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JANUARY, 1900.

ART. I.—THE ALLEGED HAUNTING OF B—
HOUSE.

‘I WANT to know—’
‘Oh, but you can’t come here saying “I want to know,” you know,’ said the clerk in the Circumlocution Office, and though it is now some fifty years since Dickens gave to this standard of the ethics of information, a local habitation and a name, the principle is still with us. Lessing has told us that ‘the seeking of truth is worth more than the finding of it,’ but the Utilitarian maintains that there are many subjects as to which it is mere waste of time to ‘want to know.’ Spinoza has given us as a rule of life, ‘neither to like nor to dislike, but to understand,’ but the idle and the prejudiced does not ‘want to know’ what stands outside his narrow life and narrower creed. A Sir William Crookes may dare to say that he has a ‘mind to let;’ a Sir Isaac Newton may regret that ‘the boundless ocean of truth lies unexplored before him,’ but the many whose limitations are those of the Circumlocution Office cannot tolerate that others, even, should ‘want to know.’ They have never asked why an apple fell, or what moved the lid of the steaming kettle, nor does it occur to them to refer the discoveries of the principle of

gravitation or of heat as a mode of motion, to any elementary initiative of 'wanting to know.'

It may be that no truth of like importance underlies the fact, that, in certain places, there are sights and sounds not to be, as yet, accounted for; but when we have subtracted such possible explanations as lies, mal-observation, indigestion, cats, rats, bats, owls, hot-water pipes, wind, earthquakes, and practical jokes, and still find a residuum, it is surely not more inherently unscientific to want to know the nature of that residuum, than it was for Lord Rayleigh to spend months—as is reported—in precipitating that tea-spoonful of liquid oxygen, which has led to the right understanding of the fractional residuum in the component parts of our atmosphere.

Although, what is called 'psychical enquiry,' has engaged the attention of such men as Lord Rayleigh, Sir William Crookes, Professor Alfred Russel Wallace, and Professor Oliver Lodge, it is, nevertheless, hardly fair, as yet, to place it on a level with other subjects of scientific investigation; not, I venture to suggest, from any inherent disqualification, but because it is not even yet free from disreputable associations. It has long been handled with as much ignorance as politics, as much dogmatism as religion, as much self-seeking as money-making, as much vulgarity as the Problem Novel. The very counters with which the game is—though not, I think, necessarily—played, the 'mediums,' and 'séances,' and 'phenomena,' have become synonymous with 'charlatan,' 'extortion,' and 'fraud.' The subject is in even a worse position than is card-playing, racing, the theatre, or the music hall; and, like them, is the opportunity for, though not necessarily the occasion of, profanity, vulgarity, and vice. Moreover, the subject is often complicated, as to its presentation, by the mental limitations of the clerk in the Circumlocution Office, who puts our note of enquiry as to what we want to know into the wrong pigeon-hole; labelling what is not yet classified. A typical example of such treatment is that of the recent volume of enquiry into *The Alleged Haunting of B— House*; the label, 'haunting,' having been affixed by others, any time during the last twenty-five years, and in no sense by the Editors themselves, who, even in accepting it for the sake of argument,

carefully qualify it by the term 'alleged,' and from the first page to the last, neither deny nor affirm the truth of the indictment. Not only are the first words in the book, 'The alleged haunting of B— House,' but the last sentence runs, 'The editors offer no conclusions—this volume has been put together, as the house at B— was taken, not for the establishment of theories, but for the record of facts.' Notwithstanding this clear statement of the position, the Circumlocution Office clerk type of reviewer, in his utter inability to understand any state of mind which 'wants to know,' what cannot be tied up with red tape, has again and again docketed the case with the irrelevant label, 'not proven,' not in the least realising that the Editors have started an enquiry, and not submitted a brief.

The book relates how, in the early days of 1897, the Editors, strangers to the house in question, 'wanted to know' the import of certain circumstances described in the signed statements of some eight competent witnesses, which had led, not merely to the designation 'haunted,' but—far more convincing—to the evacuation of the house at the end of a few weeks by tenants who had paid a handsome rent for house, grounds, shooting moor, and salmon river, for a year. Lord Bute 'wanted to know,' to the extent of spending a good deal of money, and his co-editor to the extent of spending a good deal of time, and the book relates the result of this combined expenditure, in the form of a journal embodying the signed testimony of seventeen capable witnesses, in addition to that of the Editors, together with the evidence unsigned, but given in the presence of several persons and carefully recorded, of fourteen more, including nine servants.

The late proprietor had in 1892, some five years earlier, declined to allow Lord Bute to investigate. The tenancy was undertaken by Colonel H—, and, after his resignation, by Colonel Le Mesurier Taylor, late Professor of Tactics at Sandhurst, and, like the Editors, a member of the Society for Psychical Research. He resided at B— House during a considerable portion of the enquiry, in which his special share was that of experiment as to possible normal causes. An additional reason for silence as to the object of the tenancy lay in the desire not to forewarn any person who might be concerned,

as some one had alleged, in deliberately producing the phenomena. Only one of all the witnesses (one of two who preferred to suppress their contributions to the journal) was of opinion that human agency was concerned, but nevertheless much enquiry and experiment was from the first carefully directed towards the possibilities of practical joking. A joke which persists for over a quarter of a century would itself be a psychological phenomenon worthy of investigation, and even if, as is not unfrequently the case in practical jokes, it were dictated rather by malice than by jocularity, one would have to suppose a state of ill-feeling somewhat widely distributed, for the victims known to the Editors and exclusive of the S— family, their visitors, and friends, numbered close upon fifty persons.

This computation of over twenty-five years as the duration of the disturbances, takes into account that period only as to which first hand evidence had been obtained, and passes over not only many rumours in the neighbourhood, but also the published statement of Dr. Monzies, an old friend of the S— family, that B— House was said to be haunted at the time of Major S—'s succession to the property in 1844. It is of course natural that the journal kept during Colonel Taylor's tenancy, containing as it does the signed evidence of seventeen persons in addition to that of the Editors, should attract more interest than the scattered and less consecutive records of earlier witnesses, but in estimating the value of the evidence this should not be left out of account, as has been the case in many notices of the book, for without these records it is of course obvious that the house would never have been taken for purposes of investigation, and they are in fact the *pièces justificatifs* of the enquiry.

From motives of courtesy, the Editors have voluntarily suppressed the evidence of the family of the proprietors, as it ceased to be fairly admissible when an anonymous member of the staff of *The Times*, writing in that journal, betrayed not only much private information as to the experience of the guests, (of whom he was one for some forty-eight hours) but also the locality of the house*, and the name of its owner, facts which the Editors

* Which is not Falkland in Fifeshire, as alleged in *The Daily News*.

had never intended to disclose. The correctness of his details, so far as places and names were concerned, were unfortunately admitted in print, by the S—— family themselves. The pre-journal period, however, as to which their information would have been especially valuable, is abundantly described in ten signed statements, some of considerable length. Quotations are also made from information derived from five servants of the S—— family. However, as many persons dismiss servants evidence as ‘merè servant-hall gossip,’ stress has not been laid upon their narratives. But in the present instance, and in that of nine servants during Colonel Taylor’s occupancy, this group of witnesses includes some of the most hardened sceptics among the party. Upon the abstract value of servants’ evidence opinions may differ. The acceptance of wages need not imply a disregard for truth, and inferior education is often the condition of superior powers of observation. Incapacity for accurate deduction is not peculiar to the working-classes, and in the present instance would not signify, as they were asked to contribute, not opinions, but facts. The worst that can be said is, that they follow and support each other; and that the statement of twenty should count only as one. Perhaps such of us who have had much argument and discussion with the intelligent working classes, especially in Scotland, might express a different view as to the ease with which they may be persuaded, contrary to the convictions they entertain!

For the mere seeker after the marvellous, the pre-journal period has perhaps more of interest than the later months, especially so far as the tenancy of the H—— family is concerned. Bangs upon bed-room doors, ‘as if,’ says Major B——, a guest of the H——’s, ‘a very strong man were hitting the panels as hard as ever he could hit,’ were common to both periods; so too was ‘the cracking, vibrating batter against the door,’ described by another guest, a distinguished lady novelist; so also was the thud against the lower panels as if a big dog had fallen heavily on to the mat, which disconcerted a Jesuit priest in 1892, and these facts are recorded in almost similar terms by many witnesses who had not heard each other’s testimony, and had had no opportunity of comparing notes; for the collection of earlier

evidence was not shown to later guests, and the journal was kept entirely private, contributions being written on separate pieces of paper, and afterwards pasted in. The earlier records, however, describe 'shrieks and groans,' of which the later investigators heard nothing, unless the 'droning and wailing' of which Professor Lodge wrote may be taken as in their degree equivalent to 'the piercing shriek' heard by Mr. G—, 'the deep groans' heard by Mrs. G—, the 'shriek or scream' heard by Father H—, 'the wild unearthly shriek which has rung through the house in the silence of the night,' during the H— tenancy. But 'the hunchback figure which glides up the stair,' 'the man with bronzed complexion and bent figure,' seen by two persons during the H— visit, the rustling of a lady's dress, heard by many guests, are peculiar to the earlier tenancy. The 'veiled lady' seen by one of the H— family may be the 'nun' so often seen during the later period; 'the shadowy form of a grey lady who paces with noiseless footfall the lonely corridor,' may be the grey woman afterwards seen, not in the house, but in the glen; the sensation of a bird flying about his bed and fanning him with its wings, described by the H.'s butler, may be the same as the 'jumping and prancing' . . . 'as by a very large bird,' which later so often disturbed the occupants, even in daylight, of room No. 8. Footsteps, shuffling round the bed, appear to have been a common phenomenon for many years past, as was the removal of bed clothes, though the nearest approach to this disagreeable experience during Col. Taylor's period was the sensation of struggling with something unseen, or that of a superincumbent weight, described by three different persons.

However, the more picturesque nature of the earlier incidents may be partly due to the fact that earlier narrators were describing, as convincingly as might be, and for their friends, incidents of special interest to themselves; whereas later narrators were especially desired to bear in mind that they were contributing evidence to an investigation. Moreover, the earlier conditions under which the guests compared notes, analysed sensations, and discovered causes, were far more natural than the later restrictions, when it was especially desired that new-comers should receive no information, when all the arrangements were almost

laboriously 'normal,' when 'no canny' subjects were tabooed in conversation, and comparison of notes under an interdict. Exploring parties, seldom of more than two, or three at the most, were upon their honour to keep silence to each other, and to report separately the experience they underwent.

During the H—— period one hears of parties of gentlemen sitting up with sticks and pokers and a revolver, but during the later investigations all combined watches were avoided as contributing to self-suggestion, and though the evidence includes experiences of wakeful and watchful individuals, no united midnight watches were held, except on one or two special occasions. In short, the utmost care was directed towards checking whatever contributed in any degree to expectation and self-suggestion, and though a few of the guests, some half-dozen in all, were members of the Society for Psychical Research, the greater number were simply united for a country house visit, in many cases with no special reference to the enquiry.

What may be regarded as a marked exception to the purely spontaneous nature of other incidents was the use, on one or two occasions, of the 'ouiga board,' a simple mechanical appliance of the nature of a 'planchette,' for the induction of automatic writing. To the rational person, who does not think it necessary to associate so simple a contrivance with the phenomena of spiritualism, and who realises that there are hidden depths in his own consciousness probably more accessible than those of his deceased ancestors, this form of automatism is merely a step or two in advance of the figures one draws upon one's blotting paper while engaged in a 'brown study,' or the words one scribbles without conscious intention when trying a new pen. That now and then one should thus externalise some half-forgotten knowledge, or half-apprehended concept, is a happy accident, and nothing could be more untrustworthy, or tend more easily in the hands of the superstitious to self-deception, than the statements thus elicited.

'This method of enquiry,' the Editors remark (page 98) displayed all the weakness to which it is usually and apparently inherently, liable, and is only mentioned here as explaining other matters. . . . Miss Freer regarded the statements of

‘Ouiga’ with her habitual scepticism as to induced phenomena, more particularly those of automatic writing, in which, as in dreams, it is almost always difficult to disentangle the operations of the normal from those of the sub-conscious personality’ (page 103). On one of these occasions the name ‘Ishbel’ was written, and was afterwards given, half in jest to the hallucinatory figure of a nun seen by four persons, independently, in the grounds. This single departure from the rule of entire passivity observed during the investigation, is, as will be observed, a very different matter from the introduction by Mr. Myers, into the enquiry of a semi-professional trance-medium, and the holding of dark séances, and communication with ‘spirits’ by means of table rappings, with the comic results referred to by the Editors in a note on page 199.

‘These remarkable disclosures included . . . the murder of a Roman Catholic family chaplain at a period when the S——’s were and had long been Presbyterian, the suicide of one of the family who is still living, and the throwing, by persons in mediæval costume, of the corpse of an infant over a bridge which is quite new, into a stream which until lately ran underground.

The fact that they found the label ‘haunted,’ already affixed to the disturbances under investigation, did not prevent the investigators from pursuing to the very utmost every possibility of normal explanation. The audible disturbances were, naturally, those most likely to be produced by intentional mischief, or by some misinterpreted natural phenomenon, and much time was devoted to experimental reproduction of the sounds, especially on the hypothesis of tricks from outside. ‘Beating on outside doors with shovels and pokers, and wooden things on the walls and windows accessible, banging and clattering in outside coal-cellars in the sunk area round the house, beating on the front door handle with a wooden racket, were right in kind, but not enough in degree. Miss Moore, who was familiar with the noise (on this occasion that known as the ‘*clang*’ noise), did it rather well by going outside into a coal-cellar (always locked at night however), and throwing big lumps of coal from a distance into a big pail, *but it wasn't nearly loud enough.* Finally, the men climbed on to

the roof outside, . . . they clattered, and walked, and stamped, and kicked, and struck the slates, but they couldn't make noise enough. Then we had in the gardener we saw yesterday (who had been familiar with the phenomena before Colonel Taylor's tenancy), and the four men made hideous rows as before. He was grateful and respectful, but contemptuous. *They couldn't make noise enough.* Page 110.

Other experiments were tried, as to the acoustic properties of the house, as to the existence of under-ground water, as to the effect of disuse of hot-water pipes, of cold-water pipes, of effects of echo, of draughts, of currents of air; doors were locked, were propped open, chimneys used and disused, the servants' sleeping-quarters changed, the night habits of neighbours, man and beast, noticed, the hours of passing trains and their effect under varying conditions noted, but nothing was observed which seemed in any degree to account for what was heard or seen. A distinguished electrical engineer and three men of science were among the guests, but they could suggest nothing that had not already been tried. The late proprietor refused to allow the use of a phonograph when suggested by Sir William Huggins, and the present proprietor equally refused to allow the introduction of seismic instruments at the suggestion of Professor Milne, to the great disappointment of the investigators. The house is very simply and substantially built, and has no dark corners or obscure passages, no wooden panels, nor echoing roof. A space sacred to bell wires and water pipes at the junction of the roof and the wall seemed to promise possibilities of explanation, and, indeed, a bowl or tennis ball rolled along it, imitated fairly well one of the slighter sounds as heard from below; but granted that at intervals for a quarter of a century someone obtained access to an obscure spot only to be entered on hands and knees through a door usually screwed up, many varieties of disturbance remained. Nor did the discovery that bees had taken possession of another hollow under the roof carry things much further. An appendix is given on the sound known near the Ganges as that of 'Barisal guns,' and described by Professor Darwin,—on similar sounds known on Dartmoor, among the hills of Cheshire, in the Eastern counties of England, in Connecticut,

in Piedmont, and in the Adriatic, and all this research and experiments may surely be taken, as, in some sort, evidence that the Editors did not accept the allegation of haunting, if they may be said to have accepted it at all, without careful consideration of every alternative which suggested itself.

Among the many curiosities (other than those inherent in the subject) the bye-products, as it were, of psychical research, few are more curious than the fact that enquiry into any supernormal matter is commonly taken as equivalent to belief in the occult, whereas, on the other hand, any effort at a normal explanation is looked upon as waste of good powder and shot; and some of the critics of the alleged haunting of B--- House are at a loss to know whether to be more annoyed at 'Lord Bute's ghosts,' or 'Miss Goodrich-Freer's hallucinations,' for it is thus, quite gratuitously, that the responsibility is distributed. Accepting—for purposes of argument—the hypothesis of haunting, and gathering together all the scattered phenomena as observed by over fifty persons, the Editors look about them for some story or tradition which shall include among its elements a man with heavy shuffling footstep, dogs which run about the house day and night and sleep on door-mats, a woman coarsely handsome, two or more persons who quarrel, a nun, a crucifix, and a priest who recites his prayers at midnight. Such a story is easily found among the annals of the S--- family, and it is offered for consideration as earthquakes, barisal guns, or practical joking are offered. It is not entirely adequate,—neither are they. More may be read between the lines in the one case,—more perhaps remains to be discovered by science in the other.

The critics who are content to accept the hypothesis of haunting, simply because the case has been thus pigeon-holed, are nevertheless not satisfied with it. 'Lord Bute's spooks are a distinct disappointment,' says one critic. 'There is no originality about them. They do nothing but haunt.' 'It may strike reflective persons,' says *The Daily News*, 'that ghost labour has been thrown away upon most of these marvels, and that these may be done by any ordinary mortal possessed of self-confidence, a sliding panel or two, and three ha'porth of twine.'

Mr. Courtney, in *The Daily Telegraph*, however, points out

the obvious fact, that the Editors could have done much better with the ghost, as such, if they had tried—if in short, they had been writing for a Christmas Number, and not recording a serious enquiry.

‘The story is a very pretty one as it stands. Told with a little pardonable exaggeration, it would serve as the foundation for an excellent creepy tale—so long as one is not scientific, like the ingenious gentleman who introduced the seismograph in order to test the vibrations of the house, or the phonograph to register the sounds.’ It is not until the Editors suggest ‘hallucinations,’ that the critics vote seriously in favour of ‘spooks,’ and seem to regard any attempt at explaining away as unfair upon the reader in search of sensation.

‘A haunted house,’ say the Editors, ‘is merely a place where hallucinations are more or less localised, and the only especially interesting question about it, is, why they should be localised at a particular place, and what causes them there.’ *The Scotsman* solves the problem by saying that ‘the reason hallucinations were localised at B—— was that a number of people subject to them were localised there,’ which might be a satisfactory solution but for the fact that out of some thirty-five visitors during Colonel Taylor’s tenancy, two only had ever experienced a veridical hallucination before, as the reviewer might have discovered, had he read a little more carefully. On much the same level is the explanation offered by a writer in *St. Paul’s*, a journal which notices the book twice over at some length, but in entirely different keys. ‘Miss Freer’s visitors were for the most part ladies, so that it is not surprising that most of the witnesses of these phenomena belong to the fair sex.’ As a matter of fact, exactly twice as many men as women visited B—— House during the investigation, and out of the seventeen signed records of experience, six only are by women. All the same, *en passant*, one asks why it should be assumed so airily, that a woman’s evidence is not worth the having? That three of the names which occur most frequently, are those of women, is due to the simple fact that the ladies in question remained in the house for three months, whereas other guests stayed, for the most part, for about three days.

The Spectator allows that 'the candour and exactness throughout are beyond all praise,' and that the whole body of evidence is so strong that it cannot be set aside as mere idle talk, but it nevertheless finds it necessary to 'remember that some of the chief actors in this strange story went to B— House with the old stories of a nun and a proprietor who threatened to haunt the place after death, firmly fixed in their minds, and swaying more or less their imagination.' In point of fact, only one of those who saw the nun had ever heard of the existence either of the lady or the apparition, and the earliest witness—the present writer—had never heard one word of any part of the evidence which she took with her to B— in a packet sealed by Mr. Myers, until she opened it in the presence of witnesses after her earliest experiences had taken place. As against this theory of expectation, 'it is interesting to remark, say the Editors (p. 230) 'that one apparition which was constantly expected during Colonel Taylor's tenancy, was expected in vain. This was that of the little old gentleman with stooping form and limping gait, mentioned by earlier witnesses. This peculiar step was heard very frequently and by a great number and variety of witnesses, alone and collectively; and his appearance, naturally enough, was constantly looked for, but it never occurred. In the same way, there was one expected sound which never occurred, though frequent in the experience of earlier witnesses—that of the rustling of a silk dress . . . p. 230.'

The Saturday Review is satisfied that 'scientific people might do worse than think about these noises;' *The Spectator* not only that the book is 'a valuable, interesting, and bonâ-fide record of curious phenomena,' but that 'the whole question is most decidedly worth further investigation;' *The Athenæum* that 'the thing was done very thoroughly . . . to their credit as scientific observers' . . . and that 'the problem still remains why thirty-two sane, healthy, and truthful persons should experience these peculiar hallucinations.' In short, there are some people not above 'wanting to know.'

There is one point upon which most of the reviewers seem better informed than are the Editors themselves. It is con-

stantly asserted that, by some process, religious, scientific, or social, according to the point of view of the writer, the disturbances ceased with Colonel Taylor's tenancy. During the twenty-five years as to which evidence has been recorded, the phenomena have occasionally ceased for weeks, months, years, together. During the investigation, '34 nights, or almost exactly half the period were entirely without record of any phenomena whatever,' and day-time phenomena occurred upon only 18 out of 69 days. The journal, after recording the sound of a bang on the 6th of May, remarks, 'This bang was the last phenomenon of an abnormal kind during this tenancy,'—a tenancy which terminated seven days later, on May 14th. It is nowhere alleged that the cessation was final. There are rumours—but this is yet another point about which we 'want to know.'

A. GOODRICH-FREER.

ART. II—THE LIFE AND LIMITATIONS OF
STEVENSON.

1. *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson to His Family and Friends.* Selected and edited by SIDNEY COLVIN. London: Methuen. 1899.
2. *Robert Louis Stevenson.* By L. COPE CORNFORD. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1899.
3. *Robert Louis Stevenson.* By MARGARET MOYES BLACK. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1896.
4. *Robert Louis Stevenson's Edinburgh Days.* By E. BLANTYRE SIMPSON. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1898.

MR. ANDREW LANG has given it as his opinion that Stevenson belongs to the class of authors of whom formal biographies are superfluous, since 'all that need be known about them, all that is essential' may be read in their

own works. 'His books, in verse or prose, essay or tale, or novel or fable, were confessions. His extraordinary nature peeped out in every sentence.' Not only is this the case, but the amount of 'personal writing'—to use a phrase popular with that journalism which Stevenson detested as the root of all literary and much other evil—which has come in the wake and as the consequence of the enviably sudden death at Vailima in the end of 1894, is already very large. Immediately after Stevenson's death, it was announced that his literary friend and adviser, Mr. Sidney Colvin, had been entrusted with the duty of preparing a biography. That biography has not yet been published: Mr. Colvin now states that he has been compelled to delegate the fulfilment of his original design to Mr. Stevenson's cousin, Mr. Graham Balfour. He has, however, anticipated this formal biography by the excellent and succinct *Life* which he has contributed to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, by the *Vailima Letters* which he published two years ago, and by the collection of *Letters to Family and Friends* that has just appeared with a preface, of which Mr. Lang says, with perfect truth, that it 'is absolutely perfection in tone, manner, and criticism; he has said all that need be said or should be said, and all in the best manner.' In addition to these memorials, and to innumerable 'sketches' which have appeared in newspapers and magazines, there have been published two 'regular' though not 'authoritative' biographies by Miss Margaret Moyes Black and Mr. L. Cope Cornford, and Miss Eva Simpson's *Robert Louis Stevenson's Edinburgh Days*, which is altogether and minutely 'personal.'

But for some reasons—not unimportant reasons however—Mr. Graham Balfour's formal *Life* would seem, indeed, altogether unnecessary, as no recent story flows so readily off the tongue as that of the forty-four years which began on 13th November, 1850, in 8 Howard Place, Edinburgh, confronting the ridge of Corstorphine Hill where Alan Breck and David Balfour parted, and ended on the 'ultimate sands' of Samoa on 3rd Decr., 1894. 'What is that? Do I look strange?' He falls beside his wife, and becomes unconscious. 'A little bed was brought, and he was placed in it in the middle

of the hall, and there, with those he loved close about him, and his faithful Samoan servants seated round him on the floor, he quietly passed away. The deep breaths came at ever longer intervals, the sleep of unconsciousness was never broken, and as his loved and valued friend, the Reverend Mr. Clark, prayed beside him, the spirit took its flight into eternity.' The rest is silence, a grave on the summit of the hill of Vaea, commanding a view of land (now German territory) and sea and sky—and immortality. All the world knows that Stevenson went to school like other Scottish boys, but felt its hardships more keenly than most; that he attended college, studied little, read much and loafed more; that to please his father he tried to be an engineer, an advocate, and a Calvinist, and failed in all three ventures; that born an artist, a romantic, a wanderer, and an invalid, he was at last allowed to fulfil his destiny, to see many lands, and write not a few books while in the Valley of the Shadow of Death; that, his 'golden art' having won him recognition from brother and sister artists, but not more than £200 a-year, 'Treasure Island' gave him a reputation, and secured him that popularity which meant an income at least as large as the stipend of a Senator of the College of Justice; that having, in the course of his travels found a wife, he settled down with her family and his mother in Samoa, both as a writer of paying books and a quasi-feudal personage; and that being able to take a hand in the game of outdoor life, and even to write serious letters to the *Times*, an afternoon of almost bourgeois happiness seemed to be before him, when the Last Enemy made another assault upon him, which this time proved successful. Stevenson's biographers have been able to supply a few details of personal appearance, character, and habit. Miss Simpson tells us that when he was a child his nickname was 'Smout,' that he abbreviated his nurse's name, Alison Cunningham, into 'Cummy,' and that, in a photograph taken when he was twenty months old, 'he is chubby-cheeked, but his arms—which, after the dangerous practice of the time, are bare—are wanting in flesh; his fat hands are clasped, and his sleek hair is smoothed over his big head as he gazed with earnest eyes,

with a consequential gravity, rather incongruous in a white-frocked, be-sashed, plump-faced chit ;' that 'at six there is a reproving seriousness in his face ; no droll conceit had crossed his mind to bring to light that arch expression twice before caught by the camera ; his hands have lost their baby podginess, and are nervous, long-fingered.' And so forth and so forth. Miss Black relates how when a young man Stevenson shocked Edinburgh middle-class propriety and her own. 'One day we saw him in Princes Street taking the air in an open cab with a Stevenson cousin attired in like manner with himself. In those days fashionable people often walked in Princes Street in the afternoon, *so what was our dismay in the midst of quite a crowd of the gay world*, to see that open cab, at a word of command from Robert Louis, draw near the pavement as we approached, when two battered hats were lifted with quite a Parisian grace. Both young men wore sailor hats with brilliant ribbon bands, both were attired in flannel cricketing jackets with broad bright stripes, and round Louis's neck was knotted a huge yellow silk handkerchief, while over both their heads one of them held an open umbrella. In days when the wearing of cricketing clothes, except in the playing fields, was in Scotland so uncommon that it is an authentic record that an elderly unmarried lady in an east coast watering-place, on meeting in its high street a young man in boating flannels, was so shocked at the innovation that she promptly went home, leaving all her shopping undone, and her tea-drinking and friendly gossip forgotten, such an apparition as that in the open cab required more courage to face than people accustomed to the present-day use of gay tennis garb can easily imagine. It was fortunate that nerve to return the salutation smilingly was not wanting, or Mr. Stevenson would certainly have pitilessly chaffed the timid victims of conventionality afterwards. Having borne the ordeal with such courage as we possessed, we hastened to have tea with Mrs. Stevenson, whose first question was "Have you seen Lou?" And when we described that startling vision that was slowly creeping along Princes Street in the open cab she laughed till her tears fell. In half an hour or so, her son

came in cool and unconcerned, and as punctiliously polite as if his attire had been the orthodox apparel for an afternoon tea-party.'

Mr. Cope Cornford, who has written his monograph obviously and even confessedly from the standpoint of his friend, Mr. W. E. Henley, quotes from that poet's 'Hospital Verses' certain lines as giving an adequate description of his 'apparition' in the Edinburgh Infirmary in the character, as it turned out, of the good Samaritan. They may now, therefore, be accepted as photographically accurate—

'Thin-legged, thin-chested, slight unspeakably,
Neat-footed and weak-fingered ; in his face—
Lean, large-boned, curved of beak, and touched with race,
Bold-lipped, rich-tinted, mutable as the sea,
The brown eyes radiant with vivacity—
There shines a brilliant and romantic grace,
A spirit intense and rare, with trace on trace
Of passion and impudence and energy.'

Add to this Miss Black's more prosaic 'Louis was a lean, slim lad, inclined to be tall, and with soft, somewhat lank, brown hair and brown eyes of a shade that seemed to deepen and change with every passing impression of his quick working brain. His features were rather long, the upper part of his narrow face was delicately formed like his mother's, but the lips were full, and a more virile strength in chin and face faintly reminded one of his father's powerful physiognomy.' Mr. Cornford also supplies evidence by Mr. Henley as to Stevenson's eccentricities while he was still ostensibly an advocate in Edinburgh. 'He came to an informal evening in a pork-pie hat embroidered with silver, a velvet jacket, and a Spanish cloak, and on their removal appeared in a dress coat, a blue flannel shirt, a knitted tie, pepper and salt trousers, silk socks, and patent leather shoes (he was exceedingly vain of his foot, which was neat and elegant). His hair fell to his collar; he waltzed, he talked, he exploded, he was altogether wonderful. And the women (this would have touched him had he known it) were in fits of laughter till—a whole romantic movement in his cloak and turban—he departed. To dream

(it may be) over a sentence of Sir Thomas Browne's and a giu-and-ginger at Rutherford's.'

Upon one other point of not inconsiderable importance, in connection with an adequate estimation of Stevenson, it would seem practically impossible for Mr. Graham Balfour to add to what has been said by his predecessors—by Miss Black, by Miss Simpson, by Mr. Colvin, and by Stevenson himself in such essentially autobiographical volumes as *A Family of Engineers*. That is the influence of 'strains of blood' of what is conveniently, rather than accurately, known as 'heredity,' on the destiny and character of the moralist-novelist. We really know all that needs to be known, or perhaps that can be ascertained, about his engineering ancestors; of his grandfather on the mother's side, Dr. Balfour, the minister of Colinton; of the union of Edinburgh and Glasgow in his veins through the two marriages, that of the widow of his great grandfather, Alan Stevenson, originally Jean Lillie, 'daughter of one, Daniel Lillie, a builder in Glasgow, and several times Deacon of the Wrights,' to Thomas Smith, merchant and burgher of Edinburgh, who in 1786 was appointed engineer to the newly created Board of Northern Lighthouses, and that of Jean, the daughter of her second marriage to Robert, the son of her first. Mr. Cornford sums up this side of the Stevenson story fairly enough, though with a certain solemnity which to the Scottish mind seems amusing. 'It may seem to us now, looking back upon the history of the country of his birth, and the mingled character of his ancestors, that a scion of the nature of Robert Louis Stevenson might have been predicted with some assurance. We have the old Scottish tradition of letters, free living, and theology; the first and last elements, the love of learning and theology, are marked in the Stevensionian line; the second element of (what I have called) free-living seems counteracted by a strong and religious character; we have in addition, in the Stevensons and the Smiths, the inherited faculty of invention, the romantic bias, the insight into character, the delight in words for their own sake, and above all, the austere devotion, as a point of honour, to perfect craftsmanship.'

Yet Mr. Graham Balfour's biography will be welcome even after the publication of Stevenson's *Letters*, which are fundamentally, and in places painfully, autobiographical, if it supplies much needed information. There is a good deal of mystery about his marriage with Mrs. Osbourne, who obtained divorce from her first husband. It led to a temporary alienation from his father, and to a temporary 'stopping of the supplies,' and almost to death. Then why was it that Stevenson felt impelled in the latest years of his life to overstrain his powers of work, and so precipitate the paralysis of his inventive faculty, and finally his death? By that time he was long past the age when he had earned only £200 a-year by his pen. Fame had come to him, and with it competence; he could almost dictate his price in the literary market: Mr. Colvin estimates his income during the Samoan period as £4000 or £5000. And yet Mr. Cornford says: 'In middle age we see him, in his *Vailima Letters*, desperately and cheerfully toiling for reasons (apparently) like to those which compelled Sir Walter Scott to his pathetic sacrifice, and labouring with a heroism which brings to mind his august elder's demeanour in the last tragic scenes of his life.' There is no doubt as to the reasons which compelled Scott to overstrain even his great powers, and to give to the world work unworthy of him at the best. The noble tragedy of his latest years has been made completely known. Stevenson—so much more self-conscious than Scott—deserves equally full and fair treatment. Then although there was an element of what Mr. Lang has termed 'the moralist' in Stevenson, or of what other critics have styled 'middle-class prig,' as revealed in his judgment of Burns and his attitude towards M. Zola, yet his biographers hint vaguely that in his early years, his right to play either the moralist or the prig might have been severely questioned. It was a half-jest, half-superstition of Stevenson that in him the ill-starred Robert Fergusson lived again, and in comparing himself to his predecessor in a letter he describes them as having been 'both vicious.' Mr. Cornford says: 'In the records of the engineers, his forefathers, we find no traces of what are called irregular courses of life which are

among the commonest influences of the time in which they lived and worked. But how should Stevenson, such as he was, born into the last decaying period of the old order of things, escape its influence? I cannot but think that the old Scottish grossness reappears in the gruesome and ugly elements of which he makes such striking use in his work.' Mr. Henley, in his poetical photograph of his friend, describes him as without any compunction as 'lover and sensualist,' and referring to the biographical article in the Dictionary of National Biography, he also says: 'Mr. Colvin's reference to these years is perhaps a little misleading. No doubt the differences of which they were compounded were not all reputable. But it was a time of walking and canoeing, as well as of drink and "jink," and the L. J. R. (that mysterious and strange society,) and it took our author out of himself, it brought him face to face with life and character, it taught him to be something other than the "sedulous ape of some one else," and (for his intimates were all talkers and moralists) it initiated and developed a practice of discussion and debate which left no theme of discussion unattempted nor many unexhausted.' In all such statements by biographers and admirers there is a vague hinting at the 'sowing of wild oats' on the part of Stevenson. Perhaps the crop was a small one—so small as scarcely to be worth mentioning. Mr. Cornford refers to the two or three years variously described by Mr. Colvin and Mr. Henley as 'a period whose inner records were written in the sand, and survive not the waves of time.' Stevenson himself, who was temperamentally incapable of writing impersonally or even third-personally, and whose moralisations in middle age were often but transcripts of his own experience, has, in his *Later Essays*, said, 'To know what you like is the beginning of wisdom and of old age. Youth is wholly experimental. The essence and charm of that unquiet and delightful epoch is ignorance of self as well as ignorance of life. These two unknowns the young man brings together again and again, now in the airiest touch, now with a bitter hug; now with exquisite pleasure, now with cutting pain; but never with indifference to which he is a total stranger, and never with that near kins-

man of indifference, contentment. . . . It is not beauty that he loves, nor pleasure that he seeks, though he may think so; his design and sufficient reward is to verify his own existence and taste the variety of human fate.' Whatever this may point to—and Mr. Cornford is as much mystified as the ordinary reader—it can hardly be *J'ai vécu* in the French sense, much less 'seeing life,' as Dickens has realised and satirised the process—through the window of a public-house parlour. Yet Mr. Graham Balfour will be well advised to dissipate the dubiety which rests on these few years. In doing so, also, he will be acting in accordance with Stevenson's own theory of the criticism of life, which is that, in the case of a genius, not only the 'head of gold,' but the 'feet of clay,'—if he have such—should have justice done to them.

