subjects they treat of are Erasmus, Galileo, Lord Bacon and his scientific character, Hume and Bishop Butler. In each of the lectures there is an abundance of characteristic touches. Now and then there is a touch of humour, grave and serious, but all the same of humour, as when after mentioning with some reserve the tradition that at school Erasmus was 'a bit of a dunce,' the lecturer goes on to add 'At anyrate, the fact, if it be a fact, is not one which affords any legitimate consolation to born dunces,' or when he tells us with quiet emphasis that more than the other sciences, 'Philosophy is expected to make its results palpable to the ordinary and unscientific mind—to stand and be judged by that generalization of common ignorance which we designate "common sense."' For the rest, however, the style is always grave and stately. Here and there is a passage of genuine eloquence. Here and there, too, a great truth is admirably put. The passages we have marked for comment are numerous, but here there are limitations of the same kind as Principal Caird had often to complain of, though always good humouredly, when delivering his lectures, and we can only avail ourselves of the advantage which he did not possess, and refer our readers to the printed volume in which they will find much that is instructive, and in its grave and philosophical way, entertaining.

Reflections of a Russian Statesman. By K. P. POBYEDONOSTSEFF. Translated by ROBERT CROZIER LONG. Preface by OLGA NOVIKOFF. London: Grant Richards. 1898.

The author of these Reflections or Essays which are here translated from the Russian, and were evidently addressed, in the first place, to the Russian people, is Mr. Pobyedonostseff, who some years ago was called to the post of Procurator of the Holy Synod—a 'post,' we are told, 'tantamount to that of a Cabinet Minister.' The fact that he has been called to this high position is sufficient to show the esteem in which he is held by his Imperial master, and that he is a man whose influence is enough to entitle his opinions to be listened to with respect while the essays themselves are a witness to his large experience and width of outlook. His 'Reflections' are concerning a variety of subjects, on all of which he entertains most decided opinions. Many of the latter are not such as are likely to meet with a wide acceptance in this country. But be that as it may, they show that their author has a considerable acquaintance with the position of affairs on the Continent. The same, however, can hardly be said in respect to his knowledge of the institutions or the state of affairs in this country. Among other topics, Mr. Pobyedonostseff deals with the Church and State, the New Democracy, the Great Falsehood of our Time, the Malady of our Time, Faith and the Church. On these and the other subjects of which he treats, the opinions of the author are not such as we are accustomed to hear. In many respects they are very different and are, to say the least, extremely conservative. They may be Russian, and there can be little doubt that they are such as find favour in high quarters in Russia, but most of them, though not all of them, are

scarcely in accord with the ideas upon which much of the civilisation of the West is based. On the relations between the Church and State, Mr. Pobyedonostseff's views will find favour with neither Protestant Dissenters nor Roman Catholics. They are, as might be expected, those which are current in the Russian Church, and, while favouring the Church as a national Church inseparably united with the State, are equally opposed to an universal Church and to Dissent. As for the idea of a Free Church in a Free State, it is declared to be 'the product of the latest rationalism.' The author's opinions on the New Democracy are based chiefly on what he has seen in France, and, so far as expressed, do not widely differ from those expressed by Mr. Bodley. Few readers will guess what in Mr. Pobyedonostseff's opinion is the 'greatest falsehood of our time,' or rather, to use his own language and not that of his translator, *one* of the greatest, and not a few will be surprised to read that 'Among the falsest of political principles is the principle of the sovereignty of the people, the principle that all power issues from the people, and is based upon the national will;' or again, that 'the institution of Parliament is indeed one of the greatest illustrations of human delusions.' With representative institutions, indeed, our author has no sympathy whatever. Still speaking of 'the Parliamentary institution,' he says: 'It is sad to think that even in Russia there are men who aspire to the establishment of this falsehood among us; that our professors glorify to their young pupils representative government as the ideal of political science; that our newspapers pursue it in their articles and feuilletons, under the name of justice and order, without troubling to examine without prejudice the working of the parliamentary machine. Yet even where centuries have sanctified its existence, faith already decays; the Liberal intelligence exalts it, but the people groans under its despotism and recognises its falsehood. We may not see it, but our children and grand-children assuredly will see the overthrow of the idol, which contemporary thought in its vanity continues still to worship.' As to the Press, Mr. Pobyedonostseff says: 'This, too, is a falsehood,' 'one of the falsest institutions of our time.' Here and there, however, there can be no doubt that he puts his finger upon some of the drawbacks of Western Civilisation and its institutions, and has much to say which is deserving of close attention. The translation, which is issued apparently under the auspices of Mr. W. T. Stead and forms the first volume of the 'Russian Library' he is editing, is clear and idiomatic.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Haversine—Heel, Vol. V. July, 1898. Gaincope—Germanizing. Vol. IV. By HENRY BRADLEY, Hon. M.A. October, 1898. At the Clarendon Press: Oxford, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, New York: Henry Frowde.

The second section of Dr. Murray's fifth volume contains 795 main words, 394 combinations explained under these, and 169 subordinate entries, or 1358 in all. Of the main words, only 135 are obsolete, and only four are alien or not fully naturalised. Between *haversine* and *heel*, Dr. Murray registers almost a thousand more words than either the 'Century' or 'Standard' Dictionary, and against the 975 illustrative quotations of the first of these dictionaries, and 136 of the second, he gives no fewer than 7904. Most of the words in this section are of native English origin, of old standing, and of high importance for the language. Amongst

the more remarkable are 'head' and 'heart,' both of which lend themselves to figurative and transferred uses, and give rise to a rich growth of phrases. 'Head,' with its compounds, occupies thirty-five columns, while 'heart' with its compounds claims twenty-six. Other important articles are those under 'heave,' 'heaven,' 'hawk,' 'hanse,' 'heath,' 'heart of grace,' 'heart-ease,' 'hedge,' 'heel,' 'haze.' 'Head Courts' are rightly described, but it is not mentioned that the periods, at which they were held each year, were after Michaelmas, Yule, and Easter. As usual, the articles contain many notes historical as well as etymological. Among Lowland Scotch words may be noticed 'hech,' 'heckle,' as a substantive and as a verb, 'heddle,' 'heckling,' 'heckler.'—Mr. Bradley's October part is a 'double section,' and though shorter by a sheet than double sections of the Dictionary usually are, contains 1971 main words, or with combinations and subordinate entries, 3162. In the other Dictionaries the largest number of illustrative quotations given for 'Gaincope—Germanizing' is 1767; here they number no fewer than 13,520. The proportion of Greek and Latin words is not large, but the Romanic element is extensive and interesting, containing among others such words as 'gallant,' galley,' 'gallop,' gambol,' 'gargle,' 'gargoyle,' 'garland,' 'garnet,' 'garrison,' 'garter,' 'guage,' 'gauze,' 'gazette,' and 'genteel.' Many words from the Scandinavian also occur, such as 'gap,' 'gape,' 'gar,' 'garth,' 'gaspe,' 'gale,' 'gear.' The true derivation of 'gas' is given and some interesting notes occur bearing on the etymology of 'gallipot.' 'Gavelkind' is shown to be of English and not of Celtic origin. Some interesting facts are brought out in connection with the history of 'geology' and the origin of the suffix 'gen' in modern Chemistry and Botany. Lowland Scottish words are numerous.

Is Natural Selection the Creator of Species? By DUNCAN GRAHAM. London: Digby, Long & Co.

To the question which furnishes the title to his volume Mr. Graham gives an answer in the negative. Like Mr. Darwin, he is himself a naturalist, and having studied many, if not most of the phenomena which came under the observation of the author of the *Origin of Species*, ventures to show that they are susceptible of a different interpretation, and have a different meaning from those which they are said to have in the work with which Mr. Darwin startled the world some forty years ago, and which is now looked upon by many as elucidating not merely a theory of the origin of species, but the actual law by which their creation is governed. He further attacks the whole doctrine of evolution, and maintains that the condition of the earth and its inhabitants cannot be explained by the action of physical forces independent of support and direction from an intelligent power. Evolution by natural selection, he holds, is a delusion. 'Natural selection,' to use his own words, 'being only a *result*, and not an effective agency, it can produce nothing.' 'The very name, natural selection or the survival of the fittest,' he adds, 'implies that it is only organisms *already* in existence that continue to exist.' Mr. Graham, in fact, joins issue with evolutionists over the whole field covered by their theory, and maintains that it is untenable. As for the struggle for existence, this, he says, 'is demonstrated to be invariably injurious, often causing extinction, but never originating life.' The volume is deserving of very careful study. The facts which Mr. Graham adduces in support of his contention are numerous, and his manner of interpreting them sufficient to make any one pause before accepting Darwinism as a satisfactory explanation of the origin of species.