It is quite certain that no biography that may yet be produced of Stevenson will affect the general estimate of his character, which the reader of his *Letters* is practically bound to form. The impatience which has led so many writers to anticipate the enterprise contemplated by Mr. Sidney Colvin, and now to be completed by Mr. Graham Balfour, indicates that he is one of those fascinating personalities, every scrap of information as to whom is eagerly welcomed by a large and interested section of the public. His weakness as a novelist lies notoriously in his inability to draw an attractive woman. As Mr. Cornford says fantastically, 'of the passion of love he seems to have conceived imperfectly and partially, until he drew towards the end of his life, when it seems he came near to beholding some image of the true Eros.' Yet in spite of this incapacity, there was a large element of 'fundamental femininity' in Stevenson's nature; that very courage which enabled him to face and make the most of life while always in the Valley of the Shadow of Death was of that kind which men esteem most in, and perhaps too readily expect from women. It seems feeble and out of place to speak of 'admiring' or 'respecting' Stevenson; it does not seem out of place to speak of 'loving' him. Certainly no man of letters was so intensely loved by his contemporaries; they never speak of him except in the superlatives of passionate adoration. This fact is largely to be accounted for by the fact

that he was a great talker. He was one of those men like Burns and (according to Mr. Froude) Carlyle, of whom admirers say that their letters are better than their books, and their talk is better than either. Mr. Colvin is one of the sanest of editors, and yet he breaks into rapture when he dilates upon Stevenson's talk.

' He would begin, no matter how, in early days often with a jest at his own absurd garments, or with the recitation in his vibrating voice and full Scottish accent of some snatch of poetry that was haunting him, or with a rhapsody of analytic delight over some minute accident of beauty or expressiveness that had struck his observation, and would have escaped that of everybody else, in man, woman, child, or external nature. And forthwith the floodgates would be opened, and the talk would stream on in endless, never importunate, flood and variety. A hundred fictitious characters would be invented, differentiated, and launched on their literary careers; a hundred ingenious problems of conduct or cases of honour would be set and solved, in a manner often quite opposed to conventional precept; romantic voyages would be planned and followed out in vision, with a thousand incidents, to all the corners of our own planet and of others; the possibilities of life and art would be illuminated with glancing search lights of bewildering range and penetration, the most sober argument alternating with the maddest freaks of fancy, high poetic eloquence with coruscations of insanely apposite slang—the earthiest jape anon shooting up into the empyrean and changing into the most ethereal fantasy—the stalest and most vulgarised forms of speech gaining brilliancy and illuminating power from some hitherto unheard of application—and all the while an atmosphere of goodwill diffusing itself from the speaker, a glow of eager benignity and affectionate laughter emanating from his presence, until everyone about him seemed to catch something of his own gift and inspiration. This sympathetic power of inspiring others was the special and distinguishing note of Stevenson's conversation. He would keep a house-full or a single companion entertained all day, and day after day and half the nights, yet never seemed to dominate the talk or to absorb it; rather he helped everyone about him to discover and to exercise unsuspected powers of their own. The point could hardly be better brought out than in a fragment which I borrow from Mr. Henley of an unpublished character-sketch of his friend: "I leave his praise in this direction (the telling of Scottish vernacular stories) to others. It is more to my purpose to note that he will discourse with you of morals, music, marbles, men, manners, metaphysics, medicine, mangold-wurzel—que scays je?—with equal insight into essentials and equal pregnancy and felicity of utterance; and that he will stop with you to make mud pies in the first gutter, range in your company whatever heights of thought and feeling you have found accessible, and end by guiding you to altitudes far nearer the stars than you have

ever dreamed of footing it ; and at the last he makes you wonder which to admire the more—his easy familiarity with the Eternal Veracities, or the brilliant flashes of imbecility with which his excursions into the Infinite are sometimes diversified. He radiates talk as the sun does light and heat ; and after an evening—or a week—with him, you come forth with a sense of satisfaction in your own capacity which somehow proves superior even to the inevitable conclusion that your brilliance was but a reflection of his own, and that all the while you were only playing the part of Rubinstein's piano or Sarasate's violin.”

Ten years hence this will be accounted rhapsodical. But it is none the less genuine on that account as a reproduction of the special attraction of Stevenson's talk—an attraction which could only be done justice to by almost erotic extravagance.

The secret of the love which Stevenson evoked, the keynote of his character, was the enthusiasm of *camaraderie*. He was not inspired by ‘the enthusiasm of humanity.’ Men in the abstract he probably disliked as much as he did the press in the concrete. He had too much insight into what Mr. Henley and Mr. Cornford term the ‘squalid-picturesque’ aspect of life, to have much faith in, much less to rave about ‘the brotherhood of man’ or ‘the sisterhood of woman.’ But he was endowed by nature as few men, and no Scotsmen of eminence have been, with the instinct for that *camaraderie* which is to be found in perfection in the rooms of (English, not Scottish) students, or in the *cercle intime* of Bohemia, and is touched with romance in the stories of the elder Dumas. It would not be quite true to say that Stevenson never ceased to be a boy ; but it would not be very wide of the mark to say that he never ceased to be an undergraduate. He vainly tried to believe that he was by blood a Celt ; he even whimsically imagined that he was descended from a French barber-surgeon. Be these things as they may, Stevenson had certainly much of what is commonly accounted the French temperament in him. One does not indeed conceive of him singing—

‘ Lisette, ma Lisette,
Tu m’as trompé toujours ;
Mais vive la grisette !
Je veux, Lisette,
Boire à nos amours.’

The 'Shorter Catechist' in him would have made any such outburst artificial. He may have enjoyed an occasional excursion into Bohemia, but he never parted with the latchkey of respectability. As a humourist he doubtless appreciated the point of what his favourite, Thomas Boston, styled 'a leap out of Delilah's lap into Abraham's bosom,' which used to represent in imagination at least the 'typical' Scotsman's rebellion against what Mr. Cornford persistently regards as 'the tyranny of the Kirk.' But, as at bottom a practical man and a middle-class moralist, he would have given short shrift to Delilah as a corrupter of youth, unless indeed he had been interested in the maintenance of Philistine paramountcy. But the free life of ecstasy and unconventionality symbolised by, rather than realised in, the Quartier Latin, and the literary and artistic coteries of Paris, would have been appreciated by Stevenson. He did greatly enjoy the simple pleasures of the artists' colony at Fontainebleau. When he returned from it to Edinburgh he wrote—'I was haunted last night when I was in bed by the most cold desolate reflections of my past life here. I was glad to try and think of the forest, and warm my hands at the thought of it. O, the quiet grey thickets, and the yellow butterflies, and the woodpeckers, and the outlook over the plain, as if it were over the sea! O for the good fleshly stupidity of the woods, the body conscious of itself all over and the mind forgotten, the clean air nestling next your skin as though your clothes were gossamer, the eye filled with content, the whole man happy. Whereas here it takes a pull to hold yourself together; it needs both hands and a book of stoical maxims and a sort of bitterness at the heart by way of armour.' Yet this was but mental depression caused by physical weakness. Stevenson's Gallicism, however, was superficial; his *camaraderie* was of the very essence of him. But it was subjective rather than objective. It depended upon men rather than places. No doubt he was a fervid patriot after a fashion. In a letter to Mr. Barrie he takes credit for himself and his correspondent there they are 'Scotty Scots.' Writing when 'ordered South' to a female friend, Mrs. Sitwell—one of the few women to whom

he wrote as frankly as he did to many men who were not friends but only acquaintances—he says ‘Go South! I saw more beauty with my eyes beautifully alert in two wet windy February afternoons in Scotland, than I can see in my beautiful olive gardens and grey hills in my lone and lost estate, as the Shorter Catechism puts it somewhere.’ But as a matter of fact, Scotland is not inspiring or beautiful on a wet windy February afternoon; it is at its dreariest. It may, however, have looked quite otherwise to Stevenson when he had a congenial companion with him. Here are his real sentiments in a letter from Davos to Mr. Charles Baxter, one of the closest of his friends:—‘A little Edinburgh gossip in Heaven’s name! Ah! what would I not give to steal this evening through the big echoing college archways and away south under the street lamps to dear old Brash’s, now defunct. But the old time is dead also, never to revive. It was a sad time too, but so gay and so hopeful, and we had such sport, with all our low spirits and distresses, that it looks like a lamplit fairy land behind me. O for ten Edinburgh minutes, sixpence between us, and the ever-glorious Lothian Road or dear, mysterious Leith Walk!’ To the dull and uninterested stranger, ‘The ever-glorious Lothian Road’ seems one of the most prosaic of thoroughfares. As for the ‘dear mysterious Leith Walk,’ is it not the Rue St. Thomas de l’Enfer of *Sartor Resartus* and its author’s ‘spiritual new birth!’ But seen through the haze of romantic *camaraderie*, both Road and Walk were doubtless all that Stevenson’s fancy painted them.

Like every eminent egoist, Stevenson was a skilful letter-writer; ‘the sedulous ape’ could not have been anything else. But when he is not the comrade, the artist, or the critic, he can fail as prettily as most. Take for example a letter written from Vailima to ‘my dear May,’ a girl friend of his Bournemouth days, on her engagement. ‘You remain in my mind for a good reason, having given me (in so short a time) the most delightful pleasure. I shall remember, and you must still be beautiful. The truth is you must grow more so, or you will soon be less. It is not so easy to be a flower, even when you bear a flower’s name. And if I admired you so

much, and still remember you, it is not because of your face, but because you were then worthy of it, as you must still continue. Will you give my heartiest congratulations to Mr. S. ? He has my admiration ; he is a brave man ; when I was young, I should have run away from the sight of you pierced with the sense of my unfitness. He is more wise and manly. What a good husband he will have to be ! And you—what a good wife ! Carry your love tenderly. I will never forgive him—or you—it is in both your hands—if the face that once gladdened my heart should be changed into one sour or sorrowful. What a person you are to give flowers ! It was so I first heard of you ; and now you are giving the May flower. Yes, Skerryvore has passed. But I wish you would see us in our new home on the mountain, in the middle of great woods, and looking far out over the Pacific. When Mr. S. is very rich he must bring you round the world and let you see it, and see the old gentleman and the old lady. I mean to live quite a long while yet, and my wife must do the same, or else I could not manage it. So you see you will have plenty of time ; and it's a pity not to see the most beautiful places, and the most beautiful people moving there, and the real moon and stars overhead, instead of the fine imitations that preside over London.' Such a letter may, as one critic says, be 'full of delicate charm.' But it does not show us the real Stevenson—either the romantic in the pork pie hat or the artist in the velvet coat, but an artificial Stevenson in a frockcoat attempting to talk garden-party compliments, and doing so in baby-language. Such a letter confirms the view of Stevenson expressed by Lady Violet Greville. 'He was a great master of style, but I doubt if he had much knowledge of feminine character.' Certainly this letter proves that he had not a profound knowledge of modern feminine character ; otherwise he would hardly have treated a young woman entering upon the tolerably serious business of marriage to language almost as infantile as that his of own *Child's Garden of Verses*—which, by the way, he wrote at Skerryvore—

' Of speckled eggs the birdie sings
And nests among the trees ;

The sailor sings of ropes and things,
In ships upon the seas.
The children sing in far Japan,
The children sing in Spain ;
The organ with the organ-man
Is singing in the rain.'

With Stevenson *camaraderie* was a passion, and a dominating one ; it expelled every other passion. That passion had its reward. He was beloved and eulogised by contemporary artists as no writer of our time, or perhaps of any time, has been. Whether all this makes for immortality is another question.

Stevenson had not only this passion for *camaraderie*, but he had, in a very marked, probably a unique degree, the two virtues of courage and generosity, which make *camaraderie* either a genuine force in life, or worth preserving in the spirits of literature. Stevenson preached courage—or to be more accurate, pluck—with much eloquence ; he practised it with still more. Whether that pluck had any connection with Stevenson's physical weakness, besides being an exceedingly great compensation for it, it is for physiologists to decide. But Dr. Robertson Nicoll says, with the literary shrewdness of literal truth, 'To get into the depths of Stevenson's philosophy you must first bring up a little blood.' What that 'philosophy' was his *Virginibus Puerisque* makes absolutely clear. 'Whether we regard life as a lane leading to a dead wall—a mere bag's end, as the French say—or, whether we think of it as a vestibule or gymnasium, where we wait our turn or prepare our faculties for some noble destiny ; whether we thunder in a pulpit, or pule in little atheistic poetry-books about its vanity and brevity ; whether we look justly for years of health and vigour, or are about to mount into a bath-chair, as a step towards the hearse ; in each and all of these views and situations there is but one conclusion possible : that a man should stop his ears against paralysing terror, and run the race that is set before him with a single mind.' Mr. Cornford very skilfully supplements this confession of faith (in stoicism) written by Stevenson when he was under thirty, with a passage from *Later Essays*, written when he had reached

middle-age. 'When the time comes that a man should go, there need be few illusions left about himself. *Here lies one who meant well, tried a little, failed much*—surely that may be his epitaph, of which he need not be ashamed. Nor will he complain at the summons which calls a defeated soldier from the field; defeated, ay, if he were Paul or Marcus Aurelius!—but if there is still one inch of fight in his old spirit, undishonoured, the faith which sustained him in his life-long blindness and life-long disappointments, will scarce even be required in this last formality of laying down his arms. Give him a march with his old bones; there, out of the glorious sun-coloured earth, out of the day and the dust and the ecstasy—there goes another Faithful Failure!' This 'philosophy' is clever, dazzling, but not satisfactory; it is notable mainly for what Stevenson himself terms 'maimed masterfulness.' It is at the best the philosophy of the undergraduate with his Carlylian 'hell of not getting on' in class competitions, or in the donkey-race for carrots popularly known as life. Stevenson never outgrew the heats and the hopes of the undergraduate burning for 'distinction,' never reached the estate of the man who, not content with being a Faithful Failure, must needs make a moral success of every moment that is allowed him by Death, not only by doing whatever his hand findeth to do with all his might, but by acting justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly, so long as he can walk at all. Stevenson stuck to his creed, and practised it to the last syllable, nay, to the last cough, of his recorded time, with a courage equal to Hood's or Heine's. Did ever man bring up blood more gaily than in a letter written to Mr. Edmund Gosse, from San Francisco, in 1880? 'For about six weeks I have been in utter doubt; it was a toss-up for life or death all that time; but I won the toss, and Hades went off once more discomfited. This is not the first time, nor will it be the last that I have a friendly game with that gentleman. I know he will end by cleaning me out; but the rogue is insidious, and the habit of that sort of gambling seems to be a part of my nature; it was, I suspect, too much indulged in youth; break your children of this tendency, my dear Gosse, from the first. It is, when once formed,

a habit more fatal than opium—I speak, as St. Paul says, like a fool. I have been very, very sick; on the verge of a galloping consumption, cold sweats, prostrating attacks of cough, sinking fits, in which I lost the power of speech, fever, and all the ugliest symptoms of the disease; and I have cause to bless my wife that is to be, and one Dr. Bamford (a name the Muse repels), that I have come out of all this, and got my feet once more upon a little hill-top, with a fair prospect of life and some new desire of living. Yet I did not wish to die neither; only I felt unable to go on further with that rough horseplay of human life. A man must be pretty well to take the business in good part.’ In spirit, at least, as in his ineradicable instinct for wandering, Stevenson was a modern Ulysses, and to his eternal honour be it said, he preserved his determination never to submit or yield to the last.

As Stevenson had the courage which gives backbone to *camaraderie*, he had undoubtedly also the generosity which alone renders it an enduring and unselfish pleasure. Some of his deliberate literary judgments are lacking in breadth and insight, notably those on Burns, Thoreau, and Whitman, in which, as he would himself have said, the middle-class prig or at least the Shorter Catechist is at the elbow of the admiring and sympathising artist. But he rejoices in the literary successes and admires the endowments of his own contemporaries with the simple frankness with which he rattles in his pocket the ‘hundred golden guineas’ that he received for *Treasure Island*. New ‘Scotty Scots’ like Mr. Barrie and Mr. Crockett, he welcomes and encourages—although he mingles gentle criticism with encouragement. Of Mr. Rudyard Kipling he writes in 1890, that he is ‘by far the most promising young man who has appeared since ahem!—I appeared. . . . But he alarms me by his copiousness and haste. He should shield his fire with both hands, and draw up all his strength and sweetness in one ball.’ M. Paul Bourget is ‘an excellent fellow all made of fiddlestrings and scent and intelligence;’ Mr. Meredith is ‘bound for immortality.’ Anthony Trollope ‘is so nearly wearying you and never does.’ He had little sympathy with George Eliot, yet ‘Hats off, you understand!

—a woman of genius!’ He has no sympathy with M. Zola, and urges the overthrow of ‘Dagon, the Fish-God’ of realism; yet he is quite capable of admiring *Le Diable*. No book has recently been published which contains so much sound and kindly criticism in the form of first-class cigarette-and-camara-derie talk as Stevenson’s *Letters*.

The *Letters*, and the more or less authoritative biographies of Stevenson which have been published, enable a tolerably correct estimate to be formed not only of his powers, but of his limitations as a man and—in his case, therefore—as an artist. This article is, of course, not concerned with Stevenson’s religious opinions, except in so far as they have a bearing on his position in letters. Mr. Graham Balfour may be able to clear up the uncertainty in which this subject is involved. All we know at present is that in one of his *Letters* he speaks of himself as having been almost driven into a madhouse by ‘a damnatory creed,’ that in another he alludes pathetically to the pain he inflicted upon his parents when he told them that his religious sentiments were no longer theirs, that, in this same letter, he denies being ‘a horrid atheist,’ and that all through his life he appears to have cherished towards ‘avowed irreligion’ a contemptuous dislike which curiously recalls that of Carlyle. It is of much more importance to note that the sense of what on one side is known in literature as ‘spirituality,’ and on another is known as ‘cosmic emotion’ is conspicuous by its absence from Stevenson’s life and works. What is here meant may be best illustrated by quotations from two of the most emphatically ‘Scotty Scots’ of the generation which preceded Stevenson’s. John Brown, one of the few Scotsmen who can as stylists, be named in the same breath with Stevenson, has told this anecdote of Thackeray. ‘We cannot resist recalling one Sunday evening in December, when he was walking with two friends along the Dean Road to the west of Edinburgh—one of the noblest outlets to any city. It was a lovely evening, such a sunset as one never forgets; a rich dark bar of cloud hovered over the sun, going down behind the Highland hills, lying bathed in amethystine bloom; between this cloud and the hills

there was a narrow slip of the pure æther, of a tender cowslip colour, lucid, and, as it were, the very body of heaven in its clearness; every object standing out as if etched upon the sky. The north-west end of Corstorphine Hill with its trees and rocks lay in the heart of this pure radiance, and there a wooden crane used in the quarry below was so placed as to assume the figure of a cross; there it was unmistakeable, lifted up against the crystalline sky. All three gazed at it silently. As they gazed, he gave utterance in a tremulous, gentle, and rapid voice, to what all were feeling, in the word "Calvary!" The friends walked on in silence, and then turned to other things. All that evening he was very gentle and serious, speaking, as he seldom did, of divine things—of death, of sin, of eternity, of salvation; expressing his simple faith in God and his salvation.' Again, take Carlyle. 'In the heart of the remotest mountains rises the little kirk; the dead all slumbering round it, under their white memorial stones "in hope of a happy resurrection,"—dull wert thou, O reader, if never in any hour (say of moaning midnight, when such kirk hung spectral in the sky, and being was as if swallowed up of darkness) it spoke to thee—things unspeakable that went to thy soul's soul. Strong was he that had a church, what we can call a church; he stood thereby, though in the centre of immensities, in the conflict of eternities,' yet 'manlike towards God and man; the vague shoreless universe had become for him a firm city and dwelling which he knew.'

As against the 'Calvary' of Thackeray, and the Rembrandtesque mysticism of Carlyle, Stevenson can show nothing better than this 'cosmic utterance' from *Pulvis et Umbra*—'What a monstrous spectre is this man, the disease of the agglutinated dust, lifting alternate feet or lying drugged with slumber; killing, feeding, growing, bringing forth small copies of himself; grown upon with hair like grass, fitted with eyes that move and glitter in his face; a thing to set children screaming; and yet, looked at nearer, known as his fellows know him; how surprising are his attributes!' Here we have neither spirituality, nor mysticism, nor science, but what even Stevenson's admirer, Mr. Cornford, terms a 'vision, monstrous,

vivid, intolerable, as though beheld in the refracted vision of fever,' as the 'utterance of a sick man in a strong access of personal emotion, curious of style, and invincibly moral or rather Calvinistic to the last extremity.'

The political views of Stevenson are no more under consideration at the present moment than his religious doctrines. Whatever they may have been they were not made a prominent feature of his life, although *A Footnote to History*, written at Samoa, and on a subject of which his heart was full, proves that he might have made an admirable controversialist—as his brochure on Father Damien proved that he could be a bitter one. But he was totally deficient in what are generally styled 'popular sympathies.' This is shown in quite a number of passages in his *Letters*. Of these none is a more vehement confession of faith—or of unfaith—than the following, which occurs in a letter written to Mr. Gosse :—

'Let us tell each other sad stories of the bestiality of the beast whom we feed. What he likes is the newspaper ; and to me the Press is the mouth of a sewer, where lying is professed as from an university chair, and everything prurient and ignoble, and essentially dull, finds its abode and pulpit. I do not like mankind ; as for respecting the race, and above all the fatuous rabble of burgesses called "the public," God save us from such irreligion !—that way lies disgrace and dishonour. There must be something radically wrong in me, or I would not be popular. This is perhaps a trifle stronger than my sedate and permanent opinion. Not much, I think. As for the art that we practise, I have never been able to see why its professors should be respected. They chose the primrose path ; when they found it was not all primroses, but some of it thorny and much of it uphill, they began to think and to speak of themselves as holy martyrs. But a man is never martyred in any honest sense in the pursuit of his pleasure ; and *delirium tremens* has none of the honour of the cross. We were full of the pride of life, and chose, like prostitutes, to live by a pleasure. We should be paid if we give the pleasure we pretend to give ; but why should we be honoured ?'

There is no doubt more or less conscious exaggeration—the exaggeration produced by the fear that he had gained the ear of the wrong people—in this rather hysterical utterance. Occasionally, at all events, Stevenson took a higher view of his profession than the positively repulsive one he here professes. But his detestation of the press, although

absolutely unreasoning and unreasonable, was genuine, and he took a cynical delight in deriding the folk that bought his books as 'the bourgeois that carries the bag,' and 'the fatuous rabble of burgesses called the "public."' He saw nothing in them to command esteem, much less love. Hence there can never be between the unfortunate 'general reader' and Stevenson that confidence which existed between him and Dickens, even that confidence which exists between him and Mr. Barrie. *A Window in Thrums* gets nearer to humanity than the whole output of 'the golden art' of Stevenson, and is perhaps more assured of a place among the classics of the heart.

The time has hardly come to assign Stevenson his position in English literature. It is not easy to separate his personality from his books; perhaps it will never be quite possible to separate them. The generation of critics who knew and loved him—and could not help infusing the rapture of love into their appreciations—must pass away before he can be judged in cold blood. Mr. Cornford offers a tentative estimate, which has at least negative merits. 'With all Stevenson's brilliant endowments and all his amazing cleverness, the sane serenely humorous vision of the great Masters is denied him. Stevenson was no "natural force let loose." Rather was he the very type of the athlete in letters, with all his powers cultivated to their utmost, informed with a rare and brave spirit running—with many flourishes and tricks of pace—the race that was set before him with all his might.' This is the truth; perhaps if we supplement the criticism of Mr. Cornford by describing Stevenson as the athlete in letters who was compelled to be an invalid in life, and who made the most of himself in the circumstances permitted him by fate, practically the whole truth, so far as it has yet been told by himself and his biographers, is stated. Like all men who are egoists, but whose egoism, owing to the sweetness of their nature, is never repellent, he was his own best critic. He says, not once but a thousand times, that the view of life which dominated him was the romantic-comic. Holding this view he could not help becoming the perpetuator of the

traditions of Scott and Dumas. He can never rank with them because the most exquisite art cannot atone for the lack of abounding life. He also tells us, not once but a thousand times, that his instincts were those of a man of action and a fighter. His whole heart, his whole adventurous nature, were therefore in his stories of the type of *Kuldappel* and *Treasure Island*. He wrote the best books for boys—and the best verses for children—that can be enjoyed by grown-up people. His Alan Breck and Silver will live when 'the Ruddyards have ceased from Kipling and the Haggards have ridden no more;' they are as assured of immortality as Rob Roy and Dugald Dalgetty, as even Athos and Porthos. Next to Stevenson's romanticism comes his diabolism—the diabolism of *The Master of Ballantrae*, of the appalling cockney Huish in *The Ebb-Tide*, of Hermiston the Hanging Judge, of the whole Jekyll and Hyde 'business.' It was the product of a sick-bed haunted by rich fancies as well as tenanted by a frail body, and as genuine, if not quite as great, as anything in Poe.

Stevenson has not written a great novel; he died before he had completed *Weir of Hermiston*, which, thanks quite as much to Christina and Kirstie Elliott as to Weir himself, would in all probability have been his greatest, and might have been positively great. But he was a master of 'incidents' and of 'studies,' at least where the 'squalid-picturesque,' the eerie, or the diabolic masters the situation. Two generations of novelists have not produced a more effective short story than 'The Pavilion on the Links.'

As a Scottish poet, as an English critic, as a cosmopolitan moralist, Stevenson was confessedly the 'sedulous ape' of Fergusson, of Hazlitt, of Montaigne, but not the equal of any one of three, except in finish of style. As a follower of Montaigne he was the 'sedulous ape' of a 'sedulous ape.' Had not that model educationist, Pierre Eyquem Seigneur de Montaigne, made his third son learn first Latin and then Greek as if it had been his mother tongue, it is possible that the *Essais* would not have been a classic. Had not Stevenson educated himself, by 'sedulous aping,' to think in Browne and Montaigne, he could never, even with the

help of his very real philosophy of blood-spitting, have written *Virginibus Puerisque* or the *Later Essays*. But Stevenson had not the experience of the earlier gods, and his utterance is not so large as theirs. He sends his readers back to the classics of morality, however, and that is a distinct service to humanity.

Had Stevenson an influence on his time, his generation, his country? The fact that his own Samoa is German territory is an answer, the sardonic humour of which he would, if not too depressed, have himself enjoyed. The charm of his romances, full as they are of the spirit of the old Scottish adventurer whose life was one long act of 'expansion,' is largely responsible for the present triumph of Imperialism, although his still small voice is not at this moment heard for the roaring realis mand music hall vigour of Mr. Kipling's muse. But the be-all and the end-all, the Alpha and the Omega, of Stevenson, is style. If in youth he was the sedulous ape, and in manhood the romantic hero, he was in death the martyr, of the literary art. He made it as Carlyle made labour, a matter of conscience, of duty, of honour. He is—as no other writer among his contemporaries, except Mr. Meredith, can be said to be—the delight, the treasure, the glory of the connoisseurs—the honest and earnest devotees of perfection in words—among the reading public. His works are an 'Enquire within for the Best-written' on everything dominated by literary craftsmanship. Like Carlyle, he was a reactionary in the best sense. He has created a school of style, in which Professor Raleigh and Mr. Charles Whibley are the leading professors. If at present too intolerant of the inevitable hurry of journalism, and inclined occasionally to encourage sheer euphuism, that school will yet do good service—although more probably than not it will die in the attempt—in seeking to stem the advance of the barbarians of slang and vulgarity upon nobility in thought and grace in art.

WILLIAM WALLACE.

ART. III.—SOCIAL LIFE IN SCOTLAND IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century. By
HENRY GREY GRAHAM. 2 Vols. London: A. & C.
Black. 1899.

THE eighteenth century is one of the most stirring in Scottish history. The first half of it was marked by three great political movements. The first of these was peacefully decided in the councils of the nation, though not without strong opposition and much dissatisfaction at the immediate results. The others were decided on the field of battle, and gave rise to many interesting and romantic episodes. The issues fought out were scarcely of equal importance with those which stirred the energies and called forth the heroism of the people in the days of Wallace and Bruce, but, Barbour and Blind Harry, the Minstrel, notwithstanding, they have left a deeper and broader impression upon the popular literature of the country, and given birth to some of its most charming lyrics. Perhaps the days of Wallace and Bruce are too distant, and are gradually fading away in the past, though it is not likely that they will ever be forgotten, but over against 'Scots 'Wha Hae,' which may be sung on certain solemn occasions, there is 'Bonnie Charlie's noo awa' and fifty others in similar political strain, which have quite as deep a hold on the popular sentiment, and are more frequently upon the lips of the people.

Politics, song and sentiment, however, are not the whole of a nation's life. History is not past politics merely, but a good deal more. Perhaps no one has done more to prove that it is than the brilliant author of the much-quoted but exceedingly questionable saying:—'History is past politics and politics are present history.' At any rate the writers of the new school of history, which has grown up chiefly under his inspiration, are seeing with increasing clearness that the history of a people is not solely the clang of battle or the march of troops, nor wholly

the doings of sovereigns and statesmen, but the development of a nation's life and character. As at present conceived history, indeed, has a much broader significance than past politics, and covers not only politics in the ordinary sense, but trade and commerce and industry, religion, thought, art and literature. As a record it is the literary presentation of a nation's life in all its various forms and relations, and in their different developments. Hence we have, and are having in increasing numbers, literary histories, religious histories, social histories, intellectual histories, histories of town life, of art, of politics, etc. None of these represents the entire life of a people or a period, but each contributes towards its presentation. In short, such is the expansion which the idea, denoted by the term 'history,' has undergone since Gibbon and Hume and Burton wrote, that it is doubtful whether any one will, in future, undertake to write what professes to be an exhaustive history of a nation or people, except it be that of a small and obscure nation, or of one about which little is known, or whose records are exhausted, or whose existence has been of but short duration.

The task which Mr. Graham has essayed has, unless we are mistaken, been attempted but once before. Dr. Rogers' book, however, though it runs to three somewhat bulky volumes and contains much that is entertaining, is not of much account. The scissors have been largely used in its compilation, and it is too superficial to be called a history. In his Ochtertyre Papers Mr. Ramsay has set down his own impressions and observations, and has contributed largely to our knowledge of the social life of the century, but to write a history of it never seems to have entered his mind. Mr. Graham has made a good use of what Mr. Ramsay has written, as well as of what has been written by a great number of others. Indeed, there are few books or pamphlets written in the eighteenth century, and bearing upon his subject, which, so far as we can make out, he has not read. A more thorough search in the volumes of the Burgh Records' Society and similar works might have supplied additional illustrations, and, possibly on one or two points, modified the conclusions he has arrived at. A number of local works, such as Maughan's *Roseneath*, Chalmers' *Dunfermline*, Hewat's *A Little Scots'*

World; several publications of the Scottish History Society, as Cunningham's *Diary*, Bishop Pococke's *Tours*, and other works might have been used; but the number of those which have been used is extraordinary, and many of them are anything but delectable reading. The work is on one point, at least, professedly incomplete. On the literature of the period Mr. Graham, as he tells us, has scarcely touched. There are other chapters which might be written. Something still remains to be said on the municipal institutions, industries, trade organisations, social life in the smaller towns, art and architecture, and sports and pastimes. References to these topics occur here and there but they are probably reserved for larger treatment in a future volume, which, if equal to these, will not, it may safely be said, fail to be welcomed. In spite of their omission, however, the two volumes before us are of exceptional merit. They make the past live, and furnish a picture of almost photographic accuracy of the condition of the country and society during the period they cover.

The aspect of the country during the eighteenth century, more especially during the early part of it, was not attractive. According to Procopius, the ancient idea of the country was that no man could live in it for half-an-hour on account of the unwholesomeness of the air, and the vipers and all manner of noxious beasts with which it was infested. There is reason to believe, too, that some of the ancient Welsh poets were in the habit of regarding the country beyond the Wall as the realm of Arawn, the King of Hades.* The few Englishmen who visited the country in the Eighteenth century were not disposed to quarrel with these ideas. One of them passing through Dumfriesshire in 1704, summed up his impression of the country by saying: 'Had Cain been born a Scotchman, his punishment would have been not to wander, but to stay at home.† Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk, who was in the same county about twenty years later, says: 'The face of the country was particularly desolate, not having yet reaped any benefit from the Union.‡

* Rhys' *Arthurian Legend*, 11, 245.

† Brown's *Sanguhar*, 256.

‡ *Autobiography*, 24.

Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century.

Oliver Goldsmith, who wrote later still, says: 'Hills and intercept every prospect;' and again, 'Shall I tire you with a description of this unfruitful country, when I must lead you through their hills all brown with heather, or their valleys scarce able to feed a rabbit? Man alone seems to be the only creature who has arrived to the natural size on this poor soil. Every part of the country presents the same dismal landscape. No grove nor brook lend their music to cheer the stranger or make the inhabitants forget their poverty.*' But here is Mr. Graham's description, the lines of which have been filled in from many sources:

'The few Englishmen who journeyed to North Britain, from a spirit of adventurous curiosity or from stress of business, entered upon the expedition with the air of heroic courage with which a modern traveller sets forth to explore the wild region of a savage land. If the tourist entered Scotland by way of Berwick and the Lothians, he did not at first meet much to shock him by ugly contrast. If he entered by Dumfriesshire and the moors of Galloway, he was at once filled with dismay by the dismal change from his own country—the landscape a bleak and bare solitude, destitute of trees, abounding in heather and morass and barren hills; soil where cultivation was found only in dirty patches of crops on ground surrounded by heather and bog; regions where the inhabitants spoke an uncouth dialect, were dressed in rags, lived in hovels, and fed on grain, with which he fed his horses; and when night fell, and he reached a town of dirty thatched huts, and gained refuge in a miserable abode that passed for an inn, only to get a bed he could not sleep in, and fare he could not eat, his disgust was inexpressible. After he had, and finally reached his English home, he wrote down his adventures as a modern explorer pens his experience in Darkest Africa.' . . . 'Meanwhile, to the stay-at-home Englishman, Scotland remained a *terra incognita*. Rumour exaggerated all its terrors, and prejudice believed in them long after they had passed away. Not even in the wild scenery did the traveller see anything of beauty or sublimity, but rather forms of ugliness and gloom, which deepened his dislike of the land. . . . Captain Burt was quite disposed to speak fair of the country and people, but a Highland landscape only awakened abhorrence in the cultivated Englishman, who preferred Rosamond's Pond to any loch, and Primrose Hill to any mountain. "The huge naked rocks, being just above heath, produces the disagreeable appearance of a scabbed head." That is his ruthless comment. He concludes what he calls "the disagreeable subject" of the outward appearance of the mountains by saying: "There is not much variety in it, but gloomy

* Forster's *Goldsmith*, Vol. I., 433, 438.

spaces, different rocks, and heath high and low. To cast one's eye from an eminence towards a group of them, they appear still one above the other, fainter and fainter according to the aerial perspective, and the whole of a dismal brown, drawing upon a dirty purple, and most of all disagreeable when the heath is in bloom." The love of nature in its wild aspects did not inspire the clever engineer.'

In this last remark, Mr. Graham is scarcely fair to Burt. What the latter complained of was not the wild aspects of the scenery, but its dull monotony. Wild nature may be impressive, but if the picturesque element be absent, it is scarcely inspiring or attractive. The chief glory of Scottish scenery in the present is its picturesqueness; but what there is of that is mainly due to the hand of man—to the trees he has planted, often in great profusion, and usually with admirable skill, to the immense improvements he has almost everywhere effected in farming, gardening, and domestic architecture, and to the thousand and one touches which the resources of a wealthy and not inartistic civilisation has enabled him to add to landscapes, so as to convert barren hills and unfruitful valleys into scenes of loveliness and beauty. But when Burt wrote, all this was wanting. The aspect of the country was stern and savage, and when seen under a sour sky and drizzling rain, was, as it still is in some parts, inexpressibly depressing.