Cambridge and Other Sermons (Macmillan) is a collection of twenty-four discourses preached by the late Dr. Hort partly before the University of Cambridge and partly to village congregations. They are arranged in a series corresponding to the Church's year, and are written in that plain and simple style which characterised all their learned author's literary work. Edification rather than eloquence is aimed at in them. Controversy is avoided. While scholarly they are full of rich spiritual thought.

The Standard of Life and Other Studies (Macmillan), by Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet, is a collection of papers dealing with social and industrial questions. Several of them have seen the light in print before, but all of them are valuable contributions to a field of study in which Mrs. Bosanquet is well known.

Of Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier's popular 'Famous Scots' series we have received three volumes: *Sir William Wallace*, by A. F. Murison, *Louis Stevenson*, by Margaret Moyes Black, and *Thomas Reid*, by A. Campbell Fraser. Both volumes have much to commend them. Professor Murison, though professing to use Blind Harry's narrative to illustrate his text, often appears to take him as an authority. The subject with which he has had to deal, however, is confessedly difficult, and within the limits in which he has had to work it is doubtful whether more could have been done in the way of argument. Miss Black's book is, to say the least, meritorious. In some parts it is written with charming simplicity. Here and there, owing to the plan on which the narrative is cast, a repetition occurs. There are also a few mistakes, such as making Alan instead of David the father of the present Stevensons. However, until Mr. Sydney Colvin's *Life* appears it will, as it deserves, be much read by the admirers of the author of *Kidnapped* and *Treasure Island*. In Professor Campbell Fraser's volume we have a brief sketch of Fraser's life and a concise account of his philosophy of 'Common Sense.'

Among others the following volumes have been received :—*Light in the West*, Part I. (Kegan Paul), by J. A. Goodchild : *The Growth of Christianity* (Chicago), by Joseph Henry Crooker : *The Abiding Strength of the Church* (Elliot Stock), by the Rev. R. S. Mylne, M.A., B.C.L. : *A Handbook of Public International Law*, Fourth Edition (Macmillan), by J. T. Lawrence, M.A., LL.D. : *The Doctrine of Energy: A Theory of Reality* (Kegan Paul), by B. L. L. : *Essays on the Novel* (Macmillan), by A. A. Jack ; *Citizenship and Salvation* (Boston), by Alfred H. Lloyd, Ph. W.

$4.00 a Year. Single Copies, $1.25.

Vol. XXXII. No. LXIV.

19 ...

THE SCOTTISH REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1898.

CONTENTS.

ART. I.—THE MOTES IN NORMAN SCOTLAND. By GEO. NEILSON.

,, II.—WEAVER BIRDS. By S. E. SAVILLE.

,, III.—THE CITY OF GLASGOW AND ITS RECORDS.

,, IV.—THE OLD BRIGADIER.

,, V.—GREEK HYMNS AND HYMN-WRITERS. By WILLIAM METCALFE.

,, VI.—EARL-MARISCHAL AND FIELD-MARSHAL.

,, VII.—THE TWO GREATEST OF SCOTTISH CATERANS. By Z.

,, VIII.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

,, IX.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

NEW YORK:
LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY,
231 BROADWAY

PUBLISHERS OF
CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. NINETEENTH CENTURY. FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.
BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE,
EDINBURGH, QUARTERLY, WESTMINSTER AND SCOTTISH REVIEWS.
SHAKESPEARIANA.

Registered at New York Post Office as Second Class Matter.

ALEXANDER GARDNER,
Publisher to Her Majesty the Queen,
PAISLEY; AND 26 PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON.

FRANCE AND ENGLAND: THE CONQUEST OF THE SOUDAN.

The Soudan Question. With Map. By R. W. FELKIN. *Contemporary view*, October.

General Gordon's Territories: A Facsimile of his Autograph M *Contemporary Review*, October.

Fellah Soldiers, Old and New: A Reminiscence and a Moral. By J MACDONALD. *Nineteenth Century*, October.

The Battle of Omdurman and the Mussulman World. By the Mou RAFIUDDIN AHMAD. *Nineteenth Century*, October.

Price, each, post paid 40 Cents.

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION CO.,

112 WALL STREET, NEW YOR

Two Valuable Papers on Organized Activity

Institute Organization: the Plan and Scope of the Brooklyn Institute and its application to other cities.

—BY—

BARR FERREE,

President of the Department of Architecture of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences; Secretary of the National Sculpture Society, etc.

The Popular Lecture as an Educator. Reprinted from *Education*. By the same author.

Price, 25 cents each.

Leonard Scott Publication Co.,

112 Wall Street, New York.

PROVIDENT LIFE AND TRUST C OF PHILADELPHIA.

ATTENTION is directed the new Instalment-Ann ity Policy of the Provide which provides a fixed i come for twenty years, a for the continuance of t income to the widow for t balance of her life, if s should survive the inst ment period of twenty yea

In everything that makes Life Insura perfectly safe and moderate in cost, and liberality to policy-holders, the Provident unsurpassed.

Permission to reprint entire Articles from this Review is withel

The Leading Periodicals..

The best thought of the time; the most accomplished writers; the most distinguished specialists, statesmen, scientists, scholars, men and women of mark combine to make these great Reviews the foremost periodicals of the age.

Every important current question; every advance in literature, science, art and economics; every new step in culture and in civilization finds in their pages a quick and authoritative criticism.

The world's progress in every cause is mirrored in their pages, and the man and woman who would be in immediate touch with the best thought and culture of the day will find them indispensable.

Nineteenth Century
Contemporary Review
Fortnightly Review
Westminster Review
Blackwood's Magazine
Quarterly Review
Edinburgh Review
Scottish Review

Specimen Copies post free on application.

Terms to Subscribers:

NINETEENTH CENTURY, CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, WESTMINSTER REVIEW, each $4.50 per year; any two, $8.50; any three, $12.00; all four, $16.00; single copies, 40 cents. EDINBURGH REVIEW, QUARTERLY REVIEW, SCOTTISH REVIEW, each $4.00 per year; any two, $7.50; all three, $10.50; single copies, $1.25. BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE, $3.00 per year; single copies, 30 cents; with one quarterly, $6.50; with two, $10.00; with three, $13.00.

SUBSCRIPTIONS MAY BEGIN AT ANY TIME.

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY

112 WALL STREET, NEW YORK

See next page

[illegible]

The Company and the Individual.

[illegible]

Blackwood's Magazine, September.
Price, 30 cents.

Leonard Scott Publication Co.,
112 WALL STREET, NEW YORK

Prince Bismarck.

TWO NOTABLE PAPERS.

I

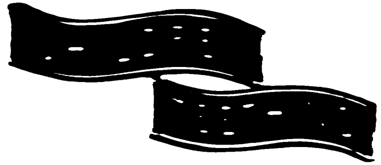
Personal Recollections.
By WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON.
Fortnightly Review, September.

II.

The Peace of Bismarck.
By "DIPLOMATICUS."
Fortnightly Review, September.

Price, each, 40 Cents.

Leonard Scott Publication Co.,
WALL STREET. NEW YORK.



For Children While Cutting Their Teeth

AN OLD AND WELL-TRIED REMEDY
FOR OVER FIFTY YEARS.

Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup

[illegible]

Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup.
and take no other kind.
TWENTY-FIVE CENTS A BOTTLE

FAME makes people live after they are dead.

Duty done has the same effect with this difference: it is within your reach.

You can live during all the lives of your children and their children's children, through suitable insurance on your life.

Not as costly or troublesome as the average of other investments. Full information free.

ADDRESS—

Penn Mutual Life
921 CHESTNUT STREET,
PHILADELPHIA.

America and England.

England and America. By Sir George Sydenham Clarke, K.C.M.G., F.R.S. *Nineteenth Century,* August.

The Original Intention of the "Monroe Doctrine." By T. A. Cooke. *Fortnightly Review,* September.