Proprietors and tenants were both poor. The rent paid by the latter was from 1s. to 3s. per acre. In the earlier part of the century a Scots landowner, with a rent-roll of £500, was reckoned wealthy, with one of from £200 to £300, rich, and well off with one of from £80 to £100; while many gentlemen of good degree and long pedigree had to preserve their station with from £50 to £20 a-year. The old custom of paying the greater part of the rent in kind was still in vogue. In a number of instances so many days' work formed part of the rent. Here is the rental of the barony of Kerco and Ballathie in Perthshire, which Mr. Graham has culled out of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of March 15, 1742, and gives as a fair sample: '£1785 Scots in money, 33 bolls bear, 48 bolls meal, 7 bolls malt, 14 salmon fishes, a mill-swine, 32 poultry fowls, 12 capons, and 48 dargues (days' work).' The rents were paid at the two terms of

Whitsunday and Martinmas, 'when the half-starved horses of the tenants were to be seen, in unsteady cavalcade, stumbling slowly along the bridle-paths, one man guiding every two emaciated beasts, which laboured under the burden of one boll each.' 'The grain,' Mr. Graham adds, 'was deposited in the giral or granary attached to the house, and there remained till it was consumed by the household, or sold in the market to produce the money which was sorely needed for home expenditure; though too often it was spoilt by long keeping, in the hope of getting a better price, or half eaten by rats.' Speaking of the Highlands, Burt says: 'The poverty of the tenants has rendered it customary for the chief or laird to free some of them every year for all arrears of rent; this is supposed upon an average to be about one year in five of the whole estate; '* and in the Lowlands, Mr. Ramsay reports that in his father's time bankruptcies were not uncommon, and that it was often necessary to have recourse to the law to obtain payment. †

As for the poorer classes, when the century opened, they were living in a state of absolute misery. From August, 1696, and for several years onwards, the seasons were seasons of blight and famine, and for generations they were remembered as the 'dark years,' the 'ill' or 'hungry years.' By the Jacobites they were remembered as 'King William's years.' During these disastrous years, as Mr. Graham writes, 'the crops were blighted by easterly 'haars' or mists, by sunless, drenching summers, by storms, and by early bitter frosts and deep snow in Autumn.' For seven years this went on, and many of the poorer classes died from utter starvation. Describing the conditions of the country, Mr. Graham writes:—

'The sheep and oxen died in thousands, the prices of everything among a peasantry that had nothing went up to famine pitch, and a large proportion of the population in rural districts was destroyed by disease and want. During these 'hungry years,' as starvation stared the people in the face, the instincts of self-preservation overpowered all other feelings, and even natural affection became extinct in crowds of men and women forced to prowl and fight for their food like beasts. People in the North sold their children to slavery in the plantations for victuals; men

* Vol. II., 160.

† Vol. II. 352.

struggled with their sisters for a morsel of bread ; many were so weak and dispirited that they had neither heart nor strength to bury their dead. A man was seen carrying the corpse of his father on his back half way to the churchyard, and throwing it down at a farmer's door, he exclaimed— " I can carry it no further. For God's sake, bury the corpse, or put it, if you like, on the dyke of your kailyard to keep out the sheep." On the roads were to be seen dead bodies with a morsel of raw flesh in their mouths, and dying mothers lying with starved infants which had sucked dry breasts ; while numbers, dreading lest their bodies should be exposed to the birds, crawled, when they felt the approach of death, to the kirkyard, that they might have some better chance of being buried, when death overtook them. In these very kirkyards, which, owing to their too abundant replenishing, were the only fertile spots in the land, old and young struggled together for the nettles, docks, and grass, in spring ; while they gathered greedily the loathed snails in summer, and stored them for the winter's use. Even in the streets of towns starving men fell down and died. " Through the long continuance of these manifold judgments," says the pious, credulous, ungrammatical, but quite veracious historian, Patrick Walker, " deaths and burials were so common that the living wearied of the burial of the dead. I have seen corpses drawn in sleds, many neither having coffins nor winding-sheets. I was one of four who carried the corpse of a young woman a mile journey, and when we came to the grave an honest man came and said, " You must go and help me to bury my son ; he is lien dead these two days ; otherwise I will be obliged to bury him in my own yard." We went, and there were eight of us had two miles to carry the corpse of this young man, many neighbours looking on, but none to help. I was credibly informed that in the north two sisters on a Monday's morning were found carrying the corpse of their brother with bearing ropes, none offering to help. I have seen some walking about till the sun-setting, and to-morrow, about six o'clock in the summer's morning, their head lying on their hands, and mice and rats having eaten a great part of their hands and arms." These grimly vivid memories gain ample confirmation from the records of the time and traditions of the people that survived for generations.' *

Besides the classes already alluded to, there was in Scotland a large vagrant class ; 'vagabonds,' says Fletcher of Saltoun, 'who live without any regard to the laws of the land, or even those of God and nature.' During these lean years he estimated their number at two hundred thousand. They swarmed everywhere and were often a terror to honest people. 'No magistrate,' he says in his *Second Discourse*, 'could ever discover which way

* Vol. I., 147-48.

one in a hundred of these wretches died, or that ever they were baptized. Many murders have been discovered among them, and they are not only a most unspeakable oppression to poor tenants (who, if they give not bread or some kind of provision to perhaps forty such villains in a day, are sure to be insulted by them), but they rob many poor people who live in houses distant from any neighbourhood. In years of plenty, many thousands of them meet together in the mountains, where they feast and riot for many days; and at country-weddings, markets, burials, and other the like public occasions, they are to be seen, both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together.'

The domestic architecture of the period was on a level with the poverty of the people, and generally of a wretched description. Here and there scattered throughout the country were a number of castellated houses dating back to the sixteenth century. Many of them were partially in ruins, and most of them in an uncared for condition. The homes of the greater part of the gentry were plain two-storied buildings, unadorned and unattractive, 'devoid of dignity from the floor to the corbel-stepped gable roof,' set down in a hollow or by the side of a hill, where they were sheltered from the fierce winds that swept across the unprotected land, and in some parts planted round with trees for shelter. In many cases these 'clustered so close to the walls that they blocked out light and air from the small narrow windows, with their tiny three-cornered panes of glass.' The fields were ploughed up to the front door or the gate, though here and there a lawn or avenue added to the amenity. Near every house was the 'inevitable dovecot,' sheltering clouds of pigeons which fed upon the scanty crop of the tenants, and then went to stock the laird's larder. The houses of the smaller lairds were constructed on the plan of some of the old-fashioned farms which are still to be seen. The courtyard was 'usually formed by the house having a projecting granary or byre on one side, a projecting stable and barn on the other, while in the open space between stood the midden, in which the midden-fowls feasted and nursed their broods among nettles and docks growing all around.' 'The environs of country seats,' says Ramsay, speaking of the early

years of the century, were abundantly plain and primitive. The consorting of nature and concealing her lesser deformities were then little thought of. On approaching a laird's dwelling, the stable, byre, and dunghill at the very door presented themselves to view; and all around was a plentiful crop of nettles, docks, and hemlock. The unsettled state of the country and the embarrassed circumstances of most country gentlemen, affords however, some apology for their parsimony and slovenliness in this article.* Attached to each house was a small and ill-kept garden, where a number of shrubs and flowers, and sweet herbs and 'physick herbs' struggled for existence. Of vegetables kail was the chief; turnips were to be seen only in a few of these gardens, and potatoes only in those of a few rich and enterprising gentlemen. Onions were not grown; all that were used were imported from Holland or Flanders. A few fruit trees were cultivated, and round about the gardens grew the nursery of trees.

Inside the houses were plain, and often damp and comfortless. The rooms were small. The walls were plastered, but paper-hanging was unknown; only in the houses of the wealthy was the dingy plaster hidden by tapestry, aras, panels of wood, or leather gilt or embossed. The windows had no sash or pulley, and could not be opened. Whatever ventilation there was, was done by the chimney or open door. Bell-pulls were unknown. Servants were summoned by knocking the floor with the heel or a poker. The furniture was cumbrous. 'Tables, chairs, and bedsteads were commonly wainscot or plane-tree, more remarkable for strength than elegance.'† Carpets, except in the houses of the wealthy, were unknown. In 1708 the Town Council of Stirling paid six pounds Scots for two carpets. Thirteen years later the floor of the magistrates' loft, *i.e.*, gallery, in the church of the same burgh was covered with a carpet, but it was deemed so costly that a cover was ordered to be made for it. In 1711, however, the same Town Council, according to the treasurer's account, paid 4s. Scots 'for getting the lend of Crayforth's carpet to set before the Lords.' In the second half of the

* Vol. II., p. 99.

† *Ib.*, p. 99.

century Jedburgh is said to have had only a couple of carpets among all its inhabitants. A friend told Ramsay of Ochertyre that when a boy at Edinburgh he saw the first carpet he had ever seen in the house of a gentleman who lived much abroad, and in 1716, at Cawdor House, only the 'King's room' had a carpet. Small and low in the ceiling as they were, every room in each house, except in the great houses, was provided with a bed, even the drawing-room was no exception. Some of the beds stood out from the wall into the middle of the room; others were 'box beds,' *i.e.* beds standing in a hole or recess in the wall. The first were hung with heavy plaiding, spun by the female members of the household; the others were concealed (hence sometimes called 'concealed beds,') by curtains or doors, either opening on hinges or sliding. All the same, so small and incommensurable were the houses that sleeping room was scarce, and it was no uncommon thing for a couple of gentlemen, quite unknown to each other, to have to share the same bed. The dining-room, adorned with dark and dim portraits, was usually kept locked up. The living-room was a sleeping room, and where the inmates slept there they ate their meals, received their guests, and gathered around the fire at night, the room being lighted with the sombre light of tallow candles, or the blaze of the fire burning in the open chimney in a dog-grate with bars of burnished brass. Few of the bed-rooms had grates, and the sleepers had to gather what heat they could under the heavy load of six to ten pairs of Scots blankets.

Of the dwellings of the laird's tenants and peasantry Mr. Graham has given a very graphic description. After quoting Morer, the English chaplain's account of the dwellings of the latter, in which they are described as 'low and feeble, their walls made of a few stones jumbled together without mortar to cement them, so ordered that it does not cost much more time to erect such a cottage than to pull it down, without chimneys, and only holes in the roofs for smoke to pass through,' he goes on to add:—

'This description will apply to the houses of the people through a greater part of the century. The hovels of one room were built of stones and turf, without mortar, the holes in the wall stuffed with straw, or heather,

or moss, to keep out the blasts; the fire, usually in the middle of the house floor, in despair of finding an exit by the smoke-clotted roof, filled the room with malodorous clouds. The cattle at night were tethered at one end of the room, while the family lay at the other on heather on the floor. The light came from an opening at either gable, which, whenever the wind blew in, was stuffed with brackens or an old bonnet to keep out the sleet and blast. The roofs were so low in northern districts that the inmates could not stand upright, but sat on the stones or three-legged stools that served for chairs, and the huts were entered by doors so low and narrow that to gain an entrance one required almost to creep. Their thatching was of ferns and heather, for the straw was all needed for the cattle. Yet foul, dark, and fetid as they were, the people liked these hovels for their warmth.

‘The houses of the tenantry were very little better in most cases than those of their ploughmen and herds, from whom the farmers differed little in their manners and rank. Even in Ayrshire, till long after the middle of the century, they were little removed from hovels, with clay floors, open hearths, sometimes in the middle of the room, with walls seven feet high, yet three feet thick, built of stones and mud. Only the better class of farmers had two rooms, the house getting light by two tiny windows, the upper part only glazed with two panes of bottle glass. It had been the practice in former times—but dying out in the early part of the century—for the outgoing tenant to remove from the farmhouse all the bearers and rafters which he himself had put in; and consequently his successor came not to a house, but to a ruin consisting of four broken walls, and had to virtually rebuild the house, which he in turn dismantled when it became his turn to leave. In these dismal, ill-lighted abodes, when night set in the fitful flare of the peat fire was all the light they had, for the “ruffies,” or split-roots of fir found in the peat moors, were only lit for set purposes, such as family worship.’

The food of the period was plain, but substantial, if monotonous. It was badly served and worse cooked. But, though the more fastidious taste of the present would scarcely relish it, it was not disliked by the people, who seem, indeed, to have preferred it. Mrs. Calderwood of Polton preferred Scots cooking to Dutch, though the Dutch, she admitted, prepared their dishes with more care. ‘I thought,’ she wrote from Holland, ‘I had not got a dinner since I left home for want of broath.’ The laird took his ‘morning’ of ale or brandy, over which he said a grace, about five or six o’clock. Breakfast, which was served at eight a.m., consisted of ‘skink,’ or water gruel, with fish, cold meat, eggs, collops or mutton, washed down with ale or wine. For dinner there was

broth, or kail, of beef or mutton, hens, muirfowl, and pigeons. Vegetables were not served with the meat. Potatoes were almost unknown, and the turnips and parsnips, and whatever other vegetables were in use, went into the pot to make the broth or kail. Except with persons of rank, everything was put on the table at once, and served on wooden or pewter plates. The use of china or earthenware plates came in later, when two courses began to be served at dinner. The drinks were ample supplies of ale, sack, and claret. In many houses only one glass or tankard was used for the family, the custom being for each to pass it on to his neighbour after finishing his draught. After dinner came the 'four hours,' when ladies took their ale or wine, and when there were guests, a few slices of wheaten bread, and cake, and about seven or eight in the evening a substantial meal something like the dinner was served up as 'supper.' This was the way in the country. In the towns, at least in Edinburgh, it was much the same, except that somewhat later hours were kept. In his chapter on Town Life in Edinburgh, Mr. Graham writes :

'The hours for rising were early in these old times, and the city was astir by five o'clock. Before St. Giles' bells had sounded seven the shops were open, the shutters were flung back on their hinges, and over the half-door the tradesmen were leaning, chatting to their neighbours, and receiving the last news ; while citizens walked down to the Post Office, situated up a stair, to get their letters just brought in by the post-runner from Glasgow or Aberdeen. . . . In the taverns the doctors were seeing their patients. Up till 1713, the celebrated physician, Dr. Archibald Pitcairn, was to be found in the dingy underground cellar, called from its darkness "the groping office," near St. Giles. Early every morning, by six o'clock, President Dalrymple had seen his agent, and gone over a dozen cases before breakfast. Eight o'clock was the breakfast hour, with its substantial meal of mutton, collops, and fowl, and libations of ale, and sometimes sack, claret, or brandy. . . . The citizen shuts his shop, or left his wife to tend it, when the St. Giles' bells rang out half-past eleven—a well-known sound which was known as the "gill bells," because each went to his favourite tavern to take his "meridian." The dinner hour was at one o'clock till 1745, when it was being changed to two, though the humbler shopkeepers dined at twelve. The wonted fare in winter was broth, salt beef, boiled fowls, for only the wealthy could afford to get fresh beef at high prices until the summer, when the arrival of any supply of beef for sale was announced in the streets by the bellman. By two o'clock, all citizens wended their way down their respective

stairs to their places of business, re-opened the doors, and hung up the key on a nail on the lintel. . . . By the early afternoon the streets were crowded, for into the main thoroughfare the inhabitants of the city poured. At four o'clock the ladies had their refection, for the "four hours" all over Scotland, and with all ranks, was a necessary refreshment of the day. In the larger houses the hostess received her visitors in the drawing-room; but in smaller flats she was obliged, as in the country, to see them in her bedroom. Till 1720 ladies had drunk their ale or claret, but when tea came into vogue that beverage became a necessity, and wine was reserved for the gentlemen. . . . By eight o'clock all visitors had gone, for the supper hour had come; the maids had arrived with the pattens for the elderly ladies, and lanterns to light their mistresses to their homes in the dark yards and stairs. When citizens began their copious suppers they ate and drank till late, and guests departed not too soberly, while the servant guided their meandering footsteps, and held a candle or lantern to light them to the "mouth" of the close.'

The food of the tenants and their servants was hardly so substantial as that of the lairds. Servants and masters sat at the same table. 'Oatmeal pottage,' says Ramsay, 'was once esteemed a great luxury among that set of people. Pease or bean bread was a capital article with them, wheat loaves being now more common in farmers' houses than oatcakes were formerly. In times of scarcity oatmeal used to be mixed with mill dust, or with pease and bean meal. The first mixture was called 'grey meal; the other 'egger meal.' The standing dish in every family was kail, and was made without flesh, of greens and grolls—*i.e.*, oats stripped of the husks in the mill. No dinner was reckoned complete without it. After the kail, if there was no flesh, kitchen—*i.e.*, butter, eggs, herrings, or sometimes raw onions were added. Salmon was an article of diet so common in some districts as to be served up to the servants at least three times a week. For supper they had sowens or flummery, 'a cheap and healthy drink.' Little ale was provided for them. Their drink in summer was whey and buttermilk; in spring milk, and generally water.

What seems to have been wanting in Scotland during the early part of the century, except during the 'hungry years,' was not food, but the art of cooking or preparing it, and the desire for dishes other than had been served up from time almost immemorial. Had there been a desire for improvements in the

culinary art, it is almost certain they would have been introduced. But in one or two points in this connection we are scarcely prepared to follow Mr. Graham. Here and there he seems to us to lay too great stress on the statements of one or two writers, and to have generalised somewhat rashly. Fresh beef may have been almost unprocurable during winter, owing to the custom of killing and salting down the meat at Martinmas—a custom followed among all the Teutonic races, which goes back to a very high antiquity, but fresh mutton, we imagine and believe, was procurable all the year round, certainly in what may be termed populous places. The trade of the fleshers or butchers could scarcely be confined to one or two months in the year. The fleshers of Dundee were in use to kill, besides sheep and oxen, cows, lambs, swine, and goats, and to expose their flesh for sale all the year round.* In his *Judicial Records of Renfrewshire*, Mr. Hector makes the remark that there is no mention of the use of wheaten bread between 1680 and 1730, except among the wealthy: Mr. Ramsay of Ochtertyre agrees with him, and Mr. Graham adopts their statements. Yet in 1698, the bakers of Dundee were in the habit of buying wheat and using flour, and on the 31st November, having in view the practices of certain speculators, unanimously 'statut that non of our masters and members of trade shall not in all time comeing presume to sell any quantetie of wheat or flower to any persone not dwelling within the towne, or to any persone within the towne who are to convey the same to persons in other places without a libertie granted by gennerall consent of the trade.' They were in the habit, too, of baking flour, *i.e.*, wheaten flour, 'bisket,' for the use of seamen, both 'bisket butred' and 'unbutred.' On 5th November, 1700, they passed the following enactment, from which it is clear that wheaten flour was in common use, and that different qualities of it were known: 'From this time furth no member of the said Baxter Craft presume to sell the tweldepenny loaf, 2s., 3s., 4s., and 6s., loaves of flour bread, either fyne, middling, or mash-loom, as also of ry bread, at any lower rate than twelve pennies, 2s., 3s., 4s., and 6s., Scots under the penalties,' etc. Bread,

* Warden's *Burgh Laws*, 405, *et seq.*

'flour bread,' as it was called, was also carried to country markets for sale. In short, every royal burgh and some others had their Baxter crafts, whose business was not confined to making oat cakes and 'baps,' as is often supposed, but were also in the habit of baking and selling both rye and wheaten bread. From time immemorial, too, widows had in most towns tried to eke out a living by baking wheaten bread, though they had usually to obtain the consent of the Bakers' Crafts, who had the monopoly of making and baking bread for sale.

The ale used was what would now be termed 'home-brewed.' It was of various degrees of strength and quality, from the weakest to the strongest, and was taken in copious draughts. Especially at funerals was this the case. On seeing the company at the burial of the Laird of Abbotshaugh at Falkirk, some English dragoons, who chanced to be present said one to another, 'Jolly dogs! a Scots burial is merrier than our weddings.' Of the kinds of ale mentioned we have 'best,' 'middling,' 'black ale,' 'cap ale,' and 'twopenny.' Its different qualities were also denoted by the terms 'ostler's ale,' 'household ale,' and 'strong ale.' Some idea of the quantity drunk may be gathered from the fact that at the time of the Union there were no fewer than five thousand maltsters in the country.* It was the custom in gentlemen's houses in the North to bring little barrels of strong ale into the room and to ask the company whether they chose old or new. 'Scourging a nine gallon tree,' Mr. Ramsay tell us, was at one time 'a common feat among lads of mettle.' 'It consisted,' he says, in drawing the spigot of a barrel of ale, and never quitting it night or day till it was drunk out.' In some houses spigots were dispensed with. The barrel head was prised off, and all comers helped themselves as freely as they chose. 'The favourite regale of the Scot until the present century,' Mr. Ramsay informs us, 'was French wine.' Casks of claret were at times treated in the same way as barrels of ale, and the claret served out by pailfuls. During the minority of Queen Mary, the pint of Bordeaux cost tenpence and Rochelle wine eightpence, if brought in by the east seas, but if brought in by the west seas, the pint

* Hewat's *Little Scots' World*, 126.

of each cost twopence less. In 1639, French wine was sold in Edinburgh at fourpence the chopin. Brandy was more in vogue than whisky, though by the end of the century it was regarded by some as producing corruption of morals and debility of constitution. Tea drinking became common about 1720. In 1705, green tea was sold in Edinburgh by George Scott, goldsmith, at 16s., and Bohea at 30s. the pound. Medical men regarded it with disfavour; others regarded it as an expensive unpleasant drug. 'Though the precise time of its introduction among us,' Mr. Ramsay writes, 'cannot be ascertained, yet all our old people agree that it made rapid progress after the year, and before the Rebellion of 1745 it was the common breakfast in most gentlemen's families.' By old-fashioned people, however, he tells us, it was very ill-relished. They either rejected it altogether or required a little brandy to qualify it. In 1744, the Fullarton tenants passed the following resolution against its use:—'We, being all farmers by profession, think it needless to restrain ourselves formally from indulging in that foreign and consumptive luxury called tea; for when we consider the slender constitutions of many of the higher rank amongst whom it is used, we conclude that it would be an improper diet to qualify us for the more robust and manly parts of our business; and, therefore, we shall give our testimony against, and leave the enjoyment of it altogether to those who can afford to be weak, indolent, and useless.* During the first half of the century, another beverage seems to have been gaining ground, though probably not then like tea introduced for the first time. This was gin, which went under the names of 'English brandy,' 'British spirits,' 'ginn,' and 'Geneva.' In 1742, the Town Council of Stirling, at the instance of the maltsters and distillers of the burgh, denounced its use as 'pernicious and destructive,' and ordered a duty of 12s. Scots to be levied upon every Scots pint of it brought into or found in the burgh. Twelve years before that, however, the Convention of Royal Burghs had had under their consideration 'the many pernicious effects of the clandestine importation and open and excessive consumption of brandy within

* Hewat's *Little Scots' World*, 127.

Scotland.' They complained also of the large sums of money which were yearly exported for the purchase of 'this unnecessary commodity' to the injury of the home distillers and of the revenue, and resolved to use all diligence and all lawful means to stop the importation of 'brandy and foreign spirits,' of which gin was one.*

The dress of the gentry of the period was usually plain and homely, and of coarse material. 'It resembled in some particulars,' says Ramsay, 'their domestic economy.' 'At home, or even at kirk or market, a gentleman,' writes Mr. Graham, 'went about in homespun clothing and home made woollen shirts, which had been spun by his wife, family, or servants, and woven by the village "wabster."' The testimony of Taylor, the Water Poet, and others is to the same effect. On occasions, however, such as marriages, christenings, and funerals, the laird, who went about at home in the morning with greasy night-cap, coat out at elbows, or dirty night or dressing gown, would appear in all the glory of silk stockings, gold or silver laced coat and waistcoat, jack-boots, wig, and laced three cornered hat. The coats had enormously wide sleeves, and the skirts of them were stiffened with buckram, in order to make them stick out. Hats were a sign of respectability or of official dignity. In 1712 the Town Council of Lanark, 'considering how decent and becoming it would be at their conventions . . . that each Councillor wear a hatt for the credit of this place and of themselves, as representatives of this burgh,' ordained that in future every Councillor when attending Council should wear a 'hatt,' under a penalty of 'one pund ten shillings *toties quoties*.' By the Town Council of Paisley an act similar to this had been passed almost a century before.† Later on in the century (1743), as we learn from the Town Council Records of Aberdeen, it had been 'for some time past the practice of the principall citys of this nation that the provost of the city should wear black velvet cloathing. The Council therefore ordained that the provost of this city should be cloathed in all times coming with black velvet, mounted with a gold button or not, as the provost for the time

* *Records*, V., 511.

† MS. Records of Town Council, 1617.

should incline.' As the drummers and other officials of this northern city wore their official hats, we may assume that the provost and town councillors did the same. The usual head covering, however, was the bonnet.

At home, or when visiting neighbours on an easy footing, the dress of the ladies was plain and frugal, 'stuffs of their own spinning, or what was only a few degrees more showy being the common dress of those who occasionally figured in the best company.' Dressmaking was the principal amusement of gentlemen's daughters of moderate fortune when disengaged from household cares.* At the time of the Union, the same writer says, 'the attire of ladies of rank and fortune was perhaps as showy and expensive as at present. Upon occasions of great ceremony it consisted of a manteau and petticoat of silk or velvet, with a silk scarf. The cost of those gowns was no doubt out of proportion to their other economics, but two or three of them served a lifetime. Neither was it necessary to make annual alterations or additions, for in these days finery did not wear out of fashion; and within the last forty or fifty years, when considerable changes had taken place, the daughters of gentlemen of four or five thousand merks a year thought themselves well off before marriage with a single silk gown, and perhaps, by way of reserve, one of their mother's. Even the ladies of Edinburgh, who attended assemblies and other public places, were but moderately provided with fine clothes.† These last, however, made a fine show, as may be gathered from Mr. Graham's clever description of the streets of Edinburgh in the early afternoons:

'There were ladies in gigantic hoops sweeping the sides of the causeway, their head and shoulders covered with thin gray silken plaids, scarlet and green, their faces with complexions heightened by patches, and concealed by black velvet masks, which were held close by a string, whose buttoned end was held by the teeth. In their hands they bore huge green paper fans to ward off the sun, by their side hung little bags which held the snuff they freely used; their feet shod in red shoes, with heels three inches high, with which they tripped nimbly on the steep decline and over filthy places. There were stately old ladies, with their pattens on feet and canes in hand, walking with precision and dignity; judges with their wigs on head and

* Ramsay, II., 85.

† *Ibid.*, II., 84.

hats under their arm ; advocates in their gowns on their way to the Courts and Parliament House : ministers in their blue or gray coats, bands, wigs, and three-cornered hats.'

Plaids were in universal use except where the new-fashioned scarf was affected. They were of all colours, scarlet, crimson, green, etc., but commonly tartan or variegated. Some were made of silk, others of wool lined with silk ; among the lower classes they were made of plain worsted. And a great trouble they were both to kirk sessions and Town Councils, the former forbidding them to be worn over the head in church and the latter forbidding them to be worn in the same fashion at markets.* At the beginning of the century milliners and mantua makers were rare. In 1752, there were only five or six of the former in Edinburgh. About the same time Dundee could boast of two milliners and mantua makers, who, with the aid of 'Mr. Durham, the lank tailor (in the mantua making line),' did all the millinery and mantua making business in Dundee.† For a good way into the century, indeed, the Tailor Craft had a monopoly of making clothes for women as well as for men, and female dress and mantua makers were few. At times they were allowed to practise the art on payment of certain fees to the Deacon or Masters of the Tailor Craft ; as, for instance, at Glasgow in 1735 ; but at other times they were forbidden. In 1744, the Tailor Craft of Glasgow not only withdrew their permission to certain women to carry on the trade of dressmaking, they also forbade any freeman of the trade in all time coming 'to teach or cause to teach any woman or girl any part of the Taylor Trade, under the penalty of a new upset and dischargeing of their work without payment.'‡ The Tailor Crafts of other towns were equally jealous of their rights, and widows attempting to make a living by dressmaking were in some places summarily put down.

The provisions made for education were not ideal, but considering the times they were fair, and the education given was

* Edgar's *Old Church Life and Aberdeen Records*.

† *History of Dundee*, 1878, p. 109.

‡ *Records of Incorporation of Tailors*, 38, 41.

sound and practical. Generally speaking, Mr. Graham's chapter on Schools and Schoolmasters is excellent, but its tone is a little pessimistic. He traverses Kirton's view of the state of education in the seventeenth century, but like the seventeenth century divine, Mr. Graham, we venture to think, has generalised from inadequate data. His estimate of the education given is based more upon a nineteenth century ideal than upon what was required or possible at the beginning, middle, or end of the eighteenth century. No doubt there were districts in which schools were rare, but there were others in which they existed. No doubt, too, the Report of the Commission of 1696 shows that when the report was drawn up education was in a bad way, but there is ample indication that soon after it was issued a general movement for reform set in. One generalisation in this connection strikes us as somewhat peculiar. Speaking of education, the remark is made—'Everything public-spirited was done or urged by the Sessions.' We do not know that the Kirk Sessions of the period were in any degree more 'public-spirited' than any other official body. They were the local courts entrusted with the care of education and in urging on Town Councils and heritors the necessity for providing sufficient means for the education of the young, they were simply discharging their statutory duty. If, again, Presbyteries 'insisted on the law being carried out requiring schools in every parish, they did this, not for the sake of secular education, but of religion,' they were simply acting according to the spirit, or at any rate the apparent spirit, of the law and custom of the country. Down from the time of James VI., as is set forth in statutes and foundation charters of Grammar Schools, religion or the promotion of religion is always referred to as the chief aim of education and the institution of schools.

The places assigned for schoolrooms were often wretched. Even in a city like St. Andrews the complaint was made in 1725, that the place in which the school was held was such that 'the boys cannot sit for learning to wreate, so that they are necessitated to wreate upon the floor lying upon their bellies.' Sometimes a family vault, a granary, a byre, a stable, a barn, or any dilapidated hovel was used. In one place the thatched

roof is said to have swarmed with rats. In many parts the schoolrooms were used at night as lodging houses for tramps. The salaries of the schoolmasters were poor. In many cases the Kirk Sessions did all they could to increase them, and strange shifts were sometimes resorted to. But how the Kirk Sessions, who had charge of the schools, and were doubtless all composed of God-fearing men, could reconcile one method, which seems to have been very generally adopted in the parochial schools, for eking out the incomes of the schoolmasters, with their religion, it is difficult for us in the present century to understand. We refer to the yearly cock-fight. In his 'History of Fettercairn,' a village in which there has been an unbroken succession of schoolmasters since 1564, Dr. Cameron gives the following account of it :—

'To the annual cock-fight, held on Handsel Monday or Shrove Tuesday, in the schoolroom, the older boys brought each his bird and paid dues to the "maister." These dues were stated, in one parish (Applecross, Ross-shire), "to be equal to a quarter's payment of the scholars." The animals were set two and two to fight till the floor was stained with their blood. With them it was the survival of the fittest, and the death of the weaker ones, which were handed over as a perquisite to the schoolmaster. The boy who owned the victorious cock was rewarded, "dubbed king of the school," and allowed for a time to do very much as he pleased. This barbarous custom was kept up in Fettercairn till the early years of the present century, and till a much later period in some other parishes. It continued at least till 1826, "the year of the short corn," at the school of Clattering Brig, which, for the children of the crofters and lime-burners, was taught by an enterprising individual, "Dominie Young," who in one end of his biggin' had the school, and in the other end a public house.' P. 219.

In town schools the principal amusement was the performance of a piece composed by Alexander Horne, schoolmaster of Dunbar during the reign of James VI., called 'Bellum Grammaticale,' or some other piece more or less dull, to the cost of which the Town Councils not infrequently contributed. In the towns, indeed, whether royal burghs or burghs of barony, the schools were watched over with great solicitude. The Town Councils seem to have been thoroughly alive to the advantages of education, and in most cases did all they could to promote it. The proofs of this are to be found in the Records of the Town

Councils which have been published, as also in Mr. Grant's laborious *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*. They were at great pains to secure good teachers. They paid great attention to the curricula, and, along with the ministers, were in use to visit the schools and to see that the work was being done in an efficient way. The education the children received was not equal to what they are expected to receive now, but, as we have already said, in respect to the schools in rural districts, it was sound and useful. Boys were taught, besides the ordinary reading, writing, and arithmetic, Latin and Mathematics, and sometimes Greek. Before being admitted to the Grammar School at Aberdeen pupils were required to read English perfectly, to write well, to know 'somewhat of arithmetic and musick,' and they were not to be admitted before they were nine years of age, 'unless they be of a large capacity and engyne.' Also in order 'to a further progress of the youth, and for giving them vivacity in the Latin tongue with some boldness and confidence,' the Town Council in 1711 appointed 'a publick theatre to be erected in some publick place of the toune, as the Council shall think fit, upon the touns expensses once every three years, and ther some publick action be acted by the schollars of the said school.' In December, 1694, the Town Council of Stirling resolved to appoint a schoolmistress, and from the terms of that resolution it would appear that schoolmistresses were not altogether rare. Twenty-four years later, Mrs. Adison, who was then schoolmistress, was in the habit of 'baking seed and plumb cakes to funeralls and other occasions,' and having thus infringed upon the rights of the Baxter Craft, the Council threatened her with the loss of her salary in the event of her disregarding their order to cease baking. As accomplishments, young ladies were taught 'dancing and a little music.' For the rest, in addition to the ordinary subjects, they were taught sewing and cooking. 'What the young women of those times,' Mr. Ramsay writes, 'wanted in polish, was fully compensated in essentials—the utmost care being taken to improve their tender minds with high notions of piety and purity.*' In educational matters, as in

* Vol. II., 59.

others where the making of money was concerned, the spirit of monopoly prevailed. As far back as 1494, David Dune was prohibited from holding a private school in Glasgow.* In 1693, all the doors of private schools in Edinburgh were closed by order of the Town Council. In 1698, and in 1727, the Council of Stirling forbade any child above six years of age to be taught in any other than the Grammar School. The real reason was that the teachers of the public schools claimed the right to do all the teaching, and to receive all fees that might be earned thereby; but at Longforgan, where in 1697 a woman had set up a school, the following resolution was passed by the Kirk Session: 'The Beddalls appointed to discharge this town a woman who had taken up a school contrair to all former practice and order, and all such attempts either in this town or up and down the parish are prohibited, that so the public be not wronged.'† From the number of prohibitions, it would seem indeed that there was no lack of individuals desiring to gain a livelihood by teaching, and that the offer of their services to the public was not without success. The magisterial prohibitions extended also to private teachers of music.

The chapters which Mr. Graham has written on the Religion of the period are among the most important, and indeed the best in his volumes. They shew a remarkable acquaintance with the religious literature of the period. We can scarcely agree with him, however, in the assertion that the spirit of Calvinism has now disappeared from the country. But upon this, as upon several other inviting topics, we cannot enter. Perhaps the least satisfactory chapters are those on Trade and Town Life. Mr. Graham describes, and describes fully, the town life of Edinburgh and Glasgow; but these were not the only towns in the country, and one would liked to have seen a description of the social life in the smaller burghs. Of the guilds and crafts, and the influence they had on the trade and social life of the country—and it was undoubtedly great—Mr. Graham, if we remember rightly, says nothing. On

* *Charters and Documents*, II., 89.

† Philips' *Parish of Longforgan*, 183.

the other hand the great changes which came over the country during the second half of the century in consequence of the construction of better roads and of freer intercourse with England and the Continent, are described with great skill. On the whole, indeed, the work is without an equal in its own peculiar line, and furnishes a picture of Scotland during the eighteenth century which, though wanting in certain details, is as entertaining as it is instructive, and of great merit.

ART. IV.—THE SOUTH AFRICAN CRISIS.

THE present writer has no intention of attempting a full, still less an authoritative, discussion of the present situation in South Africa; he merely wishes to mention some features of it as they suggest themselves to one who has lived for some time in the Western Province of Cape Colony, and has heard the question turned over by residents and colonists of all shades of opinion.

The present state of affairs may justly be called a crisis—the crisis of a disease which has long been latent. Proud as we Britons are of our love of fair-play, we should endeavour to remember, even in the excitement of the present moment, that there is much to be said on the other side. The actual outbreak of war may be due to the machinations of some and the precipitancy of others, but one thing no fair-minded man will deny, that the great bulk of our opponents sincerely and passionately believe that theirs is the just cause. Nor can he deny that the Empire is now reaping the whirlwind which she has been sowing in South Africa ever since the Peace of Paris. Had her rulers known how to be a little strong at some times, they would not have needed to put forth their whole strength now.

Remember what the Boer is. On the one side he is the descendant of the men who stood by William of Orange, and

overcame the might of Spain by the sheer power of endurance, of the men who steered their ships to India, to the Spice Islands, even to China and Japan. On the other side, he traces his descent to those of the Huguenots who, driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes to seek a refuge in Holland, were cautiously sent out to recruit the infant settlement at the Cape, and in the course of a few years became so blended with the Dutch that only a few place and family names preserve the memory of their descent.