The Anglo-American Future. *Nineteenth Century,* July.

The Anglo-American Alliance. By W. C. Copeland, M.A. *Westminster Review,* August.

An All-British, or Anglo-American Pacific Cable. With Map. By Charles Bright, F.R.S.E. *Fortnightly Review,* September.

The New American Imperialism. By Edward Dicey, C.B. *Nineteenth Century,* September.

PRICE, POST PAID, 40 CENTS EACH.

Leonard Scott Publication Co., 112 Wall Street, New York.

SCHOOLS.

California, Berkeley.
Miss Head's School for Girls. Special care for health of girls. Gymnasium and outdoor games. Cheerful family life. Certificate admits to University of California and Vassar College.

Illinois, Chicago, 1060 N. Halsted Street
The McCormick Theological Seminary opens Thursday, Sept. 24. Term continues seven months. Nine instructors. Fine equipment and ample accommodations For Catalogue address "Faculty."

Illinois, Upper Alton.
Shurtleff College. (Founded in 1827.) The Oldest College in the West. Delightful location A high standard of scholarship. Excellent library and laboratories. Austin K. de Blois, Ph. D., President.

Michigan, Olivet.
Olivet College. For both sexes. Three college courses. Normal and preparatory departments. Also conservatory of music. For catalogues address
A. L. Lee Sec'y.

(Alumnus of University of Va.)
New Jersey, New Brunswick.
Theological Seminary Reformed (Dutch) Church. (Founded 1784.) Five professors. Tuition, furnished rooms, fuel, light, use of gymnasium and library (43 000 vols.) free. Open to students of any denomination. Address,
Rev. J. P. Searle, Secretary.

North Carolina, Raleigh.
St. Mary's School for Girls. (Established in 1842.) For catalogue address the Rector,
Rev. Bennet Smedes, A. M.

CURRENT LITERATURE

"It is entitled to the literary right of way."
Rev. Thomas S. Hubert, Cleveland, Tenn.

A MAGAZINE which, not by mere lists or breif notices only, but by abundant and ample extracts from the best that is going, keeps within its readers' view the whole current of literature; both the literature of the hour and that of the deeper tide of enduring authorship.

It is devoted to imaginative literature, but the literature of information as well; the current literature of the sciences, the arts, the industries, and the home and family.

Current Literature draws from all sources, ephemeral and standard, home and foreign, not overlooking that unceasing product of the daily press, which is an important voice of the times, and which, when culled from the mass of ephemeral matter accompanying it, justly deserves a medium of public presentation, less limited and less perishable than the daily newspaper.

That is what **Current Literature** is designed to do. Subscribe to it—**$3 a year.**

Current Literature, now in its 9th year, should be on every literary table. We will send a sample copy to any address if this advertisement is mentioned. Otherwise enclose 25 cents for the current number.

The Current Literature Pub. Co.

Bryant Bldg., 55 Liberty St., N. Y.

Partial List of Recent Articles

Memoirs and Reminiscences

A Walk Through Desert London. By Sir Algernon West.
The Quaint Side of Parliament. By Michael MacDonagh.
Places and Things of Interest and Beauty. By Sir Robert Hunter.
A Surrey Garden. By the Dean of Rochester.
The Fine Art of Living. By Sir Martin Conway.
Forty Years in the Lobby of the House of Commons. By Frederick Gale.
Unparliamentary Expressions. By Michael MacDonagh.

Religion

The Differentia of Christianity. By John Robson, D.D.
The Waning of Evangelicalism. By Richard Heath.
Mr. Gladstone's Theology. By G. W. E. Russell.
The Christian Ideal of Liberty. By Emma Marie Caillard.
The Decline of Tractarianism. By a Country Parson.
Christ and the Appeal to the People. By S. Baring Gould.
The Likeness of Christ. By the Dean of Canterbury.
Mr. Gladstone and the Roman Catholic Church. By Wilfred Meynell.
Mr. Gladstone and the Nonconformists. By the Rev. Guinness Rogers.

Science

Recent Science. By Prince Kropotkin.
The Prevention of Consumption. By Malcolm Morris, F.R.C.S., Ed.
A Cure for Indolence. By Dr. Maurice de Fleury.
Fighting the Bubonic Plague in India. By Miss Marion Hunter.
The Microbe in Agriculture. By C. M. Aikman, D.S C
Death and Torture Under Chloroform. By Mrs. R. M. King.
Fox-Hunting and Agriculture. By George F. Underhill.
Why "Vegetarian?" By Sir Henry Thompson.
A Famous Comet.
The Purification of Sewerage and Water.
Recent Solar Eclipses.
Mysteries of Animal and Bird Life.

Travel

A Day's Shoot in Christal. By Colonel Durand.
Crocodile Shooting in India. By E. Stewart.
A Bird's Eye View of the Transcaspian. By E N Adler
In Andalusia with a Bicycle. By Joseph Pennell.
A Visit to the Philippines. By Claes Erisscon.
From Canton to Mandalay. By William Johnstone.
Corea. By E. H. Parker.
The Philippine Islanders. By Lucy M. J. Garnett.
In the Western Soudan. By the Rev. Canon C. H. Robinson.
An African Adventure. By Arthur Baring Koe.

Leonard Scott Publication Co.
112 WALL STREET, NEW YORK

The Advance of Carlism.

The Carlist Policy in Spain. By the MARQUIS DE RUVIGNY and CRANSTOUN METCALFE. *Fortnightly Review*, September.

The Coming of Carlism. By Dr. E. J. DILLON. *Contemporary Review*, September.

The Dynastic Crisis in Spain. By a Spaniard. *Fortnightly Review*, August. Price, 40 cents.

The Crisis in Spain. (1) **The Carlist Cause.** By the MARQUIS DE RUVIGNY and CRASTOUN METCALFE. (2) **Can Sagasta save Spain?** By LEONARD WILLIAMS. *Fortnightly Review*, December, 1897. Price, 40 cents.

The Spanish Crisis. *Blackwood's Magazine*, February. Price, 30 cents.

Sent Post Paid on Receipt of Price.

Leonard Scott Publication Co.,

112 WALL STREET, NEW YORK.

Evangelicanism and Ritualism.

The Dangers of Ritualism. By GIOVANNI DALLA VECCHIA. *Westminster Review*. September.

Apostolical Succession. By VERNON BARTLETT, Tutor of Mansfield College, Oxford; and A. J. CARLYLE, Chaplain and Tutor of University College, Oxford. *Contemporary Review*, August.

Is Evangelicanism Declining? By Rev. J. GUINNESS ROGERS, D.D. *Contemporary Review*, June.

The Catholicism of the British Army. By Captain PHILIP TREVOR. *Nineteenth Century*, June.

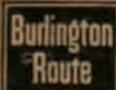
The Development of Ritualism. By H. C. CORRANCE. *Contemporary Review*, July.

The Waning of Evangelicanism. By RICHARD HEATH. *Contemporary Review*, May.

Mr. Gladstone and the Nonconformists By the Rev. Dr. GUINNESS ROGERS. *Nineteenth Century*, July.

PRICE, POST PAID, 40 CENTS EACH.

Leonard Scott Publication Co., 112 Wall Street, New York.

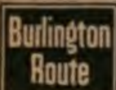


BEST LINE
TO
DENVER

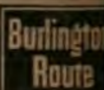
ST. PAUL AND MINNEAPOLIS
LIMITED EXPRESS

THE FINEST TRAIN IN THE WORLD
LEAVES CHICAGO DAILY AT 6.30 P.M.

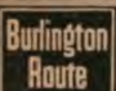
BEST LI
TO
ST. PAU
AND
MINNEAPO



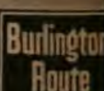
BEST LINE
TO
OMAHA



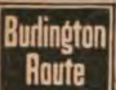
BEST LI
TO
KANSAS C



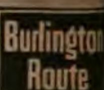
BEST LINE
TO
COUNCIL
BLUFFS



BEST LI
TO
BLACK HIL



BEST LINE
TO
PUGET
SOUND



BEST LI
TO
CALIFORN

BEST LINE
TO
MONTANA

BEST LI
TO
TEXA

TOPICS OF THE DAY.

Colonial Expansion: Some Foreign Lessons.