The spirit of independence and unwillingness to brook even reasonable interference with their affairs which their forefathers transmitted to them was not weakened by their experience at the Cape. The colonists might not unjustly have declared that they owed much to themselves and little to any government. In the seventeenth century they were not much better than serfs of the Dutch East India Company. When England first took over the Cape in 1795, she found parts of it in rebellion against the Dutch authorities, and had to resort to some degree of force before it could be quieted. As time went on, the colonists again and again evinced their distaste to the firm control of their new rulers, which while it gave greater liberty with one hand, with the other put considerable restraint on their tenure of land and their dealings with the natives. As in Ireland, so in South Africa what to the outsider is a fair though stern measure of justice, is still harped on by a section of the population as the deed of a brutal oppressor. A few months ago in a pamphlet largely circulated among the Dutch Colonists, Ben Viljoen called on them to aid the Transvaal in its resistance, adjuring them by the memory, among other wrongs, of Slagters Nek. But what is the story of Slagters Nek? In 1815, a man Frederik Bezuidenhout resisted arrest, and taking arms, fled to the bush where he was tracked and shot down. His brother John and others rose in open rebellion, and even tried to induce a neighbouring Kaffir chief to aid them. They were defeated, and five of the ring-leaders were hanged. The Black Circuit of 1812, where many cases of alleged cruelty to natives came up for hearing is also a bitter memory among some sections of the Dutch.

Another grievance was, and is, the native question. Dutch and English ideas on the subject are diametrically opposed. The emancipation of the slaves in 1835 was undoubtedly the principal cause of the Great Trek; and the vacillating way in which the Government dealt with the independent and hostile tribes on the Eastern border, also disgusted many farmers with English rule. Those living in the Eastern districts of the Colony had little or no security against the inroads of the tribes across the border. In 1835 the country between the Kei and the Keiskamma was formed into a native protectorate under the title of the Province of Queen Adelaide. A year later, the then Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, listening to the representations of well-meaning but ill-advised persons, caused the province to be abandoned, and the boundary was retracted to the Fish River, thus leaving the natives once more to their own devices. Simultaneously with these events the Great Trek began.

For all checks on their liberty, the colonists had always had one remedy. The whole continent lay before them, and at the last resort they could 'trek,' span in their great ox-waggons and strike into the wilderness, and where they could or where they chose, find a new resting place, beyond the reach of any authority but their own. From the earliest times they had done this, and so seriously was it regarded by those in power, that in 1737 the Company fixed the Gamtoos River as a boundary over which any one passed at his peril. The tendency, however, could not be restrained, and in course of time it grew into a veritable passion for a wandering or a solitary life. One has only to live on the veld to understand this. The great dusky green plain stretches for miles with never a fence, seldom a house, to break it. Far in the distance the mountains rise out of the mirage to a sky unbroken by even a handsbreadth of cloud. For the greater part of the year the weather is perfect for an open-air life. Rain comes seldom, fog is unknown. No wonder that men felt the 'wanderdrop' in their blood, and became enamoured of the free life, where they could lead their flocks and herds whither they chose, and acknowledged no authority save what their

own right hand could enforce. To this day the north-west corner of the colony, south of the Orange River, is known as the Trek-veld. The country is too barren to admit of settlement, but the flocks are driven from place to place as the pasture is exhausted, and the farmer and his family follow in their waggons like Horace's Scythians. In the Transvaal, on the approach of winter the stock is driven down from the high to the low veld. On the dry table lands in the West of Cape Colony, sheep farms of 30,000 acres are common; and on one of them the writer has stood on a mountain, and as far as the eye could reach, seen not a house except the farm steading itself.

The trekkers of sixty years ago made their way north amid perils of the wilderness and perils of robbers and savages; and settling, some north of the Orange River, some in Natal, fancied they were safe from interference. But they were wrong. The ruler of Britain is as longhanded as Artaxerxes of old. In one way and another the British Government found cause to intervene, not in a consistent and intelligible manner, but now advancing, now withdrawing, in a way calculated to irritate rather than reassure and conciliate the somewhat cross-grained and suspicious men of the veld. At the cost of terrible suffering and bloodshed, the voor trekkers who had crossed the Drakensberg founded the republic of Natalia, only after a few years to find the British Government stepping in to avert threatened disorder in the east of the Colony, and successfully asserting its claim to Natal as British territory (1842). Half-a-dozen years later, British sovereignty was proclaimed over the country between the Orange and the Vaal rivers. The Dutch who resisted were defeated at Boomplats, and trekked once more across the Vaal. Half-a-dozen years more, and the Orange River Sovereignty was left to itself as not worth the trouble and expense it occasioned, and became the Orange Free State. In the early seventies the rush to the diamond fields began, and a dispute as to the ownership of the district was settled by Great Britain holding it and giving £90,000 as compensation for possible rights of the Free State. North of the Vaal, the same groping and uncertain policy marked the

intervention of Great Britain. When the farmers who left the Orange Sovereignty had settled beyond the Vaal, it was agreed by the Sand River Convention that they should not be interfered with by the British Government. In 1877 the desperate situation of the country moved a large portion of the inhabitants to seek British protection. The British flag was hoisted, only to be hauled down four years later in spite of the most solemn assurances, no doubt because the powers that were, were moved partly by sentimental reasons, partly because they considered the game not worth the candle.

Such in broad outline was the course of South African affairs until recent times; on the one hand the British element creeping timidly forward, or as timidly withdrawing, yet on the whole advancing in spite of weakness and mistakes; on the other hand, the Dutch element originally independent, and by the circumstances of its life becoming every generation more intractable, and less disposed to come to terms. In 1881 it seemed as if things were finally settled. The Free State had long been on excellent terms with Britain, and was more English than some parts of the Colony. Natal had been freed from the dread of the Zulus. The Transvaal had gained all it desired, and had assumed the rank of a friendly protected State. But in the 80's far-reaching movements made themselves felt. Africa was partitioned among the European powers. Year by year the British occupation of South Africa became effective, until her territory skirting the Western and Northern borders of the Free State and the Transvaal stretched from Agulhas to the Great Lakes. While to the Transvaal thus hemmed in the discovery of gold brought an overwhelming influx of outsiders.

By the conventions between the British Government and the South African Republic, it was agreed that British subjects coming into the Transvaal should have the same rights as the original inhabitants. The new-comers found that this expectation could not be realized. Obstacles were placed in their way. The franchise laws were altered in an arbitrary manner, and they found themselves bearing all the burdens and exercising none of the rights of citizens. Nor was this

all, the government of these simple and God-fearing farmers—as their admirers style them—began to develop features commonly supposed peculiar to a corrupt tyranny. The outlander population found the necessities of life and industry heavily taxed. The great bulk of the public revenue was derived from them, while a mere fraction came back in the form of expenditure. Public education for their children could only be had in Dutch, their mother-tongue being grudgingly placed on the curriculum as a foreign language. Life and property were insecure in spite of, or because of, a meddlesome and brutal police. Even the few rights allowed them could only be obtained at a price. Bribery and corruption were prevalent. Every person who has taken an interest in South African affairs knows how all the Transvaal officials from the President downwards were amenable to pecuniary influence. The writer need not recall the more notorious instances. One he will give as he had it from his informant, a gentleman who was in business not a score of miles from Johannesburg. ‘Yes,’ he said, ‘when I was there I had to do with a mine. You took documents to the Mines Office, and they put them at the bottom of a pile so high’—holding his hands some three feet apart—‘to wait their turn, and you would hear no more about them. But go down some morning and slip a ten pound note into an official’s hand, and you got them back in no time.’

Into the attempts of the outlanders to obtain some hand in the government for which they had to pay so heavily, it is impossible to go at present. The inner history of the last ten or a dozen years has only now begun to be written. Suffice it to say, that every form of terrorism and evasion was used to defeat them, and the Transvaal kept in a state of continual unrest.

A more disquieting feature was that the ferment was felt to be only a symptom of a more serious danger which threatened not one city or territory but the whole of South Africa. It was not, perhaps, proved, but it certainly was known as surely as anything human can be, that the South African Republic was regarded by a large section of the Dutch population of

South Africa as the head and front of a movement to get rid of British domination and convert South Africa into a Dutch Federation. More recent occurrences have placed this beyond question. It is impossible in this connection to avoid referring to the Afrikaner Bond, although the writer does so with the greatest diffidence. Any imputation of disloyalty to it and its members is always hotly denied. What official information with regard to it may exist is not yet known; but this much is certain that there are both English and Dutch Colonists who say plainly that they were unable to continue members of that body because of the 'seditious rubbish' talked at its local gatherings. Bond or no Bond, one could not live a month in South Africa without noticing that some malign influence was at work, undermining and belittling British supremacy. Straws show how the wind blows. Before the war broke out, Colonists were loudly talking of taking their guns and going to the assistance of the Transvaal. We were told that in the event of war, the British troops would have no more chance against the Boers than in 1881; and that in addition the Transvaal artillery had been declared by experts to be the finest in the world. At Burghersdorp there is a theological Seminary for candidates for the Dutch Reformed Church. Last June, the *Cape Times* pilloried some amusing extracts from the seminary magazine. A budding predikant had so far forgotten the gravity befitting a student of theology as to go a-gazing at the Queen's Birthday celebrations in the village, and was punished by finding that he had strayed into the enemy's camp. He confided to the pages of the magazine how he was filled with shame when the salute was fired, how his tongue clave to his palate when three cheers were called for, and how finally he fled in confusion when the band began to play 'God Save the Queen' and the loyalists present uncovered. It was asserted that in Paarl and Stellenbosch when the news came of the capture of a British column at Nicholson's Nek, newsboys went shouting through the streets, 'Good news to-night.' In the schools of that district it was acknowledged to the writer — it was, and no doubt is, the correct thing for children of Dutch sympathies or descent to

wear the Transvaal colours. *Ex oribus partuorum.* After the outlander exodus, many instances of petty persecution of refugees by ill-conditioned Dutch Colonists came to our ears. The writer may be accused of descending to mere gossip; but when one is living in a country, and near the centre of disturbance, it is such small things which tell, and point the real trend of feeling. Your Dutchman will never admit to a Britisher that he is disloyal, but flatter his vanity or sit docile at his feet, and he will relax into 'portentous whispers' about what he and his friends hope to do some day.

That there was in the Colony a widespread sympathy with the Transvaal originating honourably enough, but fostered directly and indirectly by Transvaal emissaries; that not a few Colonists fought under the Transvaal flag; that many more would have done the same but for fear of the consequences, is undeniable. But on the other hand, in this connection, it cannot be insisted upon too strongly that all Dutch Colonists are not so minded. Many of them—all of any weight or talent—are thoroughly loyal. And the writer has witnessed how many of them used their influence both before and after the outbreak of war, to dissuade their hot-headed kinsmen from foolish deeds, to contradict the Boer 'campaign of slander,' and to keep the peace amid the commotion of the time. We should remember to their credit that they have done this amid the most trying circumstances. Scarcely one of them but has relations or friends in the Transvaal, and so finds his house divided against itself. One household the writer knows which before the war had been six weeks in progress, had two cousins killed at Elandslaagte, another a prisoner at Simonstown, a sister's family shut up in Kimberley, a daughter in the Free State, and several friends fighting on either side. At every farm in the district a like story was to tell. We cannot wonder that the Colony dreaded the advent of war, and up to the last desired nothing more fervently than that it might be averted. To the Colonists it meant nothing else than civil strife; and we cannot judge them censoriously if their natural affections appeared to master all other sentiments.

To return to the larger aspect of the question—even before the outbreak of war observers both at home and in the Colony recognised that the question at issue was not the mere municipal one of the outlanders' grievances, but the continuance of British supremacy in South Africa, or as it was popularly put there—who was to be baas. The evasion and opposition by which President Kruger and his advisers sought to resist the British demands were at bottom animated by a blind unreasoning hatred of everything English, a hatred not confined to them, but general among the whole Boer population. We say 'unreasoning hatred' advisedly, for no satisfactory origin for it can be found. Some partisans have attributed it to the Jameson Raid, forgetting that the same spirit was manifest before that much made-of escapade; and that according to Mr. Chamberlain's distinct statement, we were on the verge of hostilities with the Transvaal when it took place. The same Minister laid his finger on the spot in his speech in the House of Commons on the 19th October, when he said that the race animosity which has been the curse of South Africa is an animosity based upon contempt. A few days before the report of that speech reached the Cape the writer was discussing things in general with a friend who remarked 'The Dutch can't stand the English or any people who are their superiors: and because they have not a chance against them, they affect to despise them.' As in private, so in public life. Hate, fear, and contempt were all confused in the Boers' attitude to the British government and settlers. They despised them because they remembered how, time after time, they had relaxed their hold on what lay in their grasp, in the abandonment of the Orange Free State, and notoriously, in their weak submission to their initial successes in 1881; because they had seen the red-jackets then shot down like buck, and again, had Jameson's men surrender at Doornkop. They feared Britain because her people had once more found them out in their refuge beyond the Vaal, and were pouring by thousands into a region which they regarded as their own preserve, while round about them British enterprise had hemmed them in, and rendered a repetition of the Great Trek impossible. And they

despised—or affected to despise—the English because they were their superiors in everything—in education and knowledge of the world, in enterprise and resource. The name of Mr. C. J. Rhodes is accursed with them quite apart from the Jameson Raid, because he represents De Beers, which they would fain have seen under the Free State; and, worse still, the Chartered Company, which has set the bounds on two sides of the Transvaal, and put a stop to their free-booting raids, and is a silent rebuke to the unprogressive corrupt management of their own country. To put it plainly, the Boers felt that they were driven into a corner, and were fighting for their lives. Their choice was to die fighting or to submit to being gradually swamped. No one who lived in South Africa could doubt that war was some day inevitable, unless concessions were made by one side or the other—of its honour by the Empire: of its absurd pretensions and prejudices by the Transvaal.

When Sir Alfred Milner was sent out two years ago as High Commissioner, it was more than a fancy which led men to hope that the man who had done such great service in the North of Africa, was, now that his task there was done, sent to prepare the way for a final settlement of affairs in the South. When the news of the Edgar outrage spread through the Colony a twelvemonth ago, it was, the writer well remembers, hailed instinctively as the beginning of the end; and before the Bloemfontein conference was concluded, the common feeling was that further negotiation was but a marking of time. When the Transvaal ultimatum was made known it was received not with surprise but relief.

Prophecy before the event is dangerous; but it seems obvious that the present war will be the making of South Africa, if only the military successes we hope for are wisely followed up. The air will be cleared: enterprise will no longer be deterred by insecurity, nor hampered by reactionary and corrupt influences, farmers will find stock more profitable to breed than the chimeras of the Bond; and we may expect to see something of the same wonderful progress which has

recently marked Australia, a country which offers many points of resemblance to South Africa.

The price to be paid for these advantages is heavy. It is needful that offences come; but woe unto him by whom they come. The guilt of its being necessary to secure the peace and well-being of South Africa not by pacific means, but by war, at the cost of lives, some, like the late General Symons, cut off in the fulness of their experience, when they had just begun to see the fruit of many years labours, others in the promise of their youth—this guilt does not lie at the door of the capitalists of the Rand, nor at the door of those who have opened up new countries, and caused civilisation to take the place of savagery; nor yet at the door of the Government which for these long years has patiently endeavoured to unravel the tangled skein of African affairs. It lies with no one of these, but with those who in their blindness and pride have used every art of evasion and threatening to avoid aught but the merest shadow of concession, all the while making their own preparations, and, in the end, choosing their own time for war.

ART. V.—THE COERCION OF CUSTOM.

“Since custom is the principal magistrate of man’s life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs.”—*Lord Bacon.*

WHEN we look beneath the surface into the mysteries of the worship of the goddess Custom, and the multitudinous ways in which she exercises her imperial sway, we are confronted with some curious anomalies. If her dicta were uniformly good and reasonable nothing could be said, and we might all with alacrity and one mind troop into the modern temple of concord, burn incense, and come away assured that in doing what the vulgar phrase ‘the correct thing’ we were invariably doing the right thing. Unhappily, the decrees of

our supreme but changeful deity are of a very mixed and arbitrary nature. And, while some restraints of convention have been relaxed, the trend of this luxurious era is to rivet other fetters more tightly than ever upon the world at large.

It is a frequent boast that we have thrown off conventionalities, and entered into the regime of individual liberty. But as I shall attempt to show, this is but very partially true. It matters little whether a fashion or usage be good or bad, its constraint will be forced upon the body politic sooner or later. The rout may protest and remonstrate against this or that, but vainly, and will generally end by giving in.

To pass from the general to the particular, let me cite a few of the ways in which society so-called imposes in these latter days upon its members with ever-increasing stress burdens hard to be borne.

The growing difficulty and cost of living in the upper and middle grades is a theme in everyone's mouth. There was a time many of us can remember when an income of from five hundred to a thousand pounds per annum was counted a good one for a fair-sized household among the professional and upper-middle classes, and sufficed to assure to its possessors a comfortable maintenance without over-running the constable. These were the days when the rural English chawbacon lived in his wayside or woodland cottage on ten to twelve shillings weekly wage, and reared a large family withal, in a certain measure of rude comfort, though without the adjuncts of pianoforte, novelette, and cheap finery for his womankind. These, too, were the days when domestic servants were content to serve their employers faithfully, work with a will, and eat the bread provided for them with cheerfulness, on a scale of remuneration the modern 'help' would deride. In short, labour was cheaper all round, the domestic menage was simpler, fewer servants were required (except among the opulent or titled few); and the general style of living had not mounted up the yearly expenditure to the pitch it has now attained through the compulsion of general custom.

To-day, in a certain *milieu* of society, we hear on all sides of the augmenting demands and dictation of those who attend

upon us. Not only is the scale of wages steadily going up with continual clamour for more, but the housemaid will only do this and the parlourmaid that; cook must have her scullion, while a boy-of-all-work has to be brought in to fetch and carry for the women servants, clean the boots and cutlery, and even to take the dishes to the dining-room. Formerly, and not so long since either, two or three female domestics served a good-sized family of the class we are discussing, when a thousand a year was reckoned almost a handsome competency. Materfamilias loudly laments, but as a rule does nothing, seldom attempting to contribute her mite of effort towards changing the tyrannous habits in vogue, which enslave and impoverish her and her class. It might, and doubtless does sometimes, suggest itself to her inner consciousness that were the daughters of the house sensibly to turn to, and, in place of filling up the daily round with abnormal exercises on the bicycle, the golf links, and the like, with a few high-spiced novels thrown in between for the spare spaces, give a due portion of their time and thought to the humbler but necessary duties of their home, the servant difficulty would soon right itself. But too oft in these days it is the pullets that rule the roost, and the humdrum drudgery of housework is not much to the taste of these. Besides, where is the time for it when Lilian has haply to train for a cycling gymkhana or forthcoming hockey match, Gwendoline for the great golf tournament or the next fencing competition; and, then, Gladys may have to coach up the Girl-Bachelors' cricketing eleven, or work herself thin with the Lady-Rovers' Football team. No, no, the dear girls are too busy all day out of doors making muscle, the housework must be done, and we must have our proper tale of servants to do it, or we shall lose caste. Our position requires such and such an establishment. We must be 'in the swim,' live up to our grade, do as others do. Thus do so many of us argue to ourselves, and groan, and struggle, and pull long faces when the tradesmen's bills and the bankers' passbook come in.

In Continental countries, France notably, they are wise in this regard. The 'bonne,' for instance, for a British parlour-

maid's wages, will do about the work of three English domestics, though doubtless in a rougher way, sing and laugh over her work, and munch her ration of food with never a grumble. The foreign middle-class and small gentry, with their one 'general,' supplemented occasionally by a little charring or such like assistance, subsist with ease on incomes the British mind would deem the pittance of penury. Why, it is plain to see. With five or six extra mouths to fill, a moderate-sized family in this country becomes a huge party of a dozen or more to maintain; with the added waste of food-stuffs peculiar to hirelings when eating their master's bread, and in the large dimensions of the household most difficult for the housewife to control.

Then, again, in respect of private entertainments. The feasts provided by fashionable custom are perhaps not quite so Gargantuan as of old in the matter of solid quantity of victual put on the table, but for elegance and costly ostentation the class of modern 'shows' affected by the smart world or its imitators are an enormous tax on the means of the ordinary gentleman, besides giving little satisfaction to either bidder or bidden. One has heard (veritably) of as much as three to four hundred pounds, and even more, being lavished upon flowers alone to deck out a great mansion for a London ball. Another questionable piece of 'new-rich' swagger which has crept into certain circles of late years is that of presenting visitors at an evening dance or other festivity with a parting gift. True, in archaic times honoured guests were wont to receive presents from their entertainers, and the 'guest allotted-gifts' (*τὰ προστυχόντα ξενία*) for the stranger hospitably received within the gates of the mansions were a feature in the usages of ancient Greece. But these 'guest-gifts' were proffered in a different spirit from that which prompts the modern plutocratic ball-giver. Such extravagances are impossible to any but the extremely wealthy, yet the mischief of their example spreads to those of smaller purses, by a species of social pressure and by the ignoble desire to be flattered and paragraphed in the Society papers. Marriages even have added a new exaction among social burdens to the

man of moderate means, for *Punch's* long-ago advice to those about to marry—'Don't'—has been now-a-days varied into a recommendation to bid every acquaintance you can muster to the wedding, give them washy tea and weak champagne, and reap your reward in the display of goodly gifts and in the columns of the fashionable prints which catalogue them.

Among the Japanese, we are told, the bridegroom at the marriage time sends presents to his bride as costly as his means allow, and these she immediately offers to her parents in acknowledgment of their kindness in infancy, and of the pains bestowed upon her education. In view of the sumptuous trousseaus bestowed upon daughters in our western world to-day, such an offering to parents might perhaps be neither unbecoming nor unwelcome.

There can be no doubt whatever that the ever growing luxury which is the vogue of the day, brought into being by the influx of trans-Atlantic dollars and 'deal-made' fortunes, is one of the gravest problems of our time, increasingly provocative as it is of insolvency, greed, discontent, too often dishonesty, and other miseries, among those unable to keep pace with the prevailing outlay. *Unde habeas quareit nemo; sed oportet habere.* Or as a shrewd old northerner (I think it was) put it, by way of advice to his son:—'Get money, Reuben; honestly if thee can, but get money.'

What we sorely want is more simplicity if not frugality in all ranks of life. But to enforce frugality effectively upon the lower strata of society which so largely preponderate, the higher circles must begin to practise it themselves. 'The whole middle-class,' wrote one of our best Weeklies a few months back, 'preaches thrift to the poor with a pertinacity, which, considering its own extravagance when comfort is in question, is perfectly amazing.' The spirit of prodigality tends to spread downwards, and, with the example of the reckless gambling and lavish expenditure of so many above them, it is less wonder to note how enormously the gaming spirit has 'caught on' in the ranks below, or to learn from apparently reliable statistics that the money spent on alcoholic liquors during 1898 averaged for every working-class family

in this country near about one-sixth of its weekly wages.* Truly, in these days we might usefully ponder a saying from Al Koran:—'Waste not thy substance profusely; for the profuse are brethren of the devils.'

Clothes, especially feminine ones, are another vehicle of social thralldom to their wearers. A certain type of male lays much store by what he shall eat and drink and wherewithal he shall be clothed, for the youthful springald of to-day's monde must have his hats and collars, his boots and garments, of precisely the *correct* cut, quality, and dimensions. But the range of his possible variations in attire are happily restricted within comparatively narrow limits of pattern, material, and tint. It is reserved for the other sex to elevate dress into a passion. With them it has become in this our epoch of intensified luxury one of the most elaborate and engrossing of the fine arts. A distinguished novelist has said that in dealing with womankind the sharpest of men are apt to overlook in their calculations the paramount influence of dress. Nor would we that the skirted sex should lose the instinct to vest themselves in pretty and becoming apparel, or hold cheap the secret of outward adornment, provided the outlay thereon is kept within the reasonable capabilities of the individual woman. But here it is that smart society exercises one of its greatest tyrannies. The costliness of some women's habiliments is startling to read of. We know that the costumes turned out by the Elises and Worths, the Paquins, Redferns, and Félixes, of the great Anglo-French-American world of fashion are only purchased at prodigious prices. Tailor-made clothes have once more become a rage among the feminine sets which are nothing if not 'modish,' and even hand-painted gowns for indoor wear would appear to be among the latest developments of the art of spending huge sums of money on the coverings of one's person. A peep into the periodicals which purvey for ladies is a revelation of the modern sumptuousness in feminine drapery. Georges Pilotelle, we are told in a leading

* See the recent book, *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform*, by Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, who have worked out an elaborate array of figures on the subject.

ladies' serial, is a great *maestro* among the art-designers of female costume to-day. He asserts that 'at no time in the world's history have there been such beautiful clothes as are made and worn now-a-days.' But then he gives us the *per contra* of the present prevalent extravagance and frenzy for dress, which is alleged to have laid hold of every class of women in this country. 'Times,' says M. Pilotelle, 'have changed very much since I was a youth. Women, who in those days would have spent a hundred pounds a year, will now spend ten times that sum on their clothes; and on one occasion I was called upon to design forty thousand pounds' worth of costumes for one lady.' He further instances a single pair of stockings bought for £100, and a tea-gown which cost the wearer £1700. 'It is,' says another authority, 'only in the course of a round of house visits that one entirely realises how absolutely callous to cost has become the fashionable woman of to-day, where exterior adornment and the crucial subject of clothes generally are concerned.'

Not that in itself, a lavish indulgence in beautiful embroideries, exquisite sartorial designs, cunning imitations of flowers, to ornament the person, by those possessed of great wealth, need be deprecated. Rather the reverse, since such tastes give employment to a multitude of workers, and call into operation much artistic skill in an era when art-culture is so diffused as to be a glut in the market, and needs every possible avenue for its exercise. The mischief here again lies in the subtle coercive force of an imperious custom of display in dress, which is responsible for so much of the stress and strain so many are experiencing in the economic management of the modern medium household. Among women of any social position there is a 'must' governing the extent, style, and quality of the wardrobe, which will not be denied; inso-much that the changes of dress necessitated for paying visits of even a few days' duration in friends' houses have almost made visiting impossible to ladies of moderate means. I have heard women lament the comparatively inexpensive simplicity of the earlier tulle, muslins, and tarlatans, which girls were wont to wear at evening entertainments; and very attractively

sweet many of them looked thus habited, as the present writer can vouch from recollection. But these plainer fabrics, it seems, have now given place to expensive brocades, highly figured silks, lavishly belaced satins, and the like. And if now simplicity of a kind be the note affected in female vesture, it is the kind of simplicity which empties the money bag. All which splendour of raiment is imitated by every class below in one form or another of cheap sham finery.

A man's aspect of a woman he encounters is apt to be to her shape and looks rather than to the look and shape of her garments. Indeed, it has been averred by a well-known feminine authority that to men everything worn on the female head is merely a hat or a bonnet. But woman regards woman critically as to her garb, and sums it up, taking in at a glance every point—flounce, braid, bow, pattern, fit, shade of colour. Indeed, her most radically ingrained ambition, right enough within limits, is to look *chic*, smart, stylish. But to attain to this what divings into family coffers, what long Christmas bills, what vyings and envyings, what heart burnings when there is a fancied failure, and at best what a poor triumph of brave trappings, which but conceal the real living breathing woman they belong to. Yes, beyond all doubt, with most daughters of Eve in every social grade the influence of dress is, in this our democratic and plutocratic day, perhaps more than ever before, paramount. And, after all, few men are altogether insensible to the latent charm and refinement of a really tasteful, harmonious, and well-fitting feminine costume, though that is not necessarily to be a modish or even a very costly one. Any way, may not a woman justly claim that, if it is reasonable for the affluent to beautify his house with splendid decoration, and cover its walls with art-treasures, surely she may exhibit the refinement and triumphs of the costumier on her own person.

In this connection, by the way, it is worth noting how the order of things seen in nature and primitive man has been reversed in the artificial conditions of civilisation. For, whereas the males among the non-human forms of animal life most commonly display the gaudiest patterns of coat or

plumage, and the savage paints or decks himself in the showiest colours, the female is usually inconspicuous in her drab colourless dress.

Among the curious vagaries of fashion in feminine attire, nothing is stranger than the submissive acquiescence in its despotism side by side with the incalculable caprice of its fluctuations. Consider, for example, the helpless, almost abject, tone the lady chronicler of the passing modes is constrained to take in the pages of her particular periodical. Here is an observation I extracted the other day. 'It goes without saying that close-fitting dresses and clinging costumes are still the correct thing, and many women who not so long ago shunned making themselves, as they considered, noticeable by adopting this style, will, if they persist in not following it, render themselves not merely noticeable, but conspicuous and even eccentric.' 'I grieve,' says another, 'to record the fact that skirts are longer than ever—in fact, they are worn dangerously long in front.' Or, take this paragraph from a fashionable contemporary. 'It is extraordinary to what serpent-like proportions the skirt has dwindled. One can hardly attempt to sit down in it, much less to walk, that is to say, what we generally understand by walking. We must now just move and glide, sweeping the carpets and streets as we do so.' 'I should like,' writes another, 'to enter my protest against the abominable fashion of clinging and trailing skirts. We have had fashions grotesque, fashions inconvenient, and fashions unbecoming in the extreme, but have we not of late years laid the flattering unction to our souls that Englishwomen at any rate were beginning to shake off the trammels of French conventionality of attire. . . . Why, then, in the name of all that is sensible and sane, are we to be condemned to a fashion which is not only idiotic, and renders anything like free and graceful movement an impossibility, but which is also uncleanly in the extreme?'

Unfortunately, *Madame la Vogue* is too often neither sensible nor sane. Recall the monstrous mid-Victorian crinolines, a revival of bygone hooped horrors, and next the suggestive indecency of the tied-back gown, the vestural

affectations of the aesthetes, the hideous sleeve-puffs sticking up like horns from the shoulder and disfiguring even the prettiest women's shape, the mimicry of male attire, and of late the prodigious dimensions and top-heavy elaborations of feminine head-dress. 'A woman,' exclaims a lady expert in such matters, 'let alone a man, might well be excused if she hesitated to give a name to some of those terrible erections of velvet, big stuffed birds, and endless bows' . . . (She is writing early in '99). . . . 'The chief idea,' she adds, 'of the immediate moment, still speaking from a millinery point of view, is to cover dainty and delicately shaped heads with the heaviest possible materials, and these made up in the heaviest possible way. . . . And I hasten to state that I am speaking of the best and most exclusive millinery establishments, where women of taste and breeding purchase their bonnets.' She admits, it is true, that side by side with these monstrosities are to be seen many really charming models of old-world hats. And this is, no doubt especially the case where as in London educated ladies, through stress of circumstances, are now bringing their taste and refinement to bear upon the study of the milliner's art.

One often wonders what it is exactly which dominates and compels women, even your modern individualistic 'independent,' to fall in more or less with every passing mode. Even the most sensible and sturdy-minded of the sex bow the knee, however reluctantly, in the fashion-house of Rimmon. So soon as the oracle speaks from the cryptic shrine, the great feminine chorus submissively accepts the decree. 'Sleeves are to be fuller this season.' . . . 'Our best gowns will be chiefly of lace,' . . . 'black tulle toques are going to be indispensable.' . . . 'Paradody plumes, alas! again appear on all our millinery, and the chiffon reigns supreme,' . . ., etc. For a mere man, it almost seems sacrilegious to enter these mysteries, which are mostly little more than names to an undiscerning mind. But the point they emphasise, as I glance through these crisp dulcet enumerations of names delightful, is the confidently assumed and yet very coercing force of the dicta upon multitudes of the sweet

sex to buy and wear what is worn at the moment, be it pretty, be it ugly, whether they like it, or where they like it not. Doubtless, it will be answered on the feminine side that it is originality within certain fixed lines of conformity that is aimed at by the best-dressed women. But, nevertheless, the great mass of the sex have neither the leisure nor the aptitude for such studies, and can but feebly follow in the ways along which they are driven.

As to who sets the fashion in feminine clothes, we have it from M. Worth through a lady-interviewer that 'certain *élégantes*, who have the courage of their convictions and a belief in their own charms, can impose whatever style of dress suits them best on the world at large.' Suits *them* best, bear in mind, not what may suit others best.

True it is, that the shackles of custom are never realised in their full strength till one tries to get rid of them. Were we moderns, men or women, to walk abroad in the habiliments of the Elizabethan period or of the Regency, we should assuredly be mobbed. The public resents eccentricity of any kind, emphatically so in dress; and, on occasions, doggedly enforces its views, regardless of modern theories about personal freedom. To take a very recent example, where a titled lady in 'rational' costume was refused entry into the coffee-room of an inn by the proprietress, and in consequence prosecuted her. The refusal was grounded upon the contention that the interests of the hotel might suffer prejudice by the unrestricted admission to its public reception-room of ladies habited after a certain fashion not approved by custom. There were lady bicyclists on the highway, said mine hostess in her evidence before the Court, who wore *skin-tights*, 'and she felt therefore bound to draw a line, and she did so at knickerbockers, so as to prevent anyone using the coffee-room unless she had a long skirt to cover the knickerbockers.' Here we observe a coercive judgment exercised by an individual woman against a collective body of women claiming to cycle in a certain type of costume. The jury upheld her, and a London newspaper of high standing pronounced this verdict fully justified by the circumstances, adding that an innkeeper

‘should be entitled to take account of a wide spread sentiment in regard to a particular fashion of dress.’ Were a man to present himself at an hotel robed in a skirt he would assuredly be excluded from the coffee-room. And it becomes a nice point how far women are to be permitted with impunity to assume the garments which the general sense distinctively associates with the male sex.

No doubt this question of so-called *rational dress*, with its bipartite nether garment and its knickerbockers for bicycling women, is a vexed one ; and if only one or two of our Society leaders could be got to ride ‘en bicyclette’ male-fashion in male attire, hosts of young women would straightway joyfully follow the lead. Nor can we deny that there is something to say from their standpoint as to safety and convenience. But the claims of sightliness are too strong, and meanwhile British feeling runs high against such defiances of conventional usage. Even Lord Salisbury, liberal as he is towards women’s privileges, cannot stand these vagaries of costume. Among the female devotees of the bicycle, ‘there,’ he says, ‘you will see the sense of beauty is surely displaced. My belief is that if there were any Dante to write an artistic ‘Inferno,’ its lowest circle would be tenanted by the ladies who dress themselves in the bicycle skirt or knickerbockers.*

In any case, whether we deem this particular jury right or wrong in their judgment, it may be allowed us to fervently hope that the Association which encourages these peculiar eccentricities in dress will never make much headway in this country.

Curiously, a similar point was raised the other day about women’s smoking. A lady was summoned before a Metropolitan Police Court for disorderly conduct, in refusing to desist from smoking in the bar of an hotel, with her husband and a male friend. The magistrate, while admitting there was no law against ladies’ smoking, said that their doing so in a public place probably had a tendency to disorder, and that the landlord of the hotel had a perfect right to make a regulation

* Speech at the Royal Academy Banquet, 29th April, 1899.

prohibiting it. 'He also had a right to send for a policeman and have the lady removed if she refused to desist.' The behests of custom, in short, are not to be trampled on by individual license.

Next, as allied to the force of custom in our clothes, let us turn for a moment to the season of mourning and its accepted conventionalities. In this matter it is not to be denied that the nineteenth century has shown towards its close a marked improvement. Throughout the ages no wont of humankind has been more strigent, or more distinctive of particular races, than the observance of funeral rites. Holocausts of human sacrifice, the immolation of slaves, captives, wives, and handmaidens, besides the taking of animal life in multifarious forms, are familiar accompaniments of the obsequies of great potentates to the student of history and ethnology. More dead to appease the dead was the shocking and barbarous principle of our earlier ancestors: whether it were to solace the sea-king's journey to Valhalla, or speed the passage across the waters of Acheron and the streams of Cocytus to the sunless mansions of the dark-haired god. And the survival of primitive funeral ceremonies have passed into Christian times, and are with us to-day in more or less modified forms. For, verily, the grief of man for the passing of his beloved ones neither age nor custom alters, and this anguish of the human soul will for ever incline to find vent and expression in some external manifestations common to all. It is a theme one would desire to treat in a reverent spirit, for which of us is without some deep-down sacred memory that still throbs to the touch.

'Without mourners,' wails the chorus in the sublimest of Greek tragedies, 'how could Admetos have celebrated the funeral of his dear wife.' And to-day—albeit before the gates of our window-darkened mansions we see not the vessel of lustral water from the fountain, and no severed lock of hair is laid before the door, nor pour we out invocations or libations of wine to the departed, neither are we conspicuous with mourning tonsure, nor with rended garments—nevertheless mankind has held on to the dark apparel, the sable trappings,

and the funeral baked meats. Many of us can remember the custom of placing hired 'mutes,' as they were termed,—a poor shadow indeed of the archaic mourners—on either side of the entrance to a house of death. But it was in the extent and profusion of ebon-hued vesture prescribed both for and after the funeral function that the pressure of inexorable convention made itself so heavily felt. The colossal plumed hearse, dark within and without, the array of dusky ponderous chariots, the undertaker's troop with hats swathed in large crape 'weepers,' everywhere a throng of *Atrati*, and nought but black, black, black. Then the cold collation for the mourners, the gratis distribution of kid gloves, the whole household to the youngest child and the last domestic fitted out in new funereal habiliments. Such has been our customary modern tribute to the shrine of Libitina. These gloomy paraphernalia one re-envisages with something like a shudder. And after that, the reckoning for the survivors. I recall from my boyhood the laying to his rest of one near of kin, and the account of the undertaking firm of drapers, which many years later came under my notice. It mounted to well over three hundred pounds. And this for a gentleman's family certainly large, with a governess and some half-a-dozen servants, living in fairly easy circumstances, but nothing more. Imagine the consequent crippling of the widowed lady's initial income in such a case. In this regard, I repeat, we have done something to mend matters, but might we not do more? It is urged by some that the robing in black is a necessary and convenient badge of bereavement—at once a signal to others, and an appropriate tribute to the subdued plane of the wearer's feelings. Colour in one's apparel, when the heart is rent and aching in the first dark days 'of nothingness,' might indeed seem out of keeping, unbecoming, and even suggestive of indifference or disrespect to the memory of the departed. But, gay colours aside, the conventional externals of mourning might surely be modified and much reduced even from present usage.

The Breton woman is compelled by decree of custom to cover her face out of doors with an elongated crape veil for

The Coercion of Custom.

the first twelve months of her widowhood, and for another twelve she may either shift it to one side or let it hang as a weeper down her back. In parts of Germany, we are told, it is an absorbing aspiration among the very poorest classes to be buried in handsome full-dress even to gloves and (for females) corsets: while the shifts and privations they will undergo in lifetime to save enough money for this purpose are pathetic to read of. Then again, alike in London as in Paris, fashion prescribes degrees in costume for the bereaved, as *deep* mourning, *half* mourning, *slight* mourning, with other delicately shaded and graded provisions for 'mitigated grief,' and carries these discriminations even to the borders of our visiting cards and stationery. But if such conventional niceties are permissible to the well-to-do, and to the ceremonial of Courts, general custom applicable to all classes should be made as elastic and as gently pressing to the vast army of the needy work-a-day world as possible. For example, were the badge of military mourning to be recognised by public usage as sufficing for all in every rank of life and either sex, what an enormous boon it would be to multitudes. A plain broad band of crape or black cloth fastened round one sleeve of coat, jacket, frock, or gown, would answer every purpose of designating a loss in a family, for the merest trifle of expense. Such a circlet might (like our present hat-band) be deepened or narrowed by common consent to show the relative nearness of the loss, and there convention might stop. Given a few high-place rulers of fashion to set the example, the purveyors of mourning might themselves mourn, but the great public would be glad; and the bereaved by such a reform as this, and by increased simplicity in respect of the exequies generally, would be spared having to bear in the hour of dolour the added burden of financial embarrassment.

In the feminine world there are many minor forms of custom or etiquette which used to be rigorously insisted upon, but which in these modern days are either greatly relaxed or becoming obsolete. The chaperon is one of these. As to whether her disappearance is an unmixed

advantage opinions materially differ. On the one hand, there is a certain transparent absurdity in the notion that a young married woman of say five and twenty is competent to pilot about a mature spinster in the thirties. On the other, society still exacts chaperonage for the maiden—'bachelor woman' she prefers, I believe, to call herself—at public balls, in returning calls, and in very ceremonious functions. But otherwise the modern young lady may accept a man's escort, ride with him, bicycle with him, go to the play with him, walk with him, unencumbered with the irksome attendance of the dame duenna. Not that this license meets with general acceptance among the English better classes as yet, but we are in a state of transition, and, thanks to our American lady cousins, are far on the road to throwing off all our old-world restraints. Probably the bicycle did most to emancipate the society girl in this direction.

Yet even in these emancipated days there are lines to be drawn in respect of 'equality of treatment' (to use a tax-paying term) between the sexes. Thus, in a recent number of a woman's serial dealing with the avocation of 'lady guide,' it is claimed for this novel public functionary that, with her various accomplishments and capabilities, she will turn her hand to almost anything in the line of cicerone or kindred employment. Nevertheless, we are significantly given to understand that 'there is one thing the lady guide cannot, may not, will not do—she does not guide gentlemen unless accompanied by another lady. Perhaps if she did she would be more in request, for she is generally young, often attractive, and sometimes both, but she sternly refuses to compromise herself in this way. She respects the laws of Mrs. Grundy.' We have a delightful little touch of humour here, considering what scant regard the average damsel of to-day pays to poor Mrs. Grundy and her mostly sagacious maxims. And we may make another note. If men and women are or should be practically interchangeable in respect of occupations, as the female pioneer asserts, why should it be less proper for a woman-guide by herself to conduct men about a locality to

view its notabilia than it is for a solitary male to do the same office for ladies ?

Again, it is easy to complain of certain coercive social usages, while yet one has nothing better to put in their place. Thus, everyone dislikes the formality of paying those visits to one's friends known as afternoon 'calls.' But in this Society, having thoroughly thought the matter out, has followed the line of least inconvenience, as to the time and manner of putting oneself in evidence. This is of course mainly a ladies' question, and so is the periodical 'day' fixed by the lady householder for reception of her acquaintances. When this day comes round, our poor hostess has no notion beforehand how many of her friends will present themselves. This will depend a good deal on these friends' private arrangements for that day, and much also on how many greater than she in her social *clientele* are receiving visitors on the same day. She may thus provide cates and refreshment for a score or more of people when not half a dozen turn up ; and so the luckless inmates of the household are sated for the next day or two with stale sandwiches and a plethora of confections.

Many excellent ladies, too, still regulate their social intercourse on the principle of 'gun for gun' visits and 'chop for chop' entertainments. The constraint of custom sends Mrs. B. to Mrs. A's house after the lapse of a conventional interval since Mrs. A's last call. Call for call, but no unauthorised intermediate or out-of-turn presentation of oneself. So if the C's give the D's a dinner, the D's must return the compliment, crowd the menu with something near a like tale of courses, pile on the board a dessert of like costliness, and range through much the same varieties of quasi-recherché liquors. And this heavy outlay for a show of hospitality lasting at most from two to three hours !

I must not omit to mention one of the worst petty forms of coercive custom, an out-growth of the multiplied wealth and extravagance of the day—the practice of giving gratuities or 'tips' to underlings. Its pressure bears hardest on the moderately well-to-do, for to the affluent who gives largess out of his abundance the matter is an unconsidered trifle.

Railway attendants, hotel waiters, the steward and his mates in the ocean steam-boat, postmen and your tradesmen's daily carriers, besides many others of like standing—each and all expect their *douceur*. The institution of tipping has become so stereotyped in the public mind that any individual of the 'better classes' refusing to conform to it is sure in one way or another to be made to smart for it. Moreover, no small part of the nuisance is the vagueness of the unwritten law governing the amount of the gratuity. When is one to give sixpence, a threepenny bit, a shilling, a half-crown, or a half-sovereign, without running the risk of being thought shabby, and having a black letter mark set against one for the next time the donee's services are in requisition. If one only knew what is *customary*, what one *ought* to give, but this is so hard to arrive at. The most stringent regulations in writing, the notices that instant dismissal will punish the employee known to take a fee, are practically useless. Behind the aegis of assuetude the recipient of the tip feels himself practically safe. And whoso is bold enough to defy this British habit will soon weary of his or her well-doing. When a nice corner seat in the railway carriage is desired or a locked-up compartment, the guard turns his back upon you and busies himself bowing my lord Croesus into an adjoining car, or deftly bestowing his light impedimenta within the netted racks. The railway porter will look another way when you hail him, and your luggage lie untouched on the station platform.

In the restaurant you frequent you may bawl out 'waiter' *ad libitum*, but his ears and his eyes will not be to *your* table. When materfamilias wants extra milk or cream unexpectedly of an afternoon, the milkman will find he has none to spare. The butcher's boy will be apt to make awkward mistakes, and leave an inferior joint at your house in mistake for a prime one. The vigilance of the policeman on your beat may slacken, the newspaper boy forget your paper, the letter-carrier prove perfunctory on occasions—everyone, in short, will devise some way of paying you out. There are one or two fashionable hotels in London where a casual diner is expected to give the head waiter as much as half-a-crown for

the luxury of his superb ministrations. And though a fixed charge has long been added to one's hotel bill for attendance, in lieu of separate gratuities to the servants, now everyone pays in both ways. Even the club porter and butler, with the man who *valets* you if the clubhouse has bedrooms, get their share of tips in due season, however stringently the club rules may forbid it.

But the climax perhaps of monstrous excess in the giving of haphazard gratuities is to be found in certain forms of field-sport exercised at the country seats of magnates. A very usual fee, it seems, to the gamekeeper for a day's partridge shooting is a sovereign; for a good day's assistance to kill his master's pheasants for the market, you will be expected to pay him two sovereigns, or get a wretched station in the covert next time; while for a four or five days' shoot not less than paper will be proper to offer him, that is, a five-pound note. Such absurd prodigality as this has grown gradually, and the constant influx of rich parvenus into the sporting-social world is constantly making it more difficult for the gentleman of moderate means to form one of a shooting party on present-day lines. Of salmon fishing also the same may be said, though in a somewhat lesser degree perhaps. Yet the writer of these pages can remember not so long ago enjoying, by the kindness of country friends, many a day's sport off and on, here or there, with gun or salmon rod, where a crown was the most usual tip at the end of a day, and thankfully received too. But this was north of the Border, where and when keepers and gillies and domestic servants had not been educated up to the bloated standard of modern sumptuary exactions.

Hunting, of course, is in these days solely a pastime for the wealthy; and polo, when £500 is not an uncommon price to pay for a pony trained to the game, is fast becoming so: both are prolific of tips. And now, besides feeing the butler, footman, coachman, and housemaid, when a husband and wife visit at a country house, one has a new claimant for 'backsheesh'—the stable hand who cleans your bicycle! Verily and indeed the Britisher, who wears good clothes and has a decent roof over him, is seldom without his hands in his pocket.

The explanation of this invidious tipping custom is patent enough. It is an insidious form of pure selfishness: the desire to appropriate for yourself at the expense of your poorer neighbours that attention from servants and their like which ought to be gratuitously available to all, but which is really bestowed upon the highest bidders for it.

Gambling, as we all know, is fast growing into a habit of the day, not only among men of every class, but, worse still, among women: and apparently even our school children are not exempt from its baneful influence. 'Experienced persons,' says an eminent London weekly, 'tell us that the public opinion of many urban Board Schools is not half hard enough towards the meaner vices, . . . and that some sharp discipline from the lads themselves is required to put down gambling, which spreads in some schools like a poison, making all forms of study, and even of amusement, seem insipid.*' 'Fashion,' writes (June, 1899) a well-known lady of title, 'which ordained in pre-historic times that the Derby should be attended solely by men . . . now decrees that women shall be present everywhere—at Epsom, Ascot, Goodwood, Doncaster, and at the week-end suburban meetings of Kempston, Hurst Park, and Sandown. Women keep racehorses now; women breed horses, and women bet—largely, some of them. They deal with commission agents, *alias* bookmakers, and wire their wagers to town before the races, just like men.' 'And,' says the same authority, writing still later, 'women have taken to cards again . . . not in modest humdrum fashion, but in the spirit of the gambler.' 'Many a lady,' she adds, 'thinks nothing of losing or winning as much as forty pounds nightly.'

Were there space, one might enlarge upon this and kindred phases of modern innovating practice. The increasing prevalence, for instance, of blatant self-advertising in the odious present-day competition for notoriety. Or, again, the ridiculous affectation of masculine athletic pastimes which is still the fashion in the ranks of well-to-do womankind, to the

* *Spectator*, July 1, 1899, p. 9.

obliteration well-nigh of everything distinctively womanly in the mental and physical attributes of the sex. But enough I think has been said to show that, be it for good or be it for evil, the set of custom is a mightily forceful current, which oftentimes the strongest individuality is powerless to stem. To swim with the stream is manifestly the natural instinct of humanity. But this present is essentially an age when it behoves the self-respecting and the conscientious to resist being floated along with the flood-tide of every tyrannous vogue of the hour.

True it is, in any case—to quote once more the weighty words of Bacon—that ‘the predominancy of custom is everywhere visible, insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images and engines, moved only by the wheels of custom.’

T. P. W.

ART. VI.—THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

M. Emile Zola.

I ONCE met at dinner a very great tragedian, one of those the world has praised, or at least discussed in his every incarnation, and whose trifling criticism on his art was received by all as an oracle. When at dessert, music was on the *tapis*, our great actor burst into a phrase out of Rossini’s ‘Othello,’ adding that he was prouder of his musical gifts than of his dramatic power. It made a great impression on me, young as I then was, and disturbed my ideas of common sense as well as saddened my soul to have to realise the childishness of men.

M. Zola is equally foolish in labelling himself a realist, when, in fact, he is a great artist, even more, a lyrical Poet. His method is synthetic, though he prides himself on being an

analyst, a scientist, a follower of Claude Bernard; applying to the human heart the same scalpel with which his scientific master operated in his laboratory, and replying to every human wail by a physiological answer. Still, what strikes me most in his whole work, and in his criticisms,* is, inconsistency; it has therefore appeared to me a proper method to discuss M. Zola's works from his own point of view, in quoting what he said himself about realism in general and the art of the novelist in particular.

He begins by telling us that physiology will give some day the key to all men's passions; that with the help of science we shall be able to know why and how the individual mechanism works; how man thinks, loves; how he passes from reason to passion and madness. Man does not live alone, he lives in a social environment, and, to us novelists, social environment modifies unceasingly the phenomena. Later he says that our science is very limited compared with all that we ignore, and that a vast unknown surrounds us which we ought to try to discover by the help of scientific methods; and further, he adds that being conscious of the ignorance of that *unknown* surrounding him, the experimental novelist ought not to trouble himself about it, for fear of falling into the same errors as philosophers and poets. In a few pages M. Zola contradicts himself and destroys the value of his argument, while we readers gather an important fact from his own profession of faith, which is, that there does exist an unknown, which no man, nor any science, has ever yet made known. Centuries have passed, and that unknown surrounds us yet; civilizations have come and disappeared, and here man remains, from the little we know of him, pretty much the same animal: possessing about the same average of passions or virtues, for ever pursuing something he cannot reach, and to-day as ignorant of man and of his surroundings as were the Ptolemies. If it has been averred (and by a realist) that we are ignorant of that unknown, each one has the right to pierce in his own fashion through the dense clouds that hide the other side, and the poet, the philosopher, the Buddhist, or the Ju-Ju worshipper

* *Le Roman Experimental.*

The Mythology of the Nineteenth Century.

have equal claim to decipher what former civilizations have left to read. On the other hand, if we have been unsuccessful, ever since the world began, in piercing through that unknown, taken as an environment that unknown has had little power modifying man, for, if the environment is supposed to develop the human race, man ought to love differently, and hate in a new fashion; in one word, the two ebbs of the human heart, sympathy and antipathy, or to be more technical, action and reaction, which are as eternal as the ebbing of the sea, ought not to rule our existences to-day when surroundings are so utterly dissimilar to those of the primitive race. It is no doubt putting the cart before the horse to give to our environment a modifying power instead of a reflective one.

The next thing M. Zola declares in his *Roman Experimental* is that imagination can no longer be the gift needed by the modern novelist, but that the *sense of truth* is the sole attribute of the faithful reporter who views life and men as they are; the former eventless and uninteresting, the latter *bourgeois* and commonplace. In advancing such a paradox, M. Zola unconsciously repudiates the god who has given birth to all his work, for is not *La faute de l'Abbe Mouret* the highest expression of that imagination which has bequeathed to the world its finest poets and artists? And is not 'the sense of truth,' which he announces to be the only power necessary to a novelist, utterly absent from all his work?

I believe M. Zola to be his own worst enemy, and to have been playing hide-and-seek with the public for twenty years. If he means by that 'sense of truth,' or reality, the prophetic power, the divination of things that will be, or might be, which has immortalized Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare, then we can agree with him; this is the only realism which we can admit, for the other, the mere observation and description of things, seen as they are, or as they happened, would reduce art to a *Police Intelligence*, or to a medical report in the *Lancet*. It is well known that truth makes the worst fiction, and it must follow that imagination, which means creative power, is necessary to infuse life into what otherwise would remain lifeless. According to M. Zola, the prize would be given to the most graphic report

of any event, and my porter, or your cook would win the day for their lack of imagination. They certainly will never see Paris as our author saw it from his window, nor will they be affected by the 'Lachrimæ rerum' in surroundings they do not even notice. Our environment cannot possibly act on us equally. The scent of the lime trees will affect me, or my neighbour in different ways; to me it may recall a phase of my past life; to my neighbour perhaps only bring back the flavour of a 'tisane'; while to a third the olfactory sense will not be affected in any way.

If we could read M. Zola's novels forgetting that he introduced them to us as graphic pictures of men and women, which they are not, we should be nearer understanding him; and if we effaced the word 'naturalism' from the label hung round his neck, we should be able to exercise an unbiassed and unprejudiced judgment towards a gigantic piece of work, which would then strike us as it is, an artistic manifestation as far remote from reality as Dante's *Inferno* is to the report of a Company meeting.

To quote once more the *Roman Experimental*, our author says of that Romantique School which preceded his own, that it was '*Music and nothing but music,*' intending by this sweeping assertion to anathematise the lyrical flights of Hugo, Musset, Dumas, etc., etc., and to condemn their view of life and mode of developing characters. But after having read the whole of M. Zola's works, it has seemed to me that there was '*music, and nothing but music,*' and I have often wondered where was the '*true to life*' method? Not in *L'Abbé Mouret*, where improbable personages are made to wander in a Materialistic Paradise, renewing the Edenic Legend in a symbolical love on earth. Not in *La Bête humaine*, in which a railway engine is brought forward to play a human part, with a furnace heart; not in the *Ventre de Paris*, with its fishmarkets, meat stores, cheese counters, and pork butchers' shops as the environment of very unreal human creatures. In each of the above-named books Nature has to disappear behind the iron railings of the Halles, the glass doors of a linendraper's, the gates of a railway station. The examples would be endless; suffice it to say, that from the first

volume, *La fortune des Rougons*, to the last one, *Paris*, the author has never seen his personages from any analytical point of view, and that throughout the entire 'Cycle' he has only used one method, a new one, it is true, and what musicians would call the *leit-motiv*. To the environment he has given the part that Wagner gives to his orchestration, and to man's surroundings he has granted an anthropomorphic power, endowing it with a subjective life robbed from his dramatis personæ.

In *La fortune des Rougons* the *leit-motiv* is not yet apparent, the first volume of the series is more analytical than those which follow; he tries to view his characters impersonally and endeavours to give to each personage his proper value; but very soon he leaves the solid ground to launch into a colossal hypothesis: The history of a family under the Second Empire, in twenty volumes. And in the *Curée*, the *Ventre de Paris*, *Germinal*, *L'Assommoir*, *Une page d'amour*, environment gives *leit-motiv* freely, until *L'Débauche* brings the curtain down and the conductor's baton is laid on the stand. Throughout the entire work the reader will have watched the evolution of M. Zola's genius, and not at all the physiological development of a family under the Second Empire. In fact, M. Zola has never written a novel in all his life with the exception of one short story, *The Attack on the Mill*; not even has he given us phases of human lives like M. Anatole France. We have had Paris from every standpoint—from first to last he has written on that city symbolical fantasies of the highest order, and read otherwise his artistic fables must appear to the reader as fantastic and improbable as *L'homme qui rit** or *Gulliver's Travels*. M. Zola's method is not a realistic one; far from it. Each book that has been published year after year has been more synthetic than the former one, and he has embodied ideas ever since he has put black on white. The artist is everywhere in the work; he is behind Denise's dung-heap, and the counter of the 'Bonheur des Dames'; he takes the train to Lourdes and Rome, finally returning to his favourite topic, Paris, where the Abbé Froment is the mouthpiece of all our author's thoughts. The sun rising

* Victor Hugo.

over Paris inspires the inmates of Gustave Froment's house to dithyrambic praise, and they all soliloquise on the future of Paris, the need of a new religion, the re-birth of Society, till finally the book closes with an apotheosis of the metropolis bathed in a symbolic sunset, the harvest of the future.

The poet in M. Zola is immortalising whole eras, and his artistic power is so great that he throws over his subjects, though modern, a glamour of classicism which lends them the remoteness of abstraction. In a few short phrases he gives us the synthesis of Papal Rome in all its fossilisation, when the Abbé Froment is wending his weary steps back to the entrance door after his fruitless visit to the Pontiff. 'The three vestibules he once more had to go through seemed to him darker. In the second one the Abbé Paparelli greeted him with a curt silent bow; in the first vestibule the slumbering valet did not appear even to notice him; beneath the canopy a spider was weaving its web between the tassels of the red hat.' This is but one example out of that labyrinth of symbols through which the reader has to meander in *Rome*; an orgy of metaphors intoxicates him, from the fantastic love of Daria and Benedetta to the small picture by Botticelli in the abbé's room; every one and every thing is intended to play a part in the book. 'The Vatican, the Basilica, the Catacombs, the Via Appia, are the real actors in that tragedy of Papal Italy, while the personages remain accessories whose removal from the scene would be immaterial; and the nucleus of the book lies in the daily stroll of the Pope through the gallery of antiques. The *man* disappears behind Papacy, and no other resource is left to that self-banished successor of Peter than to wander amidst Pagan Gods, Venuses, and Apollos. The same with regard to *Lourdes*. Yes, *Lourdes*, with its long list of diseases, its unhealthy atmosphere, is of a lyrical movement, and M. Zola has said himself that *Lourdes* was to represent the idea of suffering humanity, seeking relief in something outside itself; in one word, that it was the story of the foundation of all religions. In the lengthy enumeration of human ills contained in *Lourdes* there is no pity for human depravity, no thrill for their agonising sufferings; pure abstraction is the aim and end of it. For a touch of human nature go and look at one of Hogarth's

pictures, that one in which the dying Countess of the *Mariage à la mode* clasps her child in her arms. The strapped leg of the child will tell you a more tragic tale of atavism than the twenty-three volumes of M. Zola, which as human documents do not possess any value. Not one of his characters has a life of his own, independent of his or her surroundings: outside of their idiosyncracies of trade or profession they do not stand in any relation to practical life, but, similar to hieroglyphics, they explain some mystery, symbolise some idea. Is not Lise the symbol of animalism? In *La belle Normande* has not the fish market found its mermaid? And is not Cadine the Flora of a modern flower stall? The discordant note is thrown in when Zola brings forth a character without any symbolism, like Florent in the *Ventre de Paris*, a simple anarchist who walks, eats, talks automatically, receiving no outward impression nor giving anything of himself to his surroundings. There is no exchange of influence between him and his fellow creatures; he lives with and for one idea, unmodified and undeveloped throughout three hundred pages; his only peculiarity to be sensitive to the smell of fish and never to get accustomed to it, which is peculiar and contradictory in our author, who wishes us well to understand that our environment has supreme power to modify us, and to develop our tastes according to our callings. In *L'Assommoir*, again, he brings forward a little hero from out the mire. Lalie lives a saint's life and dies a martyr's death, though no one can well understand why, as her heredity is no better than that of Gervaise or Nana, nor is her surrounding purer. Why does her ambient environment of immorality and brutality develop her into a little martyr, when it played the deuce with Coupeau and Gervaise, who were very decent people to start with?

Environment has in M. Zola's work an artistic power only; he uses it as an effective medium, not unlike the chiaroscuro of Dutch painters, to throw a lurid light on some personages while it leaves in the shade a few of the others. Some critics have called the art of M. Zola the art of photography. I do not agree there, for photography is the reproduction of things or beings existing, and M. Zola's art is without even the semblance of life. He takes one round his gallery of stuffed creatures,

this one is reading a book, the other is counting his gold, while a third is plunging a dagger into some innocent breast ; come next day, or in twenty or forty years, and the identical attitudes will be found. The reader can never follow the personages of M. Zola's novels beyond the yellow cover ; he cannot, as with the characters of Richardson, Fielding, Dickens and Thackeray, bring them to his hearth and recognize in them many of his close acquaintances, for our author's human beings are limited to tricks, and human evolutions are only signalized by idiosyncrasies ; to everything that is but transitory is given a preponderance and a lastingness that is unnatural to human development.

Each trade and profession no doubt ' carve their own lines on face and form,'* but still the ' man's a man for a' that,' and under the cloth there is a human being who remains primitive notwithstanding his civilized surroundings, and whose instincts are seldom or ever subdued by outward discipline.

Victor Hugo was the first who unconsciously gave the key to the present realistic school. In his *Notre Dame de Paris*, the plot placed in the environment of Mediæval Paris, with Notre Dame as a centre, is of a secondary importance ; Quasimodo is only a side gargoye in that human mass of stonework, and Frollo, Esmeralda, Phœbus, owe their fitting existence to their environment. The characters in the book may pass, but *Notre Dame* will endure ; the romance in Gothic Masonry will stand through centuries with the river of time noiselessly flowing at its foot. Hugo, in his ' Romantique ' method tried to read the *unknown* according to his views, but the metaphysical author of the *Crapaud* was no more enamoured of idealism than the man whose worship of ideal purity has inspired the idyllic amours of Silvére and Miette in *La Fortune des Rougons*, the abnormal passion of Daria and Benedetta in *Rome*, and let us add also the platonic love of the Comtesse de Quinsac and the Marquis de Morigny in *Paris*. These idylls have all germinated in the author's mind, for excepting the friendship of the Comtesse de Quinsac and her Marquis, nothing can be less real than the love of the two Romans, nor the infatuation of the two southern children,

*Emerson's English Traits.

and both passions are forcible examples of what imagination has done for the man who denies its power. Take the subjects above quoted and ask an unimaginative writer of the modern school, one according to M. Zola's own heart, to re-write them, and the episodes will be transformed into the grotesque farces, instead of being what they are—prose-poems.

M. Zola builds up his subjects in Titanic fashion and transforms the most trivial surroundings into cyclopean dimensions; he treats of phenomena and describes exceptional passions as foreign to the bourgeois, as Oedipus, Iphigenia, or the *Ring of the Niebelungen*, are unlike to *Tom Jones*, *Emma*, or the *Duchess of Gerolstein*. I do not mean to imply by this that life is eventless and that there are no tragedies within our suburban villas; no, life is more tragic than fiction; the only difference is that the suburban ignore their own tragedy, and that the *bourgeois* do not notice the drama within their four walls. M. Faguet has said very truly in his criticisms of Ibsen's plays:—'There exists a drama in almost every family. Dramas consist in the action and reaction of human beings closely connected with each other, in fact in all family connections.'

Thérèse Raquin will remain one of the strongest proofs of what I advance. Nothing more prosaic, bourgeois, and commercial, nothing less subjectively tragic than the environment and *modus vivendi* of the three actors in the book. Tragedy is underlying, as we know, in every bourgeois home, but broth has replaced the hemlock brew, and the frock coat the chlamys. Laurent is a perfect brute, who is not likely to develop artistic sensitiveness and neurotism, because he has committed the most heinous of crimes, and the morbid remorse that unhinges his whole temperament is utterly untrue to human nature, or at least to the physical constitution of that man. The 'impossible' does happen, we know, and the improbable is of daily occurrence, but still we never have yet witnessed an elephant changed to a dove, or a dog turned into a worm; and as our author is treating of prosaic life and conventional people, he ought to remain within the bounds of the probable, if he wishes us to have a true picture of bourgeois life. On the contrary he treats of the most unsurban passion, remorse; the most stagey of all passions and the

least in fashion amongst well-balanced brainless shopkeepers. But without this hypothesis of remorse the book could not exist, as the incident of a cold blooded murder committed between tea-time and supper would not be sufficient to enthral the reading public; besides, as we have already said, M. Zola does not write novels; he hangs personages on to a peg; he has a collection of them, and his master peg is the power of environment over the individual, which is a fallacy, but a marvellously artistic one. It rules the entire work of our author, as fatality was embodied in the Greek Drama.

Environment influences individuals, but individuals never influence each other in M. Zola's work. Families live under the same roof, in the closest intimacy, though their action and reaction over each other is *nil*; each one remains a sealed book impervious to any sympathy, inaccessible to the intangible, but mighty power of influence, which unconsciously transforms human beings and rivets the chain of solidarity. We are more or less answerable for our neighbours' actions, and where is the social reform or social injustice about which we can any of us say with impunity:— 'I am nothing in it?' I defy any careful reader to find a book, a scene, or a character of Zola's where human influences act as a magnetic power between men. In every novel (we must continue to call them thus), Dame Nature (environment) pulls the wires, and all her puppets have to obey her supreme power, regardless of each other. Very often the screws are not always tight, and the wires are rusty; and characters like 'Madame Saccard' in the *Curée* dance a rather demoniac step, utterly out of proportion with her limbs and temperament. That Phèdre of the *Parc Monceau* has no individuality which she may call her own; all her feelings, and thoughts are fostered in her exotic hothouse; she inhales them from her tropical plants; there is not one little thought in her brain, not an emotion in her heart, not a sensation of her temperament that has not been awakened by the intoxicating perfumes of her conservatory, and the work of incarnation is complete as 'Madame Saccard' becomes the symbol of prurient passion, and loses her 'ego,' however uninteresting may be the 'ego' of a fashionable woman of the Second Empire.

In *La joie de vivre* we have a physiological environment, Neurotism. It plays havoc with every character of the book, while it never influences the central figure, Pauline. Why the latter, daughter of Quenu-gradelle and Lise, pork-butchers in the *Ventre de Paris*, should develop into a philanthropist, no one can say. Her heredity might just as well have developed her into a *Nana*, and her well balanced nature and rational brain are not fatally the results of her self-indulgent mother and weak father, both materialists. Pauline is surrounded by a neurotic herd, into whom she tries to infuse healthy views and a bracing love of life, but she fails in her mission; the sufferings augment around her, and she remains isolated in her busy life, as imperturbably strong as ever, uninfluenced and uninfluencing. What was the idea of the author? Did he wish us to understand that Pauline, brought up in the environment of the Halles, would have evolved into a different person to one living in the healthy atmosphere of the sea? Why does not the influence of the briny sea act on her companions, and why does the environment play such tricks on human beings, only influencing a few, while it leaves the rest to rot away without any hope of salvation?

In the *Masterpiece* we have a mental environment—this time, work. The ambition of one, the failure of another, the success of the mediocre, and the struggles of all in that pitiless furnace, Paris. The *Masterpiece* is the most idealistic of all M. Zola's works, but there again he deals with exceptions and treats of phenomena. Life in all its trivial details, humdrum incidents, is stopped all of a sudden, and we have to look on at a disproportionate tragedy, in which all rules are broken to suit the personage and his grievance. Life teaches us another lesson, we are disciplined by hundreds of little duties, our daily routine encircles us as with a cuirass, and it is difficult to break bounds clogged by the many self-imposed laws of our lives.

The *L'Assommoir* is the only book that can be called a novel. In it is concentration of force, directness of expression, and the human developments are truer to nature than in all the other books. He enters into his subject straightforwardly, plants his personages in full daylight. The method in *L'Assommoir* is

more realistic (if ever such a word can be used in regard to a work of art), but the choice of characters is still untrue to the naturalistic school, as Coupeau and Gervaise are exceptional. Workmen are not all that he describes, has said many a critic; no, they certainly are not, but Oedipus, Orestes, were not unusually met by Sophocles and Euripides in the streets of Athens, and the choice of personages were subordinated to ideas by the Greek playwrights, as passions are embodied in the *dramatis personæ* of M. Zola. The latter, if he has met Coupeau and Gervaise, has only met them once, at the most twice—they are exceptions and therefore do not give us a true idea of the average workmen and women. Even in this book M. Zola is unable to resist the lyrical gift in his nature, and he launches into many rhythmical cadences—the fight in the wash-house, the description of the laundry tub, the scenes in the blacksmith's forge are epic-poems in prose, and detached from the book will live eternally, and posterity will preserve these fragments as it has treasured the pages of Homer, Tacitus, Demosthenes, etc.

In that long chain of hereditary evils, with their causes and effects, which help to build up the hypothesis of a family under the second Empire, the *L'Assommoir* is the only ring that will preserve its perfect circle and mathematical proportions; the rest of his work, as physiological documents or as true pictures of life will not live beyond the author's life, and never will the drama of a family under the Second Empire carry further than the footlights. The whole construction is as speculative as the airship or conjectures on the twentieth century, and the scenes presented to us in their photographic exactitude resemble more some cannibal's drawing; while the psychology of the characters most certainly approaches the lucubrations of a child.

The history of this family is one written by M. Zola, but if I want to read the history of a family written by itself, I open *Clarissa Harlowe*; there human beings work out their own problems unconsciously. It is realism as much as it can ever be in a work of art, which means impersonality on the part of the author; the result is undue length and intense tediousness, still those who read *Clarissa* in abridged editions commit an act of vandalism; read it not, I quite agree, but if you do, read it in

its entirety, for one letter, one phrase cut off the rest is as sacrilegious as it would be to scrape off a few inches of Michael Angelo's Last Judgment on the plea that it was too large. In *Clarissa*, no ambient environment, no upholstering; but could ever human beings live in a more vivid surrounding? Human nature seen from within and their environment receiving but a reflective existence. M. Zola proceeds differently, his environment is subjectively studied, and his human beings are treated objectively, receiving their *ego* from a surrounding which, in fact, does not possess any power of developing individuals. And while in his physiological characters he has only arrived at producing chemicals, as an artist and poet he has conceived a gigantic hyperbole—the anthropomorphic environment. It is not by the analytical study of characters that our interest is riveted, but by the synthetical conception of an idea embodied in the individual. I shall quote from the *Ventre de Paris*, the description of La Sarriette, the girl who has the fruit store in the Halles, which will illustrate what I have just said. 'She (La Sarriette) laid out her counter voluptuously, as tho' her lips put a red kiss on each cherry one by one; from her bosom she let drop the soft peaches; she lent to the plums the delicacy of her skin, that of her temples, of her chin, of the corners of her mouth, and her blood ran through the veins of the red currants.'

Can any human being be more endowed with symbolism than this Sarriette, and could she ever be more lifeless after having given all her vitality to her fruit store? One more quotation to show M. Zola's method of using individuals as tools, and of giving to environment a subjective existence.

'The Pavilions (of the Halles) rose under their tiny hands (Cadine's and Marjolin's), thus grew their fondness for the Halles and this fondness the Halles gave back to them. They were familiar with the gigantic vessel like old friends who would know every screw bolt. They were not afraid of the big monster, and struck with their little thin fists on its large surface, treating it as a *camarade* one is not shy of. And the Halles seemed to smile at these two ragamuffins who represent the wild song, the bold idyll of its monster stomach.' These two weird figures,

Cadine and Marjolin, are thrown in the midst of feeding Paris, to relieve its gulosity, by their will-o-the-wisp rambles through the streets; they scintillate through the density of kitchen fumes, and add poetry to cheeses, hams and vegetables, immortalizing the modern street urchin as Goya has done the beggar, the priest and Torero; in fact a world of fantastic impressions of his day.