The French in Tunisia. By HERBERT VIVIAN. *Contemporary Review*, October.
Twelve Years' Work on the Congo. By DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER. *Fortnightly Review*, Oct.
Aspects of Empire and Colonization. By R. D. MELVILLE. *Westminster Review*, October.
Sierra Leone Troubles. By H. R. FOX BOURNE. *Fortnightly Review*, August.
Free Trade and Foreign Policy. By J. A. HOBSON. *Contemporary Review*, August.

The Advance of Germany.

The German Emperor and Palestine. *Fortnightly Review*, October.
Bismarck and Richelieu. By JOHN F. TAYLOR, Q.C. *Fortnightly Review*, October.
The Church and Social Democracy in Germany. By RICHARD HEATH. *Contemporary Review*, October.
The Anglo-German Agreement. By DIPLOMATICUS. *Fortnightly Review*, October.
The German Peril. *Blackwood's Magazine*, January. Price, 30 cents.

Spain and Carlism.

The Carlist Policy in Spain. By the MARQUIS DE RUVIGNY and CRANSTOUN METCALFE. *Fortnightly Review*, September.
The Coming of Carlism. By Dr. E J. DILLON. *Contemporary Review*, September.
The Dynastic Crisis in Spain. By a Spaniard. *Fortnightly Review*, August. Price, 40 cents.
The Crisis in Spain. (1) **The Carlist Cause.** By the MARQUIS DE RUVIGNY and CRANSTOUN METCALFE. (2) **Can Sagasta Save Spain?** By LEONARD WILLIAMS. *Fortnightly Review*, December, 1897. Price, 40 cents.
The Spanish Crisis. *Blackwood's Magazine*, February. Price, 30 cents.

Religious Agitation in England.

The Ritualist Conspiracy. By LADY WIMBORNE. *Nineteenth Century*, October.
The Dangers of Ritualism. By GIOVANNI DALLA VECCHIA, *Westminster Review*, September.
Apostolical Succession. By VERNON BARTLETT, Tutor of Mansfield College, Oxford; and A. J. CARLYLE, Chaplain and Tutor of University College, Oxford. *Contemporary Review*, August.
Is Evangelicanism Declining? By Rev. J. GUINNESS ROGERS, D.D. *Contemporary Review*, June.
The Catholicism of the British Army. By Captain PHILIP TREVOR. *Nineteenth Century*. June.
The Development of Ritualism. By H. C. CORRANCE. *Contemporary Review*, July.
The Waning of Evangelicanism. By RICHARD HEATH. *Contemporary Review*, May.
Mr. Gladstone and the Nonconformists. By the Rev. Dr. GUINNESS ROGERS. *Nineteenth Century*, July.
The Dangers of Ritualism. By GIOVANNI DALLA VECCHIA. *Westminster Review*, Sept.

Art.

The Art Treasures of America. By WILLIAM SHARP. *Nineteenth Century*, September and October.
Gustave Moreau: the Modern Mind in Classical Art By C. I HOLMES. *Contemporary Review*, September.
Sir Edward Burne-Jones. By FORD MADOX HUEFFER. *Contemporary Review*, August.
Edward Burne-Jones. By WILLIAM SHARP. *Fortnightly Review*, August.
The Salons. By CLAUDE PHILLIPS. *Nineteenth Century*, July.
The Kelmscott Press and the New Printing. By ALBERT LOUIS COTTON. *Contemporary Review*, August.
The Religion of Mr. Watts's Pictures. By JOHN FOREMAN. *Contemporary Review*, July.

Literature.

A Catholic's View of "Helbeck of Bannisdale." By the Rev. FATHER CLARKE, S.J. *Nineteenth Century*, September.
Another Catholic's View of "Helbeck of Bannisdale." By Professor ST. GEORGE MIVART. *Nineteenth Century*, October.
The Last Peasant in Greek Poetry. By the Countess MARTINENGO CESARESCO. *Contemporary Review*, October.
An Italian Goldsmith: Salvatore Farina. By Mrs. SPEAR. *Fortnightly Review*, October.
The Historical Method of J. A. Froude. By FREDERIC HARRISON *Nineteenth Century*, Se

---

Leonard Scott Publication Co., 112 Wall Street, New Y