It is not the subject that constitutes the poetical value of a work, but the method of treating it; and the treatment and rhythm chosen by an artist makes or mars a subject, be it in a back kitchen or the *Inferno*. Is it not in the power of the poet to transform the trivial, the ugly, into æsthetic and everlasting beauty? And is it not only by the power of abstraction that a work of art lives to posterity? Flaubert's *chef d'œuvre* and Balzac's Human Comedy will not live one day longer by their accuracy of observation, and photographic description; however true to life these were in the *time* of the two novelists, these details are antiquated to us. It does not matter what coloured parasol Madame Bovary carried when she went to her *rendezvous* in Rouen, nor what furniture filled the drawing room of the Duchesse de Langeais; these pass, but the human heart remains, and the idea embodied in the book is immortal. What interests us is to know that which Flaubert and Balzac saw in humanity. The former saw, imbecility, hidden by tears, clothed in vanity, rolling in vice, while the latter discovered under every lace cape and each frock coat, a blind instinctive will—power, either creative or destructive; but both owed their observation to the inward eye that guesses infallibly right, though they never saw their personages in any other form than that evoked by their mental vision.

It is as fallacious to declare Zola's work a faithful study of modern life as it would be to imagine Wagner's Nibelungen heroes to be copies of the average men and women we meet along Piccadilly or the Rue de la Paix. It is not to 'Experimental Science' that we are indebted for the purely lyrical pages in Zola's novels; for there is neither experience nor science in their method, but only modulated impressions. The finest descriptions are those of things and events that he never has

witnessed *de visu*. The Paradou of Albine, the scene between the two brothers in the Basilica of Montmartre, the frenzied rush of the Lison* across country, the narration of the miner's entombment in *Germinal* and many others. The transcendental beauty of these romances lies in their absolute negation of realism; and while M. Zola believes himself sincerely to be copying nature, he instinctively creates a world of his own.

I come now to what has been objected to in M. Zola's works—indelicacy. To this I cannot help replying that in art the more or less indelicacy is not in question, for at that rate we should have to close our galleries and make a general *auto da fe* of most of the classical literature so as to suit the virginal gaze of Board Schools. It is not more repulsive to print the crude words used by the lower order of society than it is to look at a beggar coveting a loaf of bread at a baker's window, or to read the police intelligence of some unmentionable crime; still, newspapers lie on every table, and street saunterers can frequently witness scenes that for horror and cruelty never can be equalled by any of Zola's descriptions which are only attempts at realism. Our author has the classic directness which places his subjects in the foreground, delineating every line, throwing crude shadows and dazzling lustre on them, and by that method he stands in opposition to his imitators both in France and in England. In his work no suggestiveness, no effacing of *contour*; he is as straightforward as Sophocles and as devoid of humour.

Had he written *Boule de suif*,† we should have had to read hundreds of pages on sausages and *table d'hôte* menu; no details would have been spared us of the brutal contract between a Prussian soldier and a patriotic *demi-mondaine*; the underlying humour and subdued laughter would have been buried beneath a symbolism that admits of no piquancy nor suggestiveness, at least not in the sense in which a real French *esprit* takes it. The French wit has the suggestive *equivoque* of a naked statue wearing a hat and stockings; Zola's art is

* *La Bête humaine*.

† G. de Maupassant.

the antique nudity that can be gazed at without a blush or a blink.

Read *Thérèse Raquin* as you would read *Orestes*, and no unhealthy fumes will envelop you, nor will any bad taste remain on your lips. Everything is told in Biblical simplicity, every shriek is heard, every distorted feature is exaggerated as in the Greek drama, and we are struck by the abnormality of the subject, or rather not by the subject itself, but by the way it is treated.

*Fort comme la mort** missed being abnormal, for the author's gift of human thrill and tenderness has brought the subject from Olympian heights down to the drawing-room platform, and his delicate touch has drawn the pictures of true men and women, suggestive under their modern garb, and deeply immoral in their unconscious lack of moral restraint.

Moral! That is M. Zola's principal virtue. He is too moral, for he is not human enough. Rigid probity, immaculate purity are his goddesses, and the seven deadly sins are so loathsome to him that he cannot sufficiently flagellate vice nor denounce human depravity strongly enough. His whole work is as moral as a tract, and he preaches the law of retribution, as a St. Jerome or a Savonarola. All luxury ends in mire; luxuriousness leads to deadly nausea. M. Zola is more moral than life, for human nature is the most immoral book one can peruse, and although theoretically we know retribution to be a law enacted every day of our life, still we do not wait to see it carried out, and injustice appears to reign supreme in this demoralized world, as we cannot or will not look at the other side of anything.

In fact Emile Zola is writing a mythology of our nineteenth century, and his symbolical characters and the anthropomorphism with which he has endowed their environment will interest the thirtieth century as deeply as we have been enthralled by ancient legends. Be it Delphic Oracle or Selection, Fatality or Atavism, it will equally appear puerile to the future race, who will have explained the unknown in

* Maupassant.

their own way, and who no doubt in their pride of knowledge and laughing at our scientific methods, will relegate to dusty shelves Claude Bernard together with his disciple, as we have removed to lumber rooms the philosophy of Persians and Greeks.

When the new world has built over the old, and Latin races have disappeared, then perhaps the fantastic synthetist who applied himself to decipher Nature's secrets will live for our descendants as the poet of environment, and they will no doubt smile at the error of our time in denominating M. Zola—a realist. Scissors, if they have nothing better at that time, will be at work with the pages treating of individuals (with the exception of a few symbolical characters), and of scenes that convey no sense of reality. The gigantic hypothesis of a family under the Second Empire will amuse the next generations to hilarity, who will repudiate its scientific method as antiquated and puerile; while they no doubt will treasure the descriptions of symbolic environment, and hail in this mythology of the nineteenth century the embodiment of ideas as enigmatic as the Sphinx of Thebes and the Mysteries of Eleusis.

FERNANDE BLAZE DE BURY.

ART. VII.—THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

1. *Report of Royal Commission on Housing of the Working Classes*, 1884-5. (C.-4, 402).
2. *Report of the Select Committee on Town Holdings*. May 23rd, 1892.
3. *Royal Commission on Local Taxation—Minutes of Evidence*. Vol. III.—(Scotland) 1899 (C. 9319).
4. *Memoranda chiefly relating to the Classification and Incidence of Imperial and Land Taxes*, 1899. (C. 9528).
5. *The Ground Values (Taxation) (Scotland) Bill*, 1899. (Prepared and brought in by Sir Charles Cameron and others).

HOME RULE is dead or dying. Disestablishment has either died or gone to sleep, and the power and influence of 'the trade' combined with the unreasoning bigotry of teetotallers, seem for the present to have put temperance reform without the range of practical politics. Accordingly, as a youthful Radical M.P. recently remarked, it was necessary to get up something new, and 'Taxation of Land Values' would, it was thought, answer the purpose. The phrase is, indeed, admirably adapted to meet the wants of those who chose it. It may mean either a great deal, or very little, according to the requirements of the moment, and the exigencies of the speaker. On a political platform, in the heat of an election, it means 'taxing the rich instead of the poor,' 'good houses and cheap rents,' 'no rates and no taxes' (except for the wealthy and wicked landlord, that is). But after the battle is over, and in the light of cold reason, the phrase is frequently found to mean no more perhaps than the rating of unoccupied land in towns at its full, instead of at one quarter of its agricultural value! To show that the above samples of election cries are not exaggerated, we have only to quote the following statement by the Single Tax League as to the blessings which would flow from the imposition of a Single Tax upon land—'It would solve the labour problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labour, make over-production impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labour-saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production, and such an equitable distribution of wealth, as would give to all comfort, leisure, and participation in the advantage of an advancing civilisation.' Obviously, any candidate who can dangle such an attractive picture as this before the electors, may secure many unreflecting votes. Moreover, there can be no doubt that the present state of the property market in large towns is much to be deplored, and if a remedy could be found, it should be eagerly welcomed. In all cities we find many of the poor crowded into miserable houses hardly fit for human habitation, for which they yet pay substantial rents, and on which there is a further burden in respect of rates. At first sight, the remedy appears to be simple—namely, more cheap houses; but the answer is that land in or near towns can-

not be obtained at a price at which it would pay to build. If, therefore, the Taxation of Land Values merely meant an attempt to obtain better house accommodation for the poor in towns, everyone would sympathise with any practicable proposal, calculated to attain that object; but the aims of those who advocate it are much more ambitious, and what constitutes the difficulty and danger of the situation is this, that large numbers of those who have committed themselves to the policy of Taxation of Land Values have not the slightest sympathy with the real objects of those who have brought the question to the front, and who enthusiastically advocate the alleged reform. For the proposal has really emanated from the school of Mr. Henry George, and represents the views of those who consider that there ought to be no private ownership of land, and that those unfortunate persons who happen to have inherited it, or to have bought it, ought now to be deprived of it, without compensation. Granted that no blame is attachable to them for having succeeded to, or for having purchased, land, yet they must suffer for the good of the community, and they ought to thankfully consent to be sacrificed on the altar of the public weal. But the object in view is to be attained not by confiscating the land direct, but by putting a capital value on it apart from any building or improvements, and then laying not only all local rates, but all Imperial taxes on an annual percentage of that valuation. Thus if a piece of land is valued at £10,000, the annual value would be taken at say four per cent., and the owner would be taxed and rated on £400 a year, and the taxes and rates are to be levied if necessary up to twenty shillings in the pound, so that the unhappy owner may and probably would, be left without any income from the land at all, which would be absolutely worthless to him. Indeed, it might very easily be not merely worthless, but a burden which might prove ruinous to him, for the capital value which is to be put upon it, and the income which he is deemed to be receiving from it, are purely theoretical, and as matter of fact he might be drawing much less than £400, or even nothing at all out of it. Yet he is to pay £400 a-year for taxes and rates, whereas if he had only been wise enough to sell before this

disastrous legislation took effect, he would have got £10,000, from which he might have got £400 a-year in interest! There is the further difficulty which, so far as we know, has not been noticed by the advocates of the new policy. Supposing, as is frequently the case, that the land has been burdened with debt, is the lender to suffer as well as the debtor? Thus in the above case, suppose that the owner of the land has borrowed money over it up to the legal trust limit of two-thirds at three per cent. Three per cent. on £6666 is, say, £200. The land is therefore worth to the owner not £400, but only £200 per annum. Is he to pay £400 for taxes and rates, plus £200 a-year to the lender? Of course the primary result of making him pay twenty shillings in the pound is to take the land from him by making it valueless. Accordingly as soon as the full limit of taxation has been imposed, his only desire will be to get rid of it. That, however, will be impossible, and accordingly he will find himself and his heirs burdened for ever with the payment of £400 a-year to the State, unless indeed he can't pay, in which case we presume the State would seize the land as a creditor. But how will the lender stand? His security is absolutely gone, for the land is worth nothing if it carries an obligation to pay £400 a-year, and he has nothing to look to but the personal obligation of the borrower, which will probably be valueless. So that the loss caused by the confiscation of the land will fall to the extent of two-thirds, not upon the owner, but upon the person who happens to have lent the money. 'Heritable security,' where money is lent over land to the extent of two-thirds, has hitherto been considered the best and safest kind of trust investment, and an enormous amount of capital must at the present moment be held by trustees in that form of investment. Are the beneficiaries under these trusts, who for the most part are women and children, and frequently objects of charity, to be subjected to this outrageous robbery?

The fact is the proposal is so monstrous, that few people seriously consider it, and herein lies the danger, for the genuine advocates of Taxation of Land Values mean this and nothing less. The city of Glasgow has earned for itself the doubtful distinction of being to some extent the nursery of the new theory,

at least in Scotland, and by certain Glasgow Town Councillors we find it stated with unthinking effrontery. It happens that some three years ago, a Royal Commission was appointed 'to inquire into the present system under which taxation is raised for local purposes, and report whether all kinds of real and personal property contribute equitably to such taxation; and if not, what alterations in the law are desirable in order to secure that result.' This remit hardly seems to cover an inquiry into the merits of a Single tax for all purposes upon land. But the Commissioners have, as usual, allowed themselves great latitude in the scope of their enquiries, and several witnesses from Glasgow have, in their evidence, openly advocated the confiscation of the land by the State, by the imposition of a Single tax. Though the Commissioners have not yet finally reported, they have published various volumes of the evidence they have taken, and in Vol. III., p. 59, Mr. Peter Burt, J.P., a councillor, and ex-magistrate of the city, gives the following evidence:—

'To whom are you going to return the land?'—'To the people.'

'By this proposal?'—'Yes.'

'But this proposal will not restore it to the people, will it?'—

'What people want land for in the sense of ownership is not for the land, but the rent, and if we restore the rent to the people, we think we do all that is necessary to satisfy them.'

'But are you by this proposal to restore the land to the community, which does not now own the right of receiving rent?'—

'We are to restore the rent to the whole community.'

'But all I understand this proposal, as put before us, to do, is to shift the burden of rating from one class of owner to another?'—

'The proposal starts with altering the basis of taxation in relation to rentals, that is, instead of paying as at present on the annual rent they receive from the tenant, they shall pay upon the annual value of the ground: that is the beginning of the principle, or foundation of the principle, for altering the incidence of taxation altogether.'

'What is to be the next step?'—'Increase the tax upon the value of the ground.'

'Until you take it all?'—'Until you take twenty shillings in the pound.'

Mr. John Ferguson's evidence on page 87 is as follows:—
 'You go the length of saying that all charges for Imperial and local taxation should fall upon this natural agent land?'—
 'Entirely, that is our contention and our struggle.'

Mr. Ferguson may be further quoted to show that in his opinion his programme is gaining ground:—'Can you tell me what views the Council of the City of Glasgow hold?'—'They held four years ago that they would not support such a doctrine at all, and I told them I would change their convictions or their seats, and I have done it.'

'They have changed their convictions for the sake of keeping their seats?'—'I am not bound to know the reasons; but, in point of fact, they run out, or vote for taxation of land values.'

A majority of the Glasgow Corporation are undoubtedly in favour of what they call Taxation of Land Values, but owing to the deplorable confusion of thought and language on the subject, it is impossible to say whether they mean to approve of the doctrine of the Single tax in accordance with the views of the above-quoted witnesses, or whether they mean merely a transference of the incidence of existing rates. It was pointed out in an article in the *Scotsman*, some months ago, that when people talk of Taxation of Land Values, they may mean one or other of eight different things, and the statement is not exaggerated. But recent discussion, and, most of all, the definite proposals contained in a Bill introduced into Parliament last Session by Sir Charles Cameron at the instigation of the Town Council of Glasgow, have done much to clear away the confusion engendered by the vague enunciation of philanthropic platitudes on political platforms. It is now seen that the first and apparently fundamental principle of Taxation of Land Values, is that the land should be valued separately from any buildings or improvements on it. But the question immediately arises—for what purpose is the alteration desired? By the provisions of Sir Charles Cameron's Bill, the only result of a separate valuation of land from buildings would be an alteration in the incidence of existing police and municipal rates, the precise effect of which, we shall refer to presently. But those who are responsible for the present agitation do not conceal

the fact, that Sir Charles Cameron's Bill is merely a step in the right direction, and a slight attempt to educate the public up to what is to follow. They frankly admit that the object of separating the valuation of land from the houses or improvements on it, is in order that the whole Imperial expenditure of the country as well as local rates may be raised from that source, and the excuse given for the proposal is, that land should be the property of the community. However unjust and impracticable the theory may seem, it is not possible to ignore it, when we find candidates who have pledged themselves to it, elected to Parliament. In the two recent elections in Edinburgh, the two Radical candidates who were afterwards elected, had both valiantly declaimed in favour of Taxation of Land Values, wisely abstaining, however, from specifically stating what they meant thereby. But in the West Division of Edinburgh the selected Radical candidate condemns 'indirect' taxes, and advocates instead the imposition of an Imperial tax upon land. In that constituency there are many owners of land, and some of them are supporters of the Radical candidate. It would be interesting to know if they understand and realise that he proposes, if he can, to take a large portion, and if necessary the whole, of their property from them, without a penny of compensation. But even setting aside the impracticable proposals of Parliamentary candidates, it is to be observed that on the invitation of the Town Council, a conference was held in Glasgow not long ago 'to promote the Taxation of Land Values.' Invitations had not been confined to Scotland, and there were in all 112 local rating authorities represented by 216 delegates, while political Associations and other Societies and Committees were represented by 341 delegates. It is obvious from the report of the conference that most of the delegates had little idea what they were discussing or what they were promoting. To begin with, many of the speakers came from England, and apparently had no knowledge of the difference between English and Scots law on the subject of land ownership. This difference goes to the very root of the matter, for the agitation in England in favour of a change in the law is very much due to the discontent caused by the system of long leases under which the ground re-

turns to the owner at the end of the lease, and he becomes proprietor of the building erected by the lessee, without paying any compensation. But in Scotland where the land is alienated from the superior for ever under the feuing system, no such anomaly exists.

The first resolution, which (like all the others submitted to the Conference) was of course passed, was as follows: 'That this Conference is of opinion that as the values of land are not due to individual exertion, but spring from common need and activity, and are enhanced by public expenditure, the present system which exempts these values from taxation, and imposes the burden on industry and the earnings of industry, is unjust, and constitutes a hindrance to social progress.' This resolution is a gem of confused thought and inaccurate expression. It is not true that land is at present 'exempted from taxation,' and apparently what is meant is that land is taxed and rated along with houses or improvements and not separately. Nor is it possible to say whether the resolution refers to Imperial taxes or to local rates. No wonder that a puzzled delegate requested to know from the Chairman 'if this resolution means the Single tax;' to which the Chairman ingenuously replied, 'The resolution is before you. Everyone must interpret it as he thinks best!' A resolution which may be interpreted as everyone thinks best, has the advantage of being certain to be carried, but it is, of course, absolutely useless as a test of the opinion of the meeting. It is deeply to be regretted that on such a complicated subject, where accuracy of thought and language is of the first importance, such vague statements should be indulged in. The next resolution was in favour of a separate valuation of land and houses, and of the imposition of a 'tax' upon the land value, but whether 'tax' meant Imperial tax or local rate subsequent speakers were not agreed. A third resolution approved of Sir Charles Cameron's Bill, which, however, was described as 'only a beginning, but a step in the right direction.' This resolution was unanimously carried, notwithstanding that a delegate 'complained that the Conference was asked to commit itself to the Glasgow Bill without having a single clause of it read, or any explanation given of its proposals.'

Resolutions passed in such a manner are certainly not deserving of much respect, but the fact that the conference was held under the patronage of the Glasgow Town Council, and was attended by representatives from many local authorities, shows that the question of Taxation of Land Values has acquired some footing in the country, and the resolutions and speeches prove how little people understand the question they are discussing, and how wide a divergence of opinion there is amongst those who are supposed to be agreed on the matter. It is eminently desirable that all supporters of the proposal should understand that Taxation of Land Values, means, in the mouth of those chiefly responsible for the agitation, a valuation of land separate from buildings or improvements on it, *for the purpose* of imposing on the land the whole Imperial and local expenditure of the country. Any one owning land, however small the amount, and though he may have bought it only yesterday, is to be treated as a thief and robber, and his property is to be taken from him, not by direct transference to the State, but by taxing and rating it out of existence. It has hitherto been the object of political reformers to transfer the burden of taxes as much as possible from the poor to the rich. But the new reformers are endeavouring to do exactly the opposite. They desire that a man with, perhaps, half an acre of land, and no other means, should bear a heavy share of taxes and rates, while the man with, perhaps, half a million of capital, should pay nothing at all! Conscious of the difficulty of meeting this argument they endeavour to evade it by complaining that under the present system the working classes pay more than their fair share of taxation in the form of indirect taxes. If that complaint be true, by all means let the present system be altered, and let Imperial taxes be levied on those best able to bear it. But the allegation that Imperial taxes are not at present raised in accordance with the consideration of 'ability to pay,' is no reason whatever for transferring the burden to owners of land. Moreover, we deny the truth of the allegation. A working-man practically pays no Imperial taxes at present except on tea and coffee, drink and tobacco. The two first might with advantage, and, we have no doubt, will, on the first opportunity, be abolished, but they constitute the

only necessary tax which a poor man pays, for if he does not indulge in the luxury of drinking or smoking, he pays nothing else. As regards the tax on alcohol, it is kept up quite as much in the interests of public morals as for the purposes of revenue, and the possible consequences of reducing it would be too dangerous to face. The total revenue produced by wine, beer, and spirits in the year ending March 1898, was - £33,718,611
 On tobacco and snuff, - - - - - 11,433,909
 On tea, coffee, cocoa, and chicory, - - - - 4,275,700
 On currants, figs, raisins, etc., - - - - 389,573
 By far the greater proportion of customs and excise was, therefore, levied on drink and tobacco, and unless they are to be deemed necessities of life, it must be admitted that the working-man pays little or no Imperial taxation.

The advocates of the Single tax are given to citing John Stuart Mill as an authority in their favour, but in this they entirely misrepresent him. On the contrary, he should be quoted as a supporter of the rights of a landowner to the full value or 'unearned increment' which has accrued to the land up to the date at which legislation is passed regarding it. He would give to the State all *future* unearned value, but he would protect the landowner in the right to enjoy the increase of value in the past. His idea is that land should never have been allowed to pass into the hands of private individuals, but now that that wrong has been allowed, he does not propose to ignore existing rights. Thus, in *Principles of Political Economy* (Book V., chap. ii., sec. 5), he says :—

'But although there could be no question as to the justice of taxing the increase of rent, if society had avowedly reserved the right, has not society waived that right by not exercising it? In England, for example, have not all who bought land for the last century or more, given value not only for the existing income, but for the prospects of increase, under an implied assurance of being only taxed in the same proportion with other incomes? . . . For the expectations thus raised, it appears to me that an amply sufficient allowance is made, if the whole increase of income which has accrued during this long period from a mere natural law, without exertion or sacrifice, is held sacred from any

peculiar taxation. *From the present date, or any subsequent time at which the legislature may think fit to assert the principle, I see no objection to declaring that the future increment of rent should be liable to special taxation ; in doing which every shadow of injustice to the landlords would be obviated if the present market price of their land were secured to them ; since that includes the present value of all future expectations.'*

Mill's views are further illustrated by the programme of the Land Tenure Reform Association, issued in July, 1870, which he supported in an explanatory statement, printed along with it, and in subsequent public speeches. (*Mill's Dissertations and Discussions*, Vol. IV., p. 239). The fourth article of that programme was as follows :—

'To claim for the State the interception by taxation of the *future* unearned increase of the rent of land (so far as the same can be ascertained) or a great part of that increase, which is continually taking place, without any effort or outlay by the proprietors, merely through the growth of population and wealth ; reserving to owners the option of relinquishing their property to the State, at the market value which it may have acquired at the time when this principle may be adopted by the Legislature.'

Regarding this proposal, Mill writes (p. 293), 'They do not propose to deprive the landlords of their present rents, nor of anything which they may hereafter add to those rents by their own improvements. The *future* unearned increment is what the Association seek to draw from them.'

It seems probable that if the proposal of Mill and the Land Tenure Reform Association had been carried out in 1870, the benefit would have been with the landlords and not with the State, for, in many instances, land has fallen in value instead of rising. Yet the effect of what was proposed in 1870 would have been to make the State bear such depreciation in value. At a given date all land was to be valued, and the owner was to have the option of selling to the State at the price then fixed, or at any future time. This is clearly explained by Mill (p. 295) : 'No one would benefit so much by the proposed measure as those whose land might afterwards fall in value ; for they would be able to claim the former price from the State, although they

could no longer obtain so much from individuals. By giving up the rise of value they would obtain an actual State guarantee against a fall. And this would be no loss to the State; for every such fall in one quarter, unless owing to a decline of the general prosperity, implies a corresponding rise somewhere else, of which rise the State would have the benefit.' The reformers of 1870 seem to have made the same mistake as those of the present day, in assuming that the value of land is always increasing. Since 1870, the value of agricultural land has, in most districts, gone steadily down, and in many cities there has been an extraordinary and almost unaccountable depreciation. In Glasgow, for instance, property has not yet risen to the value it had about 1875, before the fall of the City of Glasgow Bank, and those who were unfortunate enough to invest in heritable property at that time, find now that in addition to having had little or no interest on their investment during the past twenty-five years, the capital value is depreciated.

But passing from the proposal to place a 'Single tax' upon land for Imperial purposes as unjust and impracticable, it remains to consider the less ambitious projects of the more moderate advocates of Taxation of Land Values. These may be found put into definite form in the Bill introduced into Parliament by Sir Charles Cameron last Session, and entitled 'a Bill for the Taxation for Local Purposes of Ground Values in burghs in Scotland.' This Bill is openly declared by many of its supporters to be merely the 'thin end of the wedge' by which ultimately the blessings of the Single tax are to be obtained, but taking it, as it stands, its provisions are shortly as follows:—

1. The valuation of land separate from any buildings or improvements on it. The owner is to put a capital value on his land. If the assessor does not approve of that value, it must be settled in the Valuation Courts, as is done at present regarding the annual value. Four per cent. on the capital value so fixed is to be deemed the annual value, and on that, a rate not exceeding two shillings per pound may be levied.

2. The proceeds of the said rate are to go to the relief of the police and municipal assessments within the burgh.

3. A vassal under a contract of feu-duty or ground annual, or

a tenant under a lease of more than thirty-one years duration may deduct from his feu-duty, ground annual, or rent, a proportionate amount of the new rate,—*e.g.*, if his feu-duty is one-half of his valuation, he will deduct from it, one-half of what he has paid for the new rate. Any provision in any contract or deed which *has been* or may hereafter be entered into for the purpose of relieving a superior or landlord of this burden, is to have no force or effect.

1. The first and most striking change proposed by the Bill is to value land separate from any buildings or improvements on it. That land which has not been built upon or improved, and which lies within the limits of a burgh, should at present be rated for municipal purposes at only one-quarter of its agricultural value, is, we think, an anomaly which ought to be removed. It ought to be rated certainly at its full, and probably at more than its full agricultural value. No encouragement should be given to owners of land within burghs, to withhold it from the market, when as is usually the case, it is urgently required by the inhabitants, and it ought not to be a matter of insuperable difficulty for the assessor to fix its annual value, say at the price at which it might be expected to feu if placed in the market along with the rest of the vacant land within the burgh. Here you have some guiding principle to go upon, for new land is every now and then being feued within burghs, and probably definite offers to feu have at some time been made for the ground that may be in question. When land has been feued long ago, and is still kept unoccupied by the vassal, the valuation would of course be what the ground might be expected to fetch if feued now for the first time. But the amount of land which is kept within burghs unbuilt on and unused is very small, for of course public parks and gardens would be excepted; and if the rating of unoccupied land is all that is desired, it is surely not necessary in order to attain that object, to make such a sweeping alteration as the valuation of all land separate from the houses on it. It is very doubtful if such a proposal is even practicable. Is it possible to estimate the value of land apart from the building on it? 'The feasibility of splitting up the value of an entire property consisting of a house and its site, so as to assign to each element its proper value, is

disputed not only by such witnesses as Sir Thomas Farrer and Mr. Thorold Rogers, but by men eminent in the very profession whose duty it would be to make such valuation." (Report of Select Committee on Town Holdings). The value of the land is surely affected by the kind of building put upon it. Suppose a man has feued a piece of ground and has erected upon it a building which is not a success, say a large warehouse, and that another person has erected on the same amount of ground and in the same district a public house which yields enormous profits, are these two properties to stand at the same valuation and pay the same amount of rates? We presume the answer would be in the words of the Glasgow resolution—Yes, for to rate the public house more highly would 'impose a burden on industry and the earnings of industry, and would constitute a hindrance to social progress.' On the other hand, if a public house is erected next door to a dwelling-house, the value of the latter is immediately depreciated. But presumably the land on which it stands is to remain at the same valuation as before. One object of the proposal seems to be to throw the burden of rates on the owner of the ground rather than on the owner of the house, and there may be something to be said for that in England, where the ground at the end of long leases, reverts to the owner carrying the house with it, and where therefore the owner of the ground and the temporary owner of the house, are two different persons. But in Scotland, no man as a rule thinks of building a house unless he has got a perpetual feu of the ground on which it is to stand, and therefore the owner of the ground and the owner of the house are the same person. So far as transference of the burden of rates goes therefore, there is nothing to be gained by the change, for if the object is merely to relieve the tenant of rates, that can be done without a separate valuation of land from houses.

Another argument put forward for the proposal is that to put a tax or rate upon buildings or improvements is to tax a man's industry, and punish him for improving his property. It would be quite as reasonable to say that we tax a man's industry and punish him for being industrious, by making him pay income tax. The more he increases either his income or his capital, the

more he has to pay in income tax and in death duties. The reason a man is rated more highly the better he makes his house, or the more money he spends on his property, is, because the better it is, the more benefit it will receive from the expenditure of local rates, and because such expenditure is presumed to be an indication of 'ability to pay.' If he has built it only to let, he will get the more rent the better it is. Both in the case of local rates and of imperial taxes, we are acting in accordance with the maxim laid down by Adam Smith (*Political Economy*, Book II., c. 2, § 1), and which, as Mill says, has been generally concurred in by subsequent writers, and has become classical, viz. :—

'The subjects of every State ought to contribute to the support of the government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State. In the observance or neglect of this maxim consists what is called the equality or inequality of taxation.'

In payment of rates, however, not only 'ability to pay' but also 'benefit received' by the property falls to be considered, and where no special benefit is received, as in the case of poor and school rates, 'ability to pay' ought to be the sole consideration. This point is dealt with at the end of this article.

It may be mentioned that the present Royal Commission on Local Taxation recently issued a series of queries on the subject to sixteen gentlemen described as 'financial and economic experts,' and one of the queries was—'Should ground values be separately rated for local purposes, and, if so, on what principles?' The answers are published in 'the Memoranda' (c. 9528). Unfortunately, however, the replies are so much at variance with each other, that no definite conclusion can be drawn on their authority. Of the sixteen experts consulted, we find that two took no notice of the question, three said 'yes,' four said 'no,' while the answers of seven can only be described as doubtful! Clear and definite replies, however, cannot be expected to obscure questions, and it is by no means clear whether the question refers to the rating of existing English ground rents, or to a new valuation and rating of all land separate from buildings and improvements on it.

2. The next point to be noted in Sir Charles Cameron's Bill is that though it appears to impose a new rate upon land for local purposes, what it really does is to transfer the existing burden of police and municipal assessment from those who at present pay it to the owners of land. The proceeds of the new assessment are to be carried to the credit of the present police and municipal accounts. Unless, therefore, Town Councils proceed to launch out into greatly increased expenditure, the result of the Bill would be to relieve the present ratepayers to the extent of the amount received from the new land assessment. We assume that the intention of the Bill is not to give Town Councils larger funds to spend, but rather to lighten the burden of the present occupiers by transferring it to owners of land, and it may be safely assumed that this would be the practical result, for the ratepayers would certainly elect representatives pledged to lighten existing rates, rather than to increase expenditure. The object of the Bill, therefore, must be deemed to be, to transfer police and municipal rates which are at present paid almost entirely by occupiers or tenants to owners of land. If the proposal to value and rate land separate from houses and improvements were dropped, and if existing leases between owners and occupiers were protected, there would be no great objection as regards the future to transferring the entire payment of rates from occupier to owner. Both parties would have the new arrangement in view when they made their next bargain, and would protect themselves accordingly. 'The true incidence of taxation,' and whether rates or taxes ultimately fall on the owner or the occupier is an endless theme of discussion amongst experts and others, and many pages of the volumes issued by the present Royal Commission on Local Taxation are devoted to the question. But in any case it is obvious that no alteration in incidence should be made by the State on bargains that have already been entered into. As regards the future, if the State enacts that either owner or occupier is to bear new burdens, it may safely be left to both parties to remember them when the rent is fixed anew, but if an existing rate be transferred from owner to occupier, or *vice versa*, during the currency of a lease, it is undeniable that one or other suffers injustice. Assuming, how-

ever, that existing leases are to be protected, and dealing only with the future, the true theory as regards any alteration of the incidence of taxation on real estate seems to be that if *existing* burdens are transferred from occupier to owner, or *vice versa*, the transference does not take effect, and the burdens remain on the same shoulders as before, but that if a *new* burden is imposed, it falls upon the owner. This theory rests upon the supposition that the house or heritable subject has been let for the highest rent obtainable in the present state of supply and demand. The occupier found that he was bound to pay say £20 a year and £2 of rates for a house if he wanted to have it. The State now says the occupier is to be relieved of rates to the extent of £2, which shall in future be paid by the owner. The owner immediately says to the occupier, 'you were able to pay £20 rent and rates before, and I am now to pay £2 of rates instead of you, therefore your rent shall in future be £22, which is just what you were paying before.' The occupier will be bound to yield if he wishes to retain the house. The result of the transference by the State is, therefore, absolutely nil. But suppose that either an entirely new local rate or Imperial tax is imposed on the same property for the first time, then even though it may be levied from the occupier, it seems to fall upon the owner, for the occupier is assumed to have been already paying the utmost that the property would fetch as regulated by supply and demand, and he will demand the reduction of his rent in view of the new burden. Such general rules, however, are of course liable to exemptions, and the opinions of the experts referred to above seem to agree that rates and taxes on property have a tendency to 'spread themselves over' both owner and occupier, so that each bears a share. One thing seems clear, and that is, that it is of little consequence whether rates and taxes are levied on occupier or on owner, for the mere question of who pays does not affect the ultimate incidence. Unless, therefore, Sir Charles Cameron's Bill is to be used for the purpose of raising new funds for police and municipal expenditure, the transference of the existing burden from occupier to owner will be nugatory as regards the future, and is grossly unjust as regards existing leases.

3. The third important provision in the Bill is the proposal to make feu-duties and ground-annuals pay a proportionate share of the new rate. The Taxation of Feu-duties is a popular cry, which for some time seemed to be gaining strength, but it may now be said to be dead, for intelligent discussion has shown, and the provisions of Sir Charles Cameron's Bill prove, that feu-duties (and in the term, we include ground-annuals), are taxed and rated already. When it is said that feu-duties are not rated, what is meant is that the superior pays no rates in respect of his feu-duty. (Taxes he, of course, does pay, in the form of income tax.) But the vassal pays rates instead, and therefore the only question for discussion is whether the present payment due by the vassal should be transferred to the superior. That a vassal pays rates on his feu-duty is most easily proved by taking an example. Thus suppose A. feus a piece of ground at £20, and builds a house on it, which he lets for £100. The property is then only yielding him £80 a year, yet he and his tenant pay rates on £100. Therefore rates are paid not only on the £80 of profit, but also on the £20 of feu-duty. So far, therefore, as ratepayers are concerned, the matter is of no consequence, for the mere transference of a burden from vassal to superior would bring no increased revenue to the community. It is a pure question of justice (or injustice) between these two parties to the feu-contract. That feu-duties are already rated is clearly admitted by Sir Charles Cameron's Bill, for it provides that the vassal may deduct from the feu-duty he pays to the superior, a proportionate amount of what he has paid for the new rate. What the Bill does, therefore, is not to impose an extra rate upon feu-duties, but merely to transfer a part of the burden from the vassal to the superior, the community being in no way enriched thereby. It may be said that the result of the Bill will be to relieve the occupier, who at present pays police and municipal rates at the expense of the superior, but that is not so, for the vassal will raise the rent of the occupier by as much as he (the occupier) has been relieved, and will put in his pocket what he deducts from his feu-duty, so that he is the only person benefited.

The provisions of the Bill are therefore very different from the dazzling prospect hitherto held out to the ratepayers, of feu-duties as a new source of revenue, which was to relieve existing ratepayers. Whether the provisions of the Bill are intended to impose a new rate on owners of land in order to increase local expenditure, or whether they are intended to relieve occupiers of existing rates, in either case the proposal to make the superior bear a share of the burden, confers no benefit on the general public. It merely transfers from the vassal to the superior a portion of the burden which the vassal contracted to bear when he agreed to the terms of the feu-charter, for no one proposes that the superior should pay rates on his feu-duty *in addition* to those already paid on it by the vassal, and to rate the ground twice over in that way is the only method of bringing increased revenue to the community. But if the proposal cannot be supported on the ground of public advantage or of increased revenue to the community, on what grounds can such interference by the State with private contracts be defended, and, indeed, what object is to be gained by it? Such interference would be difficult to defend, even if it were in order to remedy some grave injustice. But grave injustice would, on the contrary, be perpetrated if such interference took place. It is estimated that two-thirds of the feu-duties and ground-annuals in this country are now held not by the original superiors who granted them, but by trustees for others. Trustees* for churches, trustees for charities, trustees for educational endowments, trustees for private beneficiaries—the latter being in most cases women and children—have, in their anxiety to find what was considered an absolutely safe investment, bought feu-duties and ground-annuals at prices which only yield about three per cent. If such investments are to pay a share of rates, the income of all these beneficiaries will be reduced, and the value of their capital depreciated. Even assuming that the man who has bought land and feued it, is always idle and always greedy,

* See Report on Town Holdings, p. xxx.

and deserves to be despoiled by the industrious vassal, the argument will not apply to widows and orphans and other persons whose slender means of livelihood is derived from charitable and other trusts. To impose a new and quite unexpected burden upon the class of people whose capital is, as a rule, invested in feu-duties and ground annuals, would, it seems to us, inflict an injury so cruel and so unjust upon those least able to protect themselves, that we are bound to conclude that the advocates of the proposal have not considered its effect. On what ground of justice, or even of expediency, is payment of rates to be transferred from the possibly wealthy owner of land to the poor beneficiary or object of charity? It must further be remembered that the superior asked and received a lower feu-duty in consideration of the fact that the vassal agreed to pay all rates in future, and that however much the ground may rise in value from municipal or other improvements, no benefit can accrue to the superior who has alienated his land for ever. It is said that his security may be increased by the improvements, but the security is always ample to begin with. There is of course a clear distinction between existing and future feu-contracts, and if any object were to be gained thereby, there would probably be no objection to the State enacting that superiors were to pay the rates on future feu-duties. The practical result would be that the superior would ask and would receive a higher feu-duty, and no benefit would accrue to the community from such an enactment.

From a consideration of the Reports noted at the head of this article, and of the provisions of Sir Charles Cameron's Bill, it is possible to reduce to definite statement the various proposals which are covered by the phrase, Taxation of Land Values. A great deal of confusion has arisen from the fact that people frequently discuss the question as if it were the same in Scotland and in England, whereas the existing land laws and customs are entirely different, the perpetual alienation of land in consideration of an annual payment of feu-duty being unknown in England, and the rates being paid altogether by the occupier. Putting England out of the question then,

we find that in Scotland Taxation of Land Values may mean any of the following propositions:—

1. A valuation of land separate from buildings or improvements on it.

2. A new Imperial tax upon the owners of land so valued.

3. A new local rate upon the owners of land so valued.

4. A transference of existing local rates to the owners of land so valued, from those who at present pay rates on land and buildings valued together.

5. A transference of a proportionate amount of all taxes and rates from vassal to superior.

1 and 2. As regards these proposals, it is enough to say that, apart altogether from the apparent impossibility of carrying the first into effect, it is not 'worth while,' unless with the object of imposing a new Imperial tax upon land, and that proposition should, we think, be earnestly resisted by every citizen possessing an elementary sense of justice. Its advocates are sufficiently crafty to limit their proposal at present to an Imperial tax of two shillings in the pound of annual value, but it is not denied that this is 'only a step,' and that they hope one day to draw the whole revenue of the country from land only.

3 and 4. Owing to the curious way in which Sir Charles Cameron's Bill is framed, it may mean either a new extra land rate to provide further funds for increased expenditure by Town Councils, or it may mean a transference of existing local rates from present ratepayers to owners of land. It is probable that the latter is meant, for the mere provision of further funds for local expenditure is not likely to meet with public support. As regards the transference of existing rates from occupiers of houses to owners of land, the proposal is unjust as regards existing leases, and nugatory as regards the future, as rents would be increased to the extent by which they have been relieved.

5. The proposal to transfer to the superior a portion of the rates which the vassal consented by his feu-charter to bear, would be a harsh and unjust interference with contract, and would ruin many persons who have already least 'ability to

pay.' It would bring no increase of revenue to the community, would benefit only the class of persons who are 'vassals,' and its insertion in the programme is probably owing to the fact that it was impossible to drop a cry hitherto so long and so successfully used as 'taxation of feu-duties.' It may be admitted, however, that if anything so monstrous as the raising of all Imperial expenditure by a new tax upon land is to be permitted, there is no reason why the superior should not bear his share of the robbery as much as the vassal.

Such are the objections to the proposals known as Taxation of Land Values. But it does not follow that the present system of local rating is satisfactory and stands in no need of improvement. It seems to us in the first place that land within burghs, required by the inhabitants for building purposes, should be rated at certainly more than its annual agricultural value. But the difficulties of putting this proposal into practical shape are no doubt considerable, and there is so much difference of opinion on the point that a majority of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes reported in favour of it (p. 42), while a majority of the Select Committee on Town Holdings reported against it. In the second place it is matter for consideration whether, some alteration ought not to be made in the present system by which the burden of poor and school rates fall upon a man not in accordance with his 'ability to pay' but depending on the value of the house or land that he happens to own or occupy. As regards police, municipal, and county council assessments the present system can be justified on the principle of 'benefit received.' The more money is spent by the local authority on police protection, draining, lighting, road-making, public health, water supply, etc., the more the property in that locality rises in value, and accordingly those who receive the benefit, pay for it, in proportion to the value received. The man who owns a large property may be a poor man, but he is presumably so much richer in consequence of improvements by the local authority, and therefore he has to contribute his share. But his property is not enhanced in value, because the poor are being supported, or the children educated, any more

than it is enhanced by the fact that we have a Navy or an Army or Courts of justice. These are no doubt benefits, but they are benefits shared by every citizen of the Empire. To rate such a man for poor and school rate cannot therefore be defended on the ground of 'benefit received,' and if his property is small or burdened with debt, and he has no other means, it cannot be justified on the principle of 'ability to pay.' Sir William Hamilton, in the 'Memoranda' (C. 9528, p. 52), calls attention to this difference between what he terms 'beneficial' rates (such as municipal) and 'onerous' rates (such as poor and school.) After observing that there is much more complaint of the burden of rates than of taxes, he accounts for it by the fact that 'There is less equality of sacrifice on the part of rate-payers than of tax-payers. The original intention of the poor rate, which is the foundation of all local rates, and on to which many other rates have been grafted, was that it should be a contribution from the inhabitants of parishes, according to their ability or substance; in fact, a sort of local income tax.' He points out that this principle was unworkable, and adds, 'This disregard of "ability to pay," however inevitable it may be, is one of the contributory causes of the unpopularity of rates, and with reason. One of the primary canons of taxation of all kinds, handed to us from the days of Adam Smith, and accepted by all subsequent authorities on economic subjects, is that persons should contribute to it as nearly as possible, in proportion to their respective abilities. Effect has been given to that canon to a not inconsiderable extent in the case of our Imperial taxation. We have the principle of graduation recognised in the inhabited house duty, and in a more marked degree, in the estate duty. We have exemptions and abatements in connection with the income tax.'

It is, no doubt, in consequence of the difference between 'beneficial' and 'onerous' rates, and of the fact that 'ability to pay' is not an element considered in the imposition of rates, that such large grants are given from the Imperial Exchequer for education and for the support of pauper lunatics. But the further application of money raised by Imperial taxation to the assistance of local ratepayers, ought not to be encouraged. It

causes great confusion as to the ultimate incidence of taxation and of rating, and it raises awkward questions of 'equivalent' grants as between England, Scotland, and Ireland. But there would surely be no great difficulty in giving local authorities power to raise money for education and the poor from some source where 'ability to pay' would be the chief consideration. Lord Farrer suggests (p. 78 of the Memoranda) the imposition of a new municipal death-duty to be levied and applied by local authorities. He also suggests the transference of the inhabited house duty from Imperial to local purposes. It is true that the latter hardly fulfils the condition of 'ability to pay,' but at all events it does not fall upon the poorest class. Some means at any rate should, we think, be found of relieving owners and occupiers from payment of school and poor rates solely in respect of their heritable estate, and of casting the burden upon those best able to bear it.

As civilisation advances, there is more and more sympathy with the poor, and more and more desire to throw the burden both of taxes and rates upon the shoulders of the rich. But it should be clearly understood that the supporters of Taxation of Land Values are inspired by no such considerations. Their object is not to alleviate the hardships of the poor and of the working-classes, but to carry to a practical conclusion the theory that no private individual should own land. To achieve that purpose, they are prepared to ruin all who stand in their way. It behoves all good citizens to resist a policy so cruel, so unjust, and so disastrous.

J. EDWARD GRAHAM.

ART. VIII.—THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE WAR.

‘**T**HERE is much fine stuff in your army,’ said a distinguished foreign officer to me not twelve months ago. ‘But a few more victories over black men will be the ruin of it. Your military chiefs play to the gallery, and your high staff supplies the “claque.”’ — ‘Yes, yes, I admit it, your regimental officers are still all right, and your men brave fellows, but are there not even there, signs of——’ he hesitated for a word, then added: ‘Hippodromiug.’

‘Then in your opinion,’ I said, ‘we need ——’ ‘Exactly so! a thorough good shooting from modern artillery—a really big war—all fight, no talk,’ he continued, with a smile, and a motion of the eyelid.

Whether my candid friend had reason for his criticism, I will not now be careful to enquire, the more so that we seem at last, in a fair way to realise those conditions of salvation he so cheerfully prescribed.

It was on the 11th October, 1899, that, according to the terms of President Kruger’s astonishing ultimatum, we found ourselves at war with the South African Republic, and by declaration of President Steyn, also with the Orange Free State. That very day, in pursuance of long matured plans, the Boers, already mobilised, assumed the offensive simultaneously on their east and west borders. Everyone knows more or less the causes of dispute—political supremacy and the native question. It is, however, worthy of remembrance that, as a matter of fact, the *casus belli* was the alleged excessive accumulation of British military forces on the borders of the Transvaal—a grievance curious to review by the light of subsequent occurrences.

In the present article I propose to discuss briefly the events which followed, not necessarily in their chronological sequence, and certainly not with any attempt at a description of the marches and the battles. All this has been, and is being, done most ably by the daily press, leaving nothing to add of picturesque detail or heroic incidents. I, on the contrary,

take up the story in its prosaic aspect, such as it will perhaps appear to a future generation, when time has allayed the agony of the struggle, and history records only the solid results of the military operations, grouped as memorials of success or failure.

From this point of view it is as well to begin with a clear idea of the theatre of war, without which an intelligent criticism of the doings of the armies is absolutely impossible. Now, for practical purposes, we may take this to be a rectangle about 1500 miles long, by 450 wide, and distant some 6000 miles from England;—a vast stretch of land greater than Spain, France, Belgium and Holland combined, and possessing every variety of climate and physical condition, but, according to European standards, as yet quite undeveloped. Its railways are its only high roads; its great rivers are bridged at rare intervals, and its lesser streams not at all. Small as is its entire population, its food products are unequal to its needs—so little of the soil is under cultivation,—and thus it comes about that in a South African war our forces must depend upon ocean transport, not only for reinforcements and material of war, but also for clothing, necessaries, and the main supply of food.

The magnitude of such an undertaking is one which few but shippers can realise. Suffice it to say, that by the aid of our great mercantile marine the task has been accomplished, and it remains only to consider what ports we possess available for disembarkation, and as bases of supply.

In pursuance of this enquiry, if we take up the map we see that besides a few insignificant landing-places for small boats, there are just four British ports in South African waters accessible to sea-going ships.

1. First and foremost, there is Cape Town near the southern extremity of the west coast. Here Table Bay offers a sheltered anchorage of unlimited extent, with docks, wet and dry, sufficient for the largest fleet. Railway waggons run alongside the steamers, and entrainments of men and stores can proceed by day and night independent of season or weather.

2. Passing round Cape Agulhas, and continuing north-east for four hundred miles, we come next to Port Elizabeth, an exclusively English town on Algoa Bay. There is a fine pier like the admiralty pier at Dover, with complete railway connection; but from large vessels the landing is by steam tug and lighter, and, the bay being much exposed to weather, is unreliable for heavy stores or live stock.

3. East London, sixty miles up the coast—mainly a group of warehouses on a high cliff—is also a railway terminus, but trains do not run to the wharves. The outside anchorage is more exposed even than at Algoa Bay, and there is an awkward bar which excludes vessels of heaviest draught. Inside, however, at the mouth of a small river, there is complete shelter and fair depth of water.

4. Durban from East London is two hundred and fifty miles. Here, too, there is a bar to cross; but, thanks to the enterprise and perseverance of the colony, it has been deepened to over twenty feet, and kept down by a fleet of dredgers. It is, moreover, protected by a splendid breakwater, inside which there is an estuary—Southampton Water on a small scale—with good wharfage and rail to the ships' side.

Outside the bar the anchorage is risky; easterly gales are violent at certain seasons, and it sometimes happens that vessels are compelled to run far out to sea for safety. All things considered, however, Durban is a good port, and on no occasion has there been cause to complain of it during the present war,

So much for the sea-ports; now let us glance at the *hinterland*. Returning to the maps, it will appear that the theatre of war is divided, for over one thousand miles, by a band of connected mountain ranges forming an inverted letter C, the upper loop of which crosses the Transvaal from west to east, and then runs along the coast, at a hundred to one hundred and fifty miles from the sea, until opposite Cape Town, when it turns north-west, and follows the shores of the South Atlantic into Namaqualand. Now this belt of mountain region is a determining factor of many South African problems, political as well as military. Of immediate importance is the cir-

cumstance that from whichever of the ports the start is made, we are bound to traverse a certain number of mountain passes, and, whereas up to the edge of the hills we travel, for the most part, among English friends, it behoves us to advance with the utmost caution through the ravines, and out upon the other side, if we are on bad terms with our Dutch fellow subjects and neighbours.

From the coast to the backbone of the high-lands is the region of highest fertility, and here are the sugar plantations of Natal and the richer forests and best arable land of the Cape Colony. Across the hills are vast table lands, fit only for nomadic grazing, varied for hundreds of miles only by an occasional oasis of cultivation, and by mining districts, such as the Diamond Fields and the Golden Rand.

It happens in South Africa, as elsewhere, that nationalities and races are prone to group themselves according to the natural boundaries of their chief industries and aptitudes, and thus it has come about that on the east coast, where high farming is practicable, the English race is paramount, while elsewhere it predominates only in the larger towns and in the mining districts, leaving the outlying veldt and the village communities to a peasantry of Dutch or semi-Dutch descent—a peasantry of far higher character, it is true, than the aboriginal natives it terrorises, but only one remove above them in ignorance and contempt of civilization.

I have remarked that the country is roadless except for the railways. As a matter of fact, however, it is intersected by many waggon tracks which pass for roads, and which lead to the drifts or fords, which in South Africa take the place of bridges. All the same, the railways are the main medium of transport, and lines of marches must perforce conform to lines of railway, not to save the troops from fatigue, but for easy conveyance of food and stores.

There is a section of the public which seems to imagine that generals are free to move their forces as players manœuvre their pieces on a chess board, and that armies can travel in any direction, and for any distances, their own or their horses' legs can carry them. Not so. The problem of

locomotion is governed by the problem of transport, and that requires more generalship even than strategy and tactics.

None, I suppose, but professional soldiers, and only some of them, really appreciate the desperate difficulties of the feeding, clothing, housing, doctoring, and replenishment of ammunition for an army in the field, especially in a half-savage country. To get some approach to a conception of it, one may think of the trouble it is to organise a week's camp for a dozen men on the moors—the tents, the rolls of bedding, the crates of necessaries, the baskets of provisions, that have to be provided, and the further onus of a daily supply of fresh and palatable food. What then must it be when the men are not twelve units, but twenty thousand, when the camp is not for a week in the genial autumn, but for months of extremes of heat, cold, and rain, and when, instead of being confined to a small and well known locality, it is for ever moving onward, so that each sunset leaves it further off than it was at sunrise.

Twenty thousand men! That means 20,000 lbs. of meat, 25,000 lbs. of bread, 20,000 lbs. of biscuits, and 5000 lbs. of groceries, daily; besides forage for horses and hospital needs. Add to this 20,000 sets of clothing to be maintained, 20,000 pairs of boots to be repaired, and often renewed; supplement it all with a mass of ammunition and equipment that must keep pace with the troops, and the wonder will seem not that an army does not fly to any spot the public would have it, in less time than elapses between the morning and the evening papers, but rather that it ever manages to march at all. And it is indeed a wonderful undertaking, though simple enough in its way, if everything goes smoothly. Putting aside technicalities, it is all done on the system of depots, augmenting in number and diminishing in size the nearer they get to the front. This is much on the same principle as the distribution of commodities in civil life, where the merchant supplies the wholesale dealer, who again supplies the large retailer, who in his turn replenishes the modest stock of the village shopkeeper. But what if things do not go smoothly? What if supplies run short at the base? What if waggons break down or if horses and mules perish? What, too, if the

enemy crosses the communications, and plays havoc with every department? Why, just anything, from mere delay to privations like those of the Moscow campaign, and finally perhaps to defeat and surrender.

But to return to the subject of railways; it is calculated that a single train with two locomotives and thirty-five ten-ton waggons, running a course of 200 miles per day, will just do the work of 10,000 army waggons, needing from 40,000 to 50,000 horses, a fact conclusive, I think, in favour of hugging the iron road, especially when no others are available.

Now the railways at the seat of war are:—

(1)—The Western System; Cape Town, De Aar, Kimberley, Mafeking, Buluwayo (Mr. Rhodes' line). This runs all the way through British territory;

(2)—The Midland System; Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, Pretoria. This crosses the Orange River at Norvals Port. A cross line, De Aar, Naauwpoort, connects these two trunk lines;

(3)—The Eastern System; East London, Springfontein, Bloemfontein, etc. This joins the Midland at Springfontein in the Free State, but a cross line through the Cape Colony from Stormberg to Rosmead connects it with Port Elizabeth, and *via* Naauwpoort with Cape Town;

(4)—The Natal System; Durban, Maritzburg, Charleston, Standerton, Pretoria. This line has no connection with the Cape Colony.

Taking these railway systems in succession, it will be useful to have a bird's-eye view of the country through which they pass.

Starting from the terminus at Cape Town, we may pause for a moment to notice that in the Cape Peninsula, England possesses the one great maritime fortress of the southern seas. Placed where two oceans meet, with its great backbone of mountains cut off from the Continent by a neck of sand longer than the longest range of artillery, it requires but little fortification to make it a new and magnified Gibraltar, with this advantage, however, that instead of one cramped Bay to the west, it has two grand ones to east and west, False Bay in the Indian, Table Bay in the Atlantic Ocean, one dominated

by the naval station at Simons Town, the other by the batteries of Cape Town.

Leaving the capital and following the ordinary route to the north, the railway first crosses the Cape Flats, then traverses a paradise of vineyards and peach orchards, with many fine old country houses interspersed, until by degrees the scenery assumes a colder aspect, and at the wild Hex River Pass the first ascent is made.

At Touws River, some 160 miles from Cape Town, the traveller makes his first acquaintance with the South African Veldt, and from there to De Aar, he will see no more vineyards and gardens, no more stately avenues of oaks, but illimitable plains of scanty vegetation, with only a peep here and there of far distant and flat topped mountains. At certain seasons the lower spurs and plains put on a mantle of richest green, but for the greater part of the year all is forbiddingly bare; now scorched by the sun; now desolated by frost and biting winds. For miles on either side the track no objects meet the eye but the everlasting *kopjes*; *i.e.*, clusters of broken rocks, like ruined castles upon little hill tops. Such is the great Karroo.

At Beaufort West, 390 miles from Cape Town, the line enters another series of passes, from which it emerges upon a higher plateau, less desolate than the Karroo, but still treeless and dreary, with farm houses few and far between, white specks in a rolling ocean of grass. Thus the journey continues to De Aar (500 miles from Cape Town), and for anyone going to Mafeking on the Western Line, or to Johannesburg on the Midland, it seems everywhere the same monotonous repetition of veldt and kopje, kopje and veldt, with nothing to enliven the outlook except it be the great iron bridges which span the bigger rivers—the Orange, the Modder, and the Vaal.

Take now the Midland system. Starting from Port Elizabeth, the railway clears the passes of two subordinate chains of hills, with familiar Devonian scenery, then having crossed the Great Fish River 220 miles from the sea, runs by Rosmead Junction (connecting with East London) into the main range of the Stormbergen, out through the Naauwpoort Pass, and on to the table lands, in the neighbourhood of an exclusively Dutch

population. Finally, crossing the Orange River at Norvall's Pont, it passes out of British territory altogether, and becomes the Free State-Transvaal Railway.

On the East London line the country is of the same character, but even more among Dutch surroundings, for after passing Queenstown (English) the train loses itself in the intricacies of the Stormbergen, only to enter upon a region, now in rebellion, where the English language is scarcely spoken, and Dopper sentiment reigns supreme.

So much for the high roads from Cape ports to the interior, but we have yet to notice the Natal system.

From Durban the railway ascends through a thick belt of semi-tropical vegetation—tea and sugar plantations and orange groves on every side, where natives of India at work in the hot fields give an Oriental colouring to the scene. Further on, the country opens, and grass lands appear, the valleys widen, and rounded hills are seen, till at length, near Maritzburg, magnificent downs meet the eye, and a panorama of table mountains rises to view, beyond a series of deep valleys to the north.

Leaving Maritzburg—seventy miles from the sea—the line twists in strange contortions, working its way from one fertile plateau to another of the garden colony. Crossing first the Mooi and Bushman's River, then the Tugela at Colenso—180 miles from the sea—there is open ground, and ten miles further, at Ladysmith, is the junction to the Free State, *via* Van Reenan's Pass. Thence the line involves itself once more in a network of hills, and passing Glencoe (junction to the Transvaal eastern border) climbs ever upwards till it gets out into the open at Laing's Nek, 300 miles from Durban. At Charleston, close by, it enters the Transvaal, and the rest of the journey is through typical veldt.

English to the backbone is the population of Natal; nevertheless there is a good deal of border land in possession of Dutch farmers, who have no love for English institutions. Some of them have now found their way into the ranks of the Boer armies; others are to all intents the spies of President Kruger.

Thus far we have discussed the theatre of the war, in aspects likely to affect the military situation, and now it may be profitable to forget that the tragedy has begun, and to devote some attention to the actors as they stood three months ago, waiting for the curtain to rise.

First, the Boers.—Their army consists of the entire male Dutch population of the Transvaal and of the Free State between the ages of eighteen and sixty, to which must be added a miscellaneous contingent of European adventurers, disloyal Anglo-Dutch and Cosmopolitan filibusters. The following estimate is probably fairly correct as to numbers :—

Transvaal Boers,	30,000
Orange Free Staters,.....	20,000
Miscellaneous,	10,000
	<hr/>
Total,	60,000 men,

but it is unlikely that more than 50,000 can be put into the fighting line for any long time together.

The army so formed is actually a force of mounted infantry, each man bringing his own pony and being supplied by the Government with a rifle and ammunition. The best of the fighting strength is composed of small freeholders accustomed to irregular warfare with the natives, and inured from childhood to every conceivable hardship. The Boer carries with him on his pony six days provisions, consisting of bread and meat (biltong); on this, and a little tobacco to smoke, he can subsist with comfort. The ponies are extremely hardy, and carry their riders at great speed for long distances over rocks and pitfalls no English horse could face.

The Boers do not move by word of command, nor fight in any regular formation, but are organised in commandoes of varying strength, each levied in a single district, and subdivided into groups of men accustomed to work together. Acting under general direction from their leaders, they carry out orders rather by intuition than by rule. The individual Boer combines caution with resolution, and, though uneducated, possesses ready resource and presence of mind, the characteristic qualities of white men who pass their lives in the midst of savages.

Until the war began, the strength of the 'Transvaal Artillery was thought to be small, but by experience and tardy enquiry, we have ascertained that it amounts to at least one hundred pieces, of which thirty siege guns and thirty field are of the very latest type, manufactured by the Krupp and Creusot Works. This estimate includes the artillery of the Orange Free State, and is more likely to be under than over the truth. The Boers are known to have 40,000 Mauser rifles and a great stock of Martini-Henrys. Of ammunition they have an ample store for present use, but war for a year or two would probably exhaust their supplies, if not replenished by importations from Europe.

The Boer scheme of campaign, carefully worked out with foreign assistance, appears to have been based on the assumption that a war with England would be declared when the Colonial garrisons were weak. The first step of the programme was to occupy the great northern salient of Natal, which is bordered by the Transvaal on one side and by the Free State on the other. With the aid of the Free Staters, it was expected that the British garrison would be quickly overwhelmed and the Colony overrun and conquered. At the same time, minor commandoes would capture the towns on the Bechuanaland border—Mafeking, Vryburg, Kimberley, &c.—while others invaded Rhodesia and Cape Colony, south of the Orange River. The effect of these initial successes upon the natives was relied upon to cause risings against British rule, while the general movement thus set in motion would, it was hoped, draw into its vortex the old Dutch of the Cape Colony, so that by the time British reinforcements arrived, they would find no spot in South Africa except Capetown, perhaps, over which the Union Jack was still flying. As to the rest of the war, confidence was placed in defensive tactics and constant stratagem, based upon knowledge of the country; also to European intervention and party jealousies in England.

Turn now to the British.—Less than five years ago our garrison at the Cape consisted of a battalion and a half of infantry, two companies of fortress artillery and one of engineers, while that in Natal was made up of a regiment of

cavalry, a battalion of infantry, and a mule battery of mountain guns. As relations with the Transvaal became more and more strained, both garrisons were slightly increased, but it was not till war was actually threatening, that any serious effort was made to place the colonies in a state of defence. On September 8th, 1899, it was decided at a Cabinet Council to send out 17,000 more troops, and orders were accordingly given to despatch them from India, the Mediterranean, and other garrisons abroad. On the same occasion it was also decided to mobilise an army corps for active service.

A number of officers were at this time sent to South Africa on special service to raise and organise local forces for the Imperial Government, independent of those already existing, and of the Natal and Cape Colonial Volunteer Corps. Among these officers were Colonels Baden-Powell and Plumer, both of whom distinguished themselves in the recent native wars, and have right well maintained their reputation.

The British forces thus detailed were :—

	Men.	Guns.
The 1st Army Corps—General Sir Redvers Buller, ...	40,000	110
Troops on Lines of Communication, etc., ...	14,000	—
Natal Field Force—Lt.-General Sir George White, ...	16,000	42
Reserves at Cape and Natal,	8,000	—
Total,	78,000	152

It may be worth while to mention, for the benefit of civilian readers, that an Army Corps is divided into four divisions, with a body of troops not belonging to any particular division, but to the Corps generally.

The four divisions of the First Army Corps are :—

(A) The Cavalry Division under Lt.-General French in two equal Brigades making in all :—

- 6 Regiments Cavalry (3 Squadrons).
- 2 Batteries Horse Artillery (6 guns each),
- 8 Companies Mounted Infantry.
- 1 Troop Engineers.

(B) Three Infantry Divisions under Lt.-Generals Lord Methuen, Clery, and Gatacre, respectively. Each Infantry Division in two Brigades, each Brigade consisting of four Battalions of Infantry.

Each Infantry Division has attached to it as Divisional Troops :—

- 3 Field Artillery Batteries (6 Guns each).
- 1 Squadron Cavalry.
- 1 Field Company Engineers.

(C) The Corps Troops are under the immediate orders of the General commanding the Corps, and consist of :—

- 2 Cavalry Regiments.
- 2 Batteries Horse Artillery, 6 guns each.
- 6 Batteries Field Artillery, 6 guns each.
- 6 Companies Engineers for Pontoons, Telegraphs, Railways, Balloons.
- 1 Infantry Battalion.

Not enumerated in the foregoing detail are a large number of services connected with ammunition supply, food supply, hospital and bearer duties, distributed in the same principle of Brigade Divisional and Corps troops, independent of each other. so as to allow of the separation of the larger units whenever necessary.

In thus preparing a complete Army Corps for South Africa, the idea was that a splendid demonstration such as this would so impress the rulers of the two Republics as to paralyse their resistance to the British Government. In Pall Mall there was naturally a desire also to impress the British public, to the discomforture of Mr. Arnold Forster and all his following, while the occasion was welcomed as opportune for the advancement of a select few, *such as the king delighteth to honour!*

The assembling and fitting out of this corps was officially regarded as the crowning triumph of the new regime, and certainly, as an armed force *per se*, it was about the finest that ever left our shores. It was commanded by a popular general, it comprised well-nigh every *corps d'elite* of the army, and its brilliant staff represented the most prominent of the ruling military party. In addition was an immense array of specialists from every department under the jurisdiction of the War Office—none seemed forgotten—the Professor of drawing to the Cadets was even provided with a billet. For a European war no better contingent, perhaps, could have been selected; but, unfortunately, as an expedition for the conquest of the Boers, it was fundamentally and fatally defective. So also was the

Natal Field Force, under Sir George White. What was wanted was, obviously, not the flower of the British Infantry, but a muster of hardy troops, unusually strong in Light Cavalry, abounding in Mounted Riflemen, and with an overwhelming supply of Artillery; whereas actually every one of the special arms was in the minimum proportion allowable for operations in close cultivated countries. That it should have been so is proof positive that the official mind was, up to the last, blindly optimistic, and that immediate success was taken for granted so absolutely, that the question of the moment became rather what individuals and which regiments should be accorded opportunities of distinction, than what were the special requirements of an army operating in South Africa.

It may be said in excuse that Mounted Infantry did not exist as a distinct body in the British army. Granted. But how came it that no provision was made for mounting a larger proportion of the regular infantry on arrival in South Africa, and why when accepting Colonial contingents was preference given to infantry? As for the dearth of guns, it is hard to find any extenuation whatever. Not only were there not half enough to meet the needs of the regular army, but absolutely no provision was made for giving a proportion of artillery to the many rifle corps known to be formed, or forming, among the English in Cape Colony and Natal.

Lord Wolseley has long been credited with the opinion that artillery is useless, and cavalry a foolish luxury. Like most such reports, this possibly overstates the case; nevertheless, it is notorious that he has shown persistent disfavour to these services, the latter especially. If it be true that he does depreciate the value of cavalry and of artillery in the field, the explanation may easily be found in the special circumstances of his own career as leader of exploratory and punitive expeditions—enterprises in which cavalry would have been an embarrassment only, and artillery was, in the main, superfluous. In justice to the Commander-in-Chief, however, it must be admitted that our artillery, though too small in quantity, was unequalled in quality, and that our guns were as effective,

and of longer range, than those adopted by the other leading European Powers.

Horse and Field Artillery are obviously not intended for the attack or defence of fortified places, therefore it is a mischievous mistake to suppose that because the siege guns which the Boers, with infinite labour, dragged into position, outranged our field pieces, the latter must, *ipse facto*, be defective and obsolete. Unquestionably, as matters turned out, some siege and position guns would have been most useful at Ladysmith and on the Modder, but so would many other appliances not just then to hand. It is plain that everything that may be desirable in exceptional cases, cannot accompany an army in the field, and it must be remembered that guns of equal destructive power and longer range than our 15 pounders would be too heavy to be manœuvred in open country—If we find ourselves checked by heavier ordnance than our own here and there, we do but experience a like difficulty to that which confronted the German armies when, arriving before Paris in 1871, they were indefinitely held off by the smooth bore guns of Mont Valerien and the other obsolete forts of the French capital, to which their rifled field guns could make no effective reply.

Reverting to the estimate given of British forces in South Africa at the outbreak of war, no account has been taken of a large number of local troops, some of whom existed as organised bodies before the war, while others had been recently created. For the moment, however, these troops may be left out of consideration, except in Natal and the North-West, because, scattered far and wide along the whole length of the Border, they could not co-operate immediately with the Regular Army.

Thus it appears that on the eve of hostilities what we actually mustered was about 15,000 in Natal, and rather less than 9000 men in the Cape Colony. At home, there was one Army Corps almost ready to embark, and another to follow if necessary, while the British Colonies throughout the world were contributing contingents, limited in strength by the reluctance of the Government to take advantage

of their generous loyalty. If more troops were needed there remained what then at any rate seemed ample sources of reinforcement, and behind all was the potential strength of a mighty Empire.

Of the personal qualities of our men I need say little. At heart the army remains what it always was. We all know it and are all proud of it. Nevertheless it has undergone many changes of system in recent times which it would be wrong to overlook. Thanks to Lord Cardwell, it possesses a reserve and a territorial connection which has worked well. On the other hand short service has brought it about that our regiments, the infantry in particular, are entirely composed of extremely young men (reservists included). This is not an advantage. Young men are just as brave as old men individually, but collectively they have not the same coolness in emergency. We have lost, too, with the old soldiers, the grand old non-commissioned officers of earlier days, and it is idle to pretend that the voice of a sergeant aged, say twenty-two, is the same to encourage and to rally, as was the leonine roar of the grim old disciplinarian in Peninsular wars. For this reason it must be recognised that our officers have much more thrown upon them in action now than formerly, and that a heavy proportion of casualties among them is only to be expected.

At length the war began. The Boers, faithful to their plan of campaign, prolonged negotiations till the early rains had fallen, and they were warned by the English papers of coming reinforcements to the Colony; then they hurled their defiance at the Empire. During the next four days they seized Laing's Nek, and the Transvaal commandoes swarmed into Natal, while on the other Border they cut the Western line, destroyed an armoured train, laid siege to Mafeking, and isolated Kimberley. An exodus from Johannesburg, most likely foreseen by them, materially aided their invasion of Natal, the local Government having kept open the railway from Charleston for the conveyance of refugees to the coast. Had Sir George White gauged the magnitude of the enemy's forces, or supposed it possible that they would be in possession of heavy

guns, he would no doubt have destroyed the line, and thus delayed their advance for days, perhaps weeks. Unfortunately, at that time the erroneous information collected by our Intelligence Branch was the key to the situation, and every step taken was on the hypothesis that the Boer army in Natal would not exceed 15,000 men, and would be practically without artillery. Ladysmith had been selected as a position unassailable by riflemen, alone or assisted by only a few small guns, and it was calculated that the enemy would be compelled to remain inactive among the hills or deliver an attack over open ground exposed to shrapnel fire and liable to the counter attacks of the English cavalry. On the same misleading hypothesis Glencoe was chosen as a suitable outpost. Ladysmith Junction is of strategic importance as commanding the use of the railway to Harrismith through the Van Reenan Pass. Glencoe Junction, on the other hand, covers the line to the near frontier *via* Dundee, and if it could be long held, as seemed probable, by 3 battalions of infantry, 3 batteries of artillery, and a squadron of cavalry, its possession by the British would greatly impede the concentration of the Boers. Together, the two positions, strongly occupied by 13,000 magnificent troops, promised complete immunity to Southern Natal, always supposing that its superiority in artillery gave the force freedom to manœuvre, otherwise its existence would be no hindrance to an enemy marching on Durban *via* Greytown. Up to the 19th October, all the conditions for a complete check to the enemy seemed realised, but the morning of the 20th brought an awakening surprise to the camp at Dundee in the form of a shower of shells from the guns of Meyer's Commando, and as day advanced it became clear that not only were the Boers in great force, but that they had guns sufficient to make the position untenable. I need not here repeat the story of Glencoe, fresh in the memories of us all. As at Salamanca, the British out-marched and strategically defeated, accepted battle, and stood victorious on a hard won field, so did our little force, suddenly threatened with extinction, wipe out for ever the reproach of Majuba, on the crest of Talama Hill. Sir

Penn Symons gave away his valuable life, but not for nothing—a point was gained. The Boer had been tried and found wanting in open fight, and the news spread like wildfire into Basutoland and Zululand, and on to the far-off kraals of the Bechuanas and the Matabeles, with political effect of incalculable value. After this came the action of Elandslaagte, the midnight retreat from Dundee, and the flank march to Ladysmith, well covered by the engagement at Reitfontein, a series of necessary movements and of British successes.

Thus at the end of the first fortnight, in spite of the numbers and armament of the enemy, things had gone well for the British. Joubert's army in Natal had been seriously shaken. On the Rhodesian border Plumer was fully equal to the northern commando. Mafeking and Kimberley were ready for a long siege. Everywhere the natives were deaf to the voice of the Dutch charmer, and in many places burning to attack him. The great Boer programme was more or less a failure. But at this point came a turn of the tide, and our own mistakes did what the enemy had failed to effect. On 30th October, Sir George White made a grand reconnaissance in force—sometimes called the Battle of Lombards Kop—with the result, to use his own words, that he returned to camp *unmolested*. That he did so get back was due to the opportune arrival of a party from H.M.S. *Powerful* with five guns from its moveable armament. As a *battle*, the affair went against us, for our centre and right were nearly entrapped, and a detached flank support was cunningly cut off, surrounded, and eventually compelled to surrender. As a *reconnaissance* it was pushed too far, and it revealed only what must have been already perceived—viz., that the enemy were in great numbers, and that their guns were heavier and of longer range than ours.

And now came a parting of the ways for the British General. Two courses were open to him, and he had but a night and a day in which to make his choice. He might at once retire through Colenso to the other side of the Tugela, or he might await a siege at Ladysmith. The theory of war and the example of the greatest commanders

pointed to the first alternative ; the fate of Marshal Bazaine was a warning against the latter. To retire was to fulfil the task allotted to the advanced guard of an army on the sea. His mission was—not to run risks,—not to do brilliant exploits,—but to delay the enemy, and cover the Colony, by every means possible; above and beyond all else, to keep touch with the fleet at Durban.

What considerations led to the action taken we do not know, and we have therefore no right to pass judgment upon it. We are not even sure that Sir George White was in this matter his own master—possibly he had definite orders from England. Still, in discussing the question, we cannot but remember that even generals are human, and it would be strange if he could be insensible to the knowledge that retirement would have been interpreted as admitted failure, and that it would have bitterly disappointed the Colony, irritated the British public (as yet blind to the state of the case), and roused the daily press to a fury of denunciation. What this would have meant to him as servant of a department which has ever made haste to endorse the popular verdict, right or wrong, we need not particularise. As a matter of fact, he made his decision. Ladysmith was isolated November 2nd, and soon afterwards the bridges of the Tugela passed into the possession of the Boers, after which the Natal Field Force as such ceased to exist, and was known only as the beleagured garrison of Ladysmith. What followed we know. Natal was raided almost to the suburbs of Maritzburg, and despite the gallant rally of the Colonists, and the efforts of tardy reinforcements from the Cape, the Boers had it much their own way in the British colony. Nor was this the whole of the misfortune. The investment of Ladysmith set free a portion of General Joubert's reserves, and Boer commandoes at once congregated on the Orange River, soon to pass Norvall's Pont into the Cape Colony. The sieges of Mafeking and Kimberley were pushed forward with increased vigour, and more activity was manifested on the Rhodesian border.

On the 30th Oct. Sir Redvers Buller arrived at Cape Town, followed, Nov. 9th, by the first batch of his Army Corps,

the remainder of which landed by driblets up to the end of the month. Meantime the military and political situation became daily more and more serious, and Sir Redvers was confronted with a dilemma more momentous even than that which had been forced upon Sir George White. It had been his intention to concentrate his army on the line De Aar-Naauwpoort, and from this as advanced base to have marched upon Bloemfontein, *via* Colesberg, along the main Midland railway. Had he adhered to this resolution, and waited for the assembly of his Army Corps complete, contenting himself with seizing and fortifying the bridges on the Orange River, he would have been able to take the field in December at the head of all his 30,000 men. One of two things might then have been expected:—1st. He might be unopposed. In that case he could occupy Springfontein Junction, and build a fort there—thus cutting off any commandoes in Cape Colony—and continue his advance when and how he thought best. 2nd. He might find an army in his path amounting probably to 40,000 men, but not more. Such an army, which could scarcely in the time available bring up fortress or siege guns, could (judging by what had been done already) be probably defeated by 30,000 British in the open veldt; or supposing it were too strongly posted to warrant the risk of a great battle, could be detained in a state of uncertainty just as long as seemed advantageous. In either of these cases, the mere presence of a large army would without fail raise the siege of Kimberley, and at the same time, by the withdrawal of Boers from Natal, give to the troops at Ladysmith an opportunity of breaking out. Thus a campaign in the Free State offered many direct advantages. It would moreover cover the line of communications, and deprive the enemy of further initiative; in other words, the Boers would have to dance attendance on the British, not the British upon the Boers.

Another alternative offered, less ambitious but equally sound. This was to threaten an advance on Bloemfontein, but actually to go to the relief of Kimberley, not with a single division only, but with the bulk of the Army Corps, including

the Cavalry. The result of such a step is not difficult to forecast by the light of what afterwards took place. Following Lord Methuen's march we may be sure that the Belmont Kopjes would have been taken as they actually were, but with less loss to the British, and more to the Boers;—their entire force, in fact, would have been almost certainly killed or taken prisoners. Gras Pan would probably not have been defended, and the passage of the Modder River would have been more easily forced, not only because the British would have been stronger, but because the Boers would have had less time to prepare for their coming. Finally, the army once across the river, need not have waited there more than a single night, and next day the Spytfontein Kopjes, not yet artificially strengthened, would have probably been captured and Kimberley relieved.

Both of these plans were promising—Napoleon Buonaparte would certainly have adopted the first, our Iron Duke probably the second; but there were drawbacks. To begin with, either scheme would have necessitated a period of patient inaction, and while the troops were concentrating, the General in command must have hardened his heart to the appeals of Natal, and steeled his nerves against fears for Ladysmith. Granting for a moment that Sir Redvers Buller could have borne the tension of so trying a situation, would the public have done so? Most likely not, and Sir Redvers knew that he must move at once. Imagine what would have happened if Ladysmith had fallen with no effort to relieve it!

Still there remained a third course. It was to let Kimberley take its chance for a little longer, and to go in full force to the relief of Ladysmith. Judging, again, by immediate precedent, this movement would have succeeded—the passage of the Tugela would have been carried (though not without severe loss), and the united armies of the British at Ladysmith would have driven the Boers beyond the Biggarsbergen. Then if a retaining force only had been left on the Tugela, a rapid transfer of the remainder to Cape Colony might have been in time to sweep the north clear of Boers and rebels, and afterwards advance in force on Kimberley or Bloemfon-

tein. This plan, however, would have exposed the Cape Colony for a long period to the chances of invasion and rebellion, exposed the lines of communication between De Aar, and the East Coast ports, and even endangered the great strategic points. Besides all this, to do nothing for Kimberley would have given almost as much offence as to do nothing for Natal, and an English general must justify his existence by pleasing everybody. Sir Redvers tried to do so, and failed.

We know what actually took place. The fresh arrivals were hurried to the front to meet the requirements of the moment. Some went to Natal, where the Boers had isolated Estcourt and threatened Maritzburg; others were sent to De Aar, and the rest to points in the north-east of Cape Colony, where invasion and local risings compromised the railway communications. Bit by bit the great Army Corps, upon which so many hopes had been built, melted away, and its organisation by Divisions and Brigades was entirely lost. Eventually the available British troops were disposed of as follows :—

Lord Methuen was despatched to the relief of Kimberley, with a division and a half. Sir Redvers Buller went himself to Natal, where another division under General Clery had been assembled. General French, with the bulk of the cavalry, was told off to cover Lord Methuen, and to hold the base line from De Aar to Naauwpoort. General Gatacre was left, with the remainder of the infantry, to guard the communications from Naauwpoort to East London and to drive the enemy from the Stormbergen district.

The forces thus dispersed, though augmented largely by extra regular troops, by local levies, and by naval contingents, proved, as might have been expected, everywhere ineffective for the objects in view. Lord Methuen began his campaign by the three costly victories of Belmont, Gras Pan, and Modder Bridge, at none of which had he sufficient numbers to cut off the enemy's retreat, or, by rapid pursuit, to prevent them assembling in a fresh position. After the last of these battles, when within a few miles of Kimberley, twelve days were lost repairing the railway bridge and waiting for reinforcements,

during which time the Boers received large accessions of strength from the North, and from their army in Natal. Taking advantage of the inaction of the British, they fortified a series of kopjes, lying between the river and the town, and covered them with a network of entrenchments and barbed wire entanglements, so that when at length, on December 10th, an assault was delivered on the Magersfontein heights, the position was found to be impregnable, and the troops, after severe fighting, had to retire to camp with heavy losses. Thus it happened that on the very threshold of success the expedition was brought to a standstill, and Lord Methuen had to entrench on the Modder River, assuming the defensive, with only 12,000 men opposed to at least 15,000, posted in front of him, and no certainty about the number there might be at Jacobsdal, on the flank of his communications.

For the check thus experienced neither Lord Methuen nor the gallant soldiers under his command were in any way to blame; it was no fault of theirs that they had been assigned an impossible task, and they had, in fact, succeeded in doing what few troops in the world would have attempted in like case; all the same, the circumstance of their enforced idleness within sight of Kimberley played into the hands of the Boers exactly, by enabling them to complete the investment of the city, and neutralise the relief expedition with one and the same army.

Meanwhile General French, who was more or less tied to the base of Methuen's expedition, scoured the plains from De Aar to the Orange border without meeting any enemy bold enough to oppose his cavalry. He found himself, however, too weak in mounted infantry and artillery to dislodge the Boers from their laagers on the Colesberg-Naauwpoort line, and it was not till after the New Year had begun that he was able to co-operate with Gatacre's forces. These, again, were all along far too small to hold the front given them. The enemy was in force at Burghersdorp, and scattered in small bodies broadcast within a radius of 100 miles. General Gatacre, hurrying hither and thither through the defiles of the Stormbergen, found it impracticable to out-manceuvre a

mounted enemy with a force mainly composed of infantry. At last in attempting a night attack upon a commando in the hills (Dec. 10th) he was misled by guides, himself surprised in a hopeless position, and with difficulty able to make good his retreat, leaving two guns and six hundred men in the hands of the enemy.

While these most unsatisfactory operations were in progress in the Cape Colony, affairs were no brighter in Natal. Sir Redvers Buller found his advance towards Ladysmith hampered by every possible obstruction put in his way by the Boers, who disputed every inch of ground without committing themselves to a general engagement, and who took care, as they retreated, to wreck the railway and destroy the bridges behind them. Reaching the Tugela at Colenso during the extreme of the rainy season, the British had to wait in camp at Chieveley until the floods had somewhat subsided, and even then could scarcely find an available ford, every known point for crossing having been rendered impracticable by the enemy, who occupied a set of peculiarly strong natural positions commanding the river, the bank of which they had entrenched, and honeycombed with concealed rifle pits. On the 15th December the British, with three brigades, endeavoured to force a passage, but the attempt sadly miscarried, and had to be abandoned for the time being, with a loss of over 1100 officers and men and 10 guns, after which check the expedition had to settle down and wait for reinforcements in identical circumstances to those of Lord Methuen's army at Kimberley; the result of identical causes.

The repulse on the Tugela River, following two other severe disasters in the same week, may be said to have ended the initial period which has given a title to this article. Immediately on receipt of the news in London, a Cabinet Council was held (Dec. 16th), at which it was decided to call out the remainder of the Reserve, and to mobilise the seventh and eighth Divisions. Four divisions were already in South Africa, the Fifth was on its way out, and the sixth in course of mobilisation. It was decided at the same time to ask for the services of a large body of British Yeomanry and Volunteers, to raise

more local corps in South Africa, and to accept a second series of contingents from the other Colonies. Lord Roberts was appointed to the supreme command at the seat of war, with Lord Kitchener as his chief staff officer. These steps conveyed no censure whatever on Sir Redvers Buller, but were the acknowledgment by the nation that the war was a serious undertaking not to be rushed through by one impulsive effort, but by patience and perseverance, soberly and systematically.

The day of political and military optimism was over at last, and the transition in public feeling, which then took place, was in every respect a healthy sign; nevertheless, it was attended by unnecessary discouragement. As a matter of fact, nothing extraordinary had occurred; nothing indeed half so unfavourable as we might have expected, had the facts of the situation been known from the first. Other nations in less difficult circumstances have experienced far more serious reverses. In the last Russo-Polish War, for instance, the Russian army was held at bay for nearly a year by a half armed peasantry, and later on, in the war of 1877, the repulses it suffered at the hands of the Turks were so many and so severe as to become text book examples of the losses which small armies well posted can inflict upon great ones. Yet in neither of these wars was there the slightest doubt of the ability of the Russians to bring matters to a successful issue; and they actually did so in both cases.

To take another example:—The Federal States of America, in the year 1861, having decided to coerce the Southern Confederacy, did so with absolute confidence that the war would not last three months. An army of 90,000 men was accordingly enlisted for ninety days, and it was calculated that long before the expiration of that period, the stars and stripes would float in triumph over Richmond, the Confederate capital. Everything seemed in favour of the North—numbers, wealth, manufacture, and access to European markets, and to European recruiting grounds; also entire command of the coast; yet at the end of seven months the Federals had been defeated in six great battles, and the question seemed not how soon Richmond would be taken, but for how long could Washington be saved. During the first eighteen months of the war the Northerners put a million and a

quarter of men into the field against armies rarely exceeding a hundred and twenty thousand all told, yet for two whole years, scarcely a single success were they able to score against the vast array of Confederate victories—army after army was destroyed, thousands of their troops fell in battle, and thousands more were prisoners down South. In the battle of Chattanooga alone the Confederates captured 8000 prisoners, 51 guns, and 50,000 stand of small arms; but the Northerners never faltered, never once doubted their ultimate success; and they were right; for, despite the expectations of European experts, the Confederate power collapsed suddenly, and in April, 1865, after just four years war, the Southern States accepted honourable conditions, and returned to the political union they had so long repudiated.

And surely if the Northern Americans could impose their will upon the great and proud confederacy of their own most famous States, we, with a united empire, need not shrink from the cost of overcoming a handful of obstructionists, whose numbers are to the subjects of the Queen in the proportion of one to three thousand. Still less need we amuse the world by croaking of the great national calamity that has overtaken us, because the course of events for nine weeks has not gone quite as smoothly as usual. The British public has had nearly half a century of unbroken good luck, enlivened by little campaigns, rich in episodes of the Piper Findlater order, so dear to war correspondents, and so seldom true. A generation has grown up that remembers nothing of the great mutiny, and to whom the story of Badajos conveys no message. We have had an agreeable sleep, a dream of diamonds and gold, of easy victories, and of Jubilee reviews, and our senses have been lulled by the music of 'Rule Britannia.' An awakening has long been overdue. It has come at last, and better now than later.

We began the war at a disadvantage. The Boers outwitted us in diplomacy, and tricked us by secret preparations. Our Intelligence Branch, never given the wherewithall to purchase information, supplied us with false information. The head of our military system stunted us in guns and cavalry. Our plans were mere makeshifts, and all disclosed by the newspapers,

as were also the movements of our troops and the details of our armaments. The Boer Republics were like a great wedge in the midst of our scattered Colonies, and at the very outset of the war, their armies secured possession of a natural fortress in North Natal, having sally ports equi-distant from Pretoria and Bloemfontein, from which they could operate against Natal and Cape Colony simultaneously, and reinforce either of their armies by shorter routes than were open to their opponents. With superior numbers and superior transport for the first six weeks at least, they were enabled to take the initiative at the points peculiarly favourable to themselves, and by laying siege to Ladysmith and Kimberley, they succeeded in compelling the British to attack them in their chosen positions. Their spies and sympathisers were in every British garrison and camp, so that they were never without full information of what was about to be done, whereas the most absolute secrecy was maintained as to everything relating to their own movements and intentions.

The Boer armies were moved at the will of one old man who had devoted many years to the study of how best to embarrass the British in South Africa, and had secured the best European advice. The British, on the contrary, were subject to many masters, themselves the servants of superiors, having conflicting ideas of political and military expediency. Generals and men were, for the most part, alike strangers to the country, and new to the tactics of the enemy.

And yet, with every advantage on the side of the Boers, the balance of actual fighting at the end of nine weeks remained in favour of the British. Seven times we defeated them in open combat, and drove them from their kopjes; and our little garrisons, times without number, repelled their most resolute attacks. They could count on their side some good strategy and really excellent tactics, but in the way of battles no positive victory; only the doubtful action at Lombard's Kop, two repulses from prepared positions at Magersfontein and Colenso, and two guerilla-like surprises at Nicholson's Nek and at Stormberg.

This was to them but a miserable record of a period during which they had the theatre of war all to themselves, and if it represents, as it may, the high water mark of Boer success, then indeed must the Republics be in a bad case. President Kruger no doubt still hopes for foreign intervention, but that need scarcely be feared if only our press will cease to speak of a crisis which does not exist, and of disasters which have never occurred. The editors of our London newspapers should take it to heart that it was they who by their cheap Imperialism and vulgar boastings before the war, roused against us the jealousy of every nation in Europe, and they also who, when the war began, by indiscreet disclosures enabled the Boers to anticipate and counteract the efforts of our Generals in the field. It would be well if they would deign to learn a little reticence from our enemies at Pretoria whose dignified silence has all along been well worth an extra ten thousand men present with their armies. Lord Roberts has now reached South Africa, and we may be sure he will not let the grass grow under his feet. If therefore he should refrain from sending reports home, we may reasonably take the hint, and moderate discussion.

On landing at Cape Town, January 10th, the Field Marshal found matters much as they were when he left England. Kimberley and Mafeking still held out, Buller, Methuen, and Gatacre maintained their own. White had vigorously repulsed a general attack and assault at Ladysmith (Jan. 6th), and French had gained some advantage over the mixed Free Staters and rebels about Colesberg, though not without a hitch.

The general military situation, however, had been changed for the better by a substantial increase of our forces, which were then approximately as follows :—

<i>Regulars—</i>			
Infantry,	-	-	75,000
Cavalry,	-	-	6,000
Artillery and Engineers,	-	-	8,000
			————— 89,000

Volunteers and Special Levies--

Furnished locally (Cape and Natal),	15,000
From the other Colonies,-	2,000
	17,000
Grand Total,	106,000

The distribution was probably as under :—

Ladysmith,	10,000
With Sir Redvers Buller,	20,000
Garrisons in Natal,	5,000
Communications and Supply in Natal,	8,000
Field Force with Lord Methuen,	15,000
Do., General French,	4,000
Do., General Gatacre,	3,000
Garrisons of the Cape Peninsula, the other seaports, and the great strategic points inland,	10,000
Kimberley,	2,000
Mafeking,	1,000
Rhodesia,	2,000
Supply and Transport, Cape Colony,	12,000
Guarding 1400 miles of Railway Communications (one Battalion per 100 miles),	14,000
	106,000

The Boer armies at the same date were probably as at first, casualties having been counterbalanced by recruits from the Cape and from Europe, and were distributed as under :—

Natal,	25,000
Kimberley,	15,000
Bloemfontein to Van Reenan's Pass,	1,000
Basuto Border,	1,000
Between Bloemfontein and Kimberley,-	3,000
Mafeking,	2,000
North East Cape Colony,	3,000
Orange River,	2,000
Pretoria,	1,000
Swaziland Border,-	1,000
Rhodesian Border,	1,000
Transport Work,	5,000
	50,000

I adhere to my original estimate, though in many quarters the numbers are put down at 90,000, all told. What the losses of the Boers have been we can only conjecture; their published statements have been purposely fictitious; but according to private advices they seem to have had about 4000 killed and wounded, and 300 prisoners.

As to the British casualties, though we speak of them as severe, having regard to the tactical objects achieved, they have, all things considered, been remarkably small.

Killed, about	-	-	-	1250
Wounded,-	-	-	-	3850
Prisoners, -	-	-	-	2500

Of the wounded two out of three have completely recovered, so that the net loss in killed and wounded up to 10th January was not over 2300 men. The proportion of officers killed and wounded has been great—one-tenth of the total casualties in fact; and this circumstance, combined with the high military and social position of so many of them, has no doubt impressed the public mind. Actually, however, our losses have been nothing to those suffered by other armies in recent wars. For example, in the first three attempts upon Plevna the Russians lost 30,000 men; and, at St. Privat, the Prussian Guards had nearly 6000 men killed and wounded in ten minutes. Considering that the monthly emigration from the kingdom amounts to about 5000 persons a month, without affecting the increase of the population, which is at a rate of 280,000 a year, it is clearly childish to use the superlative in speaking of the number of lives sacrificed.

As to the prisoners, an Englishman is perhaps annoyed to think there should be any; but this is mere sentiment. All things considered there are not many; and, so far as the course of this war is concerned, they are possibly a greater embarrassment to the Boers at Pretoria than they would have been shut up at Ladysmith. In the American Civil War, the accumulation of Federal prisoners, all to be fed and housed, became an almost intolerable burden, and did much to hasten the collapse of the Confederate Power.

So much for the past and present of the war, but no article on the subject can be satisfactory without a word or two on the probabilities of that future which is now uppermost in men's minds. The pity of it is that at this point the arm-chair generalissimo becomes no better than 'the man in the street' for reliable information. A reasonable criticism of what has been already done is not difficult, if full details and reliable maps be given; but to say what lies before us, is a task which none but Mr. Spenser Wilkinson could undertake. Any whist player can make shift to analyse a game when it is over, but who shall undertake to forecast a single trick ere the deal is finished, and the trump uncovered.

Said a staff officer to Wellington on the morning of Waterloo:—'Will you favour me, sir, with an outline of your plans?' 'Most happy,' replied the Duke, 'if you will first inform me what Buonaparte is going to do.' So runs the story, for which I do not vouch, but it is good enough for the moral I would fain impress upon all concerned who may be tempted to sit in judgment upon our rulers and generals. Lord Roberts at this moment, unquestionably, knows more of what is going on in South Africa than the cleverest of us here at home, but a week, a month, or a year hence, the dullest man in England will know more than Lord Roberts does now. It is in quite humble spirit, therefore, that I venture to mention a few points which may perhaps throw some light on coming events. Colonel Detry, a French military critic, has, in a recent number of the *Gaulois*, very ably summed up the situation in these words:—'The mastery will be obtained by the side which resolves on concentrating its strength at a given point, and which will be able to press an attack home.'

Now it is clear that a great concentration of British strength will be next to impossible before the arrival in South Africa of the 6th and 7th Divisions, therefore, unless the turn of events should force the pace, it is unlikely that any decisive blow will be struck before the end of February.

If Lord Roberts should decide to collect a large army as a preliminary step, leaving the opposing forces to balance one another, as they have done of late, he will but follow the

example of Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde), in his preparation for the successful campaign by which he terminated the Indian Mutiny.

If, on the other hand, he considers it necessary to strike at once with the materials at hand, we may be certain that the need was urgent, and reconcile ourselves to severe fighting and proportionate losses.

There are but two ways of making war upon an enemy who stands on the defensive. One is to make use of a great superiority in numbers, so as to allow of large detachments to surround his positions and starve out his garrisons, without delaying the forward movements of the armies elsewhere; as when the Germans were able to lay siege to Strasburg and Metz, and yet continue their march upon Paris. This method has the merit of gaining victories with little loss of life, and ought to commend itself to the British Government in the present juncture.

The other course is to peg away—as General Grant described it—with varying success, until one side or the other is utterly exhausted. In such a war the army taking the offensive will generally be driven to assaults of fortified places, and great is the loss of life to be expected in so doing. To take one more example from Plevna—the Russians in the third battle attempted the capture of the Omar redoubt. The assault was made with 21 battalions, and was repulsed with a loss of 5,400 men; the defenders composed of three Turkish battalions losing less than 300 men all told.

Whether the war in South Africa is to be of the first or of the second kind is matter for the nation and Government to consider, not for the Generals on the spot. With forty millions of people in the British Isles alone, and with unlimited command of money, one would suppose it not impossible to outnumber the Boers in overwhelming proportion. If we did so, our casualties would be practically 'nil.' The expense might perhaps be great, though probably not greater than that of a prolonged war. Supposing, however, that it amounted to a hundred and fifty million sterling; the normal taxation of the Transvaal alone could bear the interest of the debt at 3 per

cent., and such is the latent wealth of the land that in less than fifty years the principal sum might easily be wiped out.

Whichever way, however, we elect to carry on the war, the end is humanly speaking certain, always provided that the British nation is true to itself. Time fights against the doomed Republics. Men, ammunition, money, food, all must be used up by degrees, so must the endurance of the bravest of their citizens who, we must recollect, are fighting not for existence nor for liberty, but only for exclusive privilege and political monopoly.

As the war progresses, the British will learn many things; in particular, how to guard against the stratagem and espionage that at first disconcerted them. They will discover better ways of dealing with fortified kopjes than by charging into them with the bayonet, and they will get to see that it is as profitable to deprive the enemy of food and ammunition, as it is to chase him from point to point of positions which, when captured, are valueless to retain. Patience and resolution is all that is needed, to render our triumph signal and complete. The end may come sooner than we expect. Even now, as these pages go to the press, important operations are in progress. Two divisions of the army under Buller have crossed the Tugela, and for the last six days have been engaged in a combined movement, in front and flank, to push the enemy from his laagers. If all goes well, Ladysmith will be relieved, and White will join hands with Clery and Warren. The Boers must then retire to the North, and the road to Har-rismith and Bloemfontein will be open to us. A month or two hence, therefore, we may perhaps see the beginning of the end, and congratulations take the place of gloom. Yet, alas! for victory, however skilfully obtained, there is a price to pay in blood; and to those who have lost what was all the world to them, it matters little if the death-roll be small or great. The country may rejoice that the average is insignificant; a broken heart finds no consolation in comparative statistics. A beloved face is seen no more; a kindly voice is mute for ever; in the home there is a vacant chair, and in the life an abiding sorrow. Let the nation then continue as it has begun,

to give bountiful and thoughtful sympathy to all who in distress deplore the absent, or mourn the dead. The most we can do is but a small return for service faithfully rendered. As for those who have fallen on the field of battle, honour to their memory, but pity never. Life is short at best, and it matters little to a brave man when or where he dies, so he has lived usefully. His sleep is equally profound whether it be in some sweet spot of his native land where the birds sing in the Spring and flowers are planted by loving hands, or far away in a grave upon the lonely veldt where no foot of man intrudes, no voice breaks in upon the all-pervading quiet, and the wind whispering in the waving grass alone disturbs the solemn and mysterious silence.



SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 1, 1900).—Professor Blass, of Halle, has the first place here with a paper on ‘Zu den zwei Texten der Apostelgeschichte.’ His idea that there were originally two texts of the Acts, both by Luke, put into circulation, is well known. It was set forth in the *Theologische Studien u. Kritiken* in 1894, and has been much debated since. The Irish text in the Book of Armagh has now been collated by him, and he gives us here the most important and interesting results of that collation. In the second part of his article he deals with the criticisms passed on his former essay, and more especially with those of Dr. A. Harnach.—Herr R. Treplin follows with an elaborate and scholarly treatise on the ‘Essenerquellen,’ and the literature they have called forth in recent years. His paper is prefaced by a list of the works dealing with the question of the Essenes, and the list itself occupies a couple of pages. The sources of our information as to the Essenes are very defective, and the consequence has been much uncertainty in our knowledge of them, giving occasion to many, writing on the subject, to make up by conjectures and more or less venturesome inferences for the lack of exact and trustworthy data. Many of these ingenious efforts are here noticed. The value of the sources is discussed, and the principal texts are given as an appendix to the treatise.—Dr. Bärwinkel, of Erfurt, in an article titled ‘Johann Matthäus Meyfart, ein Vorläufer Speners und ein Freund der Union,’ refers to a work of his own, published three years ago, on that poet. It seems he has been found fault with for passing over in that work several of the writings of Meyfart, and giving no account of them, or appreciation of them. While he retorts that his object in his former treatise was limited to those of the poet’s writings that had reference or relation to his famous song, ‘Jerusalem die hochgebaute Stadt,’ and that therefore the fault found with him is not justified, he proceeds to notice some other of that poet’s effusions, especially two or three which go to illustrate his opinions as to, and which present him as a friend of, the Union.—Dr. Boehmer furnishes a short study of the use in Ezekiel of the teams *Melek* and *nasi*; Professor Ley follows with a note on the interpretation of the much discussed passage in Job, xix. 26; H.

Schulze with one on Acts xx. 18-38 ; Prof. F. Weiss deals with the introduction to the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Zahn's 'Einleitung in das Neu Testament' is fully reviewed by Dr. F. Haupt.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (November, December, 1899 ; January, 1900).—A charming little story occupies the first place in the November and December Nos. It is not a 'dog story' in the sense we here generally attach to that phrase, but the story of a dog and its misfortunes. 'Peterl' was the dog's name, and is the title of the story. It will be prized by children, but it has its charms and lessons for other folks as well.—J. Van Verdy's reminiscences of the war in 1866 are continued in all these three numbers. They bear the title :—'Im Hauptquartier der II. (schlesischen) Armee 1866, unter dem Oberbefehl Sr. Königl. Hoheit des Kronprinzen Friedrich Wilhelm von Preussen.' From his position at the headquarters of the then Crown Prince Friedrich, he was well acquainted with the plans and movements projected, and the course of events during the campaign. His reminiscences are graphically written, and shed many side-lights on the history—the inner history, especially, of that campaign.—Paul Schultz deals at considerable length in the November number with Schopenhauer's attitude to, and treatment of, natural science.—Paul Heyse continues in all three numbers his reminiscences of his youth :—'Jugenderinnerungen.' These sections are sub-titled :—*Five and Forty Years Ago* ; and *Meine Münchener Anfänge*, the Anfänge being more comprehensive than our representative word might lead English readers to imagine, and *Dramaturgische Anfänge*.—A series of papers on Frau von Krudener—the Madame de Stael of German politics and literature—follows from an anonymous pen, and runs through the November and December numbers.—H. Oldenberg concludes in the November number his articles on *The Literature of Ancient India*, or rather the special section of them dealing with *the Poesy of the Veda*.—In the December number we have an interesting description, by Paul Bailleu, of the disaster to the Prussian arms in the battle of Auerstadt, 1806, and, in the course of it, a letter, hitherto unpublished, of King Fredrick William III., written immediately after the defeat, to his Queen, Louisa.—In this number we have also a series of letters from various people, furnished by Marie von Bunsen, which are continued in the January number. In this last number we have a poem, in ballad style, titled, 'Saeculum in Favilla,' by Ernst von Weldenbruch ; the first instalment of a novel, 'Ein Wohlthäter,' by Walther Siegfried ; a glance back

over the century—‘Die grossen Mächte—(its title gives an idea of its nature)—by Maz Lenz, but which is not completed here; a musical retrospect by Edward Hansleik, which covers the twenty-five years of this journal’s existence; and a summary of the results of the recent Peace Conference at the Hague, by Philipp Jorn. The usual political and literary *Rundschaun*, or literary notices and book reviews, appear in each of those numbers.

R U S S I A .

THE RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW (*Voprosi, Philosophii i Psychologii*, No. 48), opens with a note of deep sorrow, on the part of the Moscow Psychological Society, which we have no doubt is reciprocated by the sister society, associated in the support of this journal, on account of the death of the president and honorary member, Nicolai Jacoblevitch Grot, the first editor, and, one may say, the originator of the journal. They will cherish his memory, and hold his work in remembrance. He died at the early age of 47. The present number of the journal contains a beautiful portrait of the philosopher.—This is followed by an obituary notice. Three other friends or contributors to the *Voprosi* have also been called away, two of whom, M. M. Korelin and M. Troitsky, were spoken of in Nos. 46 and 47. Besides his logical works, M. Grot is the author of a treatise which ought to be translated into English, on the ‘Psychology of the Feelings.’ It is noticed, how much his life and works have advanced the popularity and dignity of the Moscow Psychological Society, now perhaps one of the most popular institutions in the city of Moscow. M. Grot came of a distinguished family. His father was a member of the Academy of Sciences. Nicolai Jacoblevitch studied in the University of St. Petersburg, in the Historical-Philological faculty. The *History of Philosophy* was one of his favourite studies, with which he cherished a liking for the natural sciences. He received a gold medal for a work on Ancient Philosophy. A year after finishing his studies he became Professor of Philosophy in the Historico-Philological Institute. In 1883 he was transferred to the University of Novo-Rossiesk, and in 1886 to Moscow. His ‘Psychology of the Feelings’ appeared in 1880, for which he obtained the Master’s Degree. His treatise on the Reform of Logic, for which he was made Doctor, appeared in 1882, and was soon followed by a series of some twenty-one articles, from 1883 to 1898, for the most part on subjects of the Higher Philosophy, such as ‘Classification of the Sciences,’ ‘Giordano Bruno,’ ‘Pantheism,’ ‘The Significance of Feeling, in the

Knowledge and Activity of Man,' 'Critique of the Conception of the Freedom of the Will,' etc., etc. Such as he was in youth, such he remained in manhood—rapid, unselfish, quick in apprehension, and ready in organisation; *e.g.*, there had been a lack of maps in Greek and Roman History, his attention was called to it, when the lack was speedily supplied. The arena of his activity, moreover, was quickly enlarged. B. I. Shenrock, in his affectionate 'Recollections of Professor Grot in his Student Days,' speaks thus concerning him:— 'Having become a student, Grot showed himself uncommonly quick and adroit, so much that he drew upon himself the attention of the whole class with which he was associated, and at the same time united himself to them in a friendly way, more especially in the subjects of common study. He was not easily intimidated or depressed, and when he was, he had the knack of passing it lightly by. Such he remained all through life. M. Lopatin holds that his life divides itself into periods or epochs, the first strictly positive in character. In the first period of his life, he might be said to be especially under the influence of Herbert Spencer. In the second epoch, he felt more the influence of the ideal, and passed into a state of reaction against the strictly positive and realistic tendencies which had dominated the former part of his career. In this stage he passed over from the realistic monism which had ruled his thought, into what might be named a mono-dualistic combination. He felt the power of spirit, moving in the forces and life of the universe, and, in conflict with these, he realised the presence of a life in the material forces at work in the world around him. M. Grot was a born professor, one of the most popular ever seen in Moscow University.—The second article continues the Outline of the Bhagavadgita, from the pen of the talented lady, Vera Johnstone.—This is followed by another article by M. Tchichérin, on the 'Philosophy of Right.' The first manifestation of freedom is that man imposes his will upon physical nature, and subjects it to his influence on the material side. Man, on the material side, is himself a physical being, and, as such, has a known tendency of which he makes good use in turning to his own advantage the objects and creatures which he finds in the material world. In this relation he stands on a line with the animals around him, many of which do not limit themselves to the search and appropriation of the substances around them for food and otherwise, some of them, even like him, collect stocks of them, and construct for themselves habitations. The appropriation of external objects for the satisfaction of their natural wants is a necessary characteristic of all organised

beings. But in this is included the grounds of a legal relation. Those who deduce property from man turning to use the objects around him for the satisfaction of certain physical cravings, have no conception of this as a right—this last being an intellectual element. It flows out of the freedom of reasonable creatures, that they should make themselves lords of impersonal nature. Kant the philosopher has dealt with the question, and makes clear the intellectual significance of right as a purely intellectual relation in contradistinction to mere physical possession. And this is admitted by all legislators in the world. The right of property is purely a personal matter. The author discusses this in a very lengthened form from the philosophical point of view in relation to property, on a social basis, whither we are unable to follow him. The next chapter is on agreements, also in substantive form denoting a contract or bargain expressed in writing and signed by the parties concerned! In opening the chapter, our author defines them in the following way:—‘Property, as we have seen, is the phenomenon of freedom in regard to the physical world. Agreement to which we now come, is the phenomenon or manifestation of freedom in regard to other persons. This he defines as a mutual relation between free persons not bound by any special obligation, and which can only be determined by a consent of the will, to confirm which our author goes back to Roman law.’—The paper which follows this is on Types of Presentation concerning the world as it is in itself. Leibnitz has made us familiar with the thought of the best possible world, but this paper, which was read before the Philosophical Society in St. Petersburg, suggests the possibility of a whole series of possible worlds. It is suggested that the world which actually appears to us may be very different from the world that actually exists. Buddhism has suggested that the world as seen by us is only a *mirage* or illusion—*Maya*, as the Indian Buddhists name it. Thoughts similar to those of the Buddhists are occurring to thinkers in our own times. The same view occurred to Anaxagoras, who referred the changes and variations of the heavenly bodies as arising from a deluded mode of interpretation.—The general division of the journal ends with a paper on the speeches of Emile Dio Bua Reimon and his scientific views of Nature.—On this follows a paper by M. Ph. Sophronoff, giving a Theory of Knowledge on the Basis of a Critical Empirism. There follows a medical paper on ‘The True Nature of Disease.’—We have in conclusion—controversially dealing with the question of the true nature of the Old Testament Theocracy in relation to Prince E. N. Trubetskoï’s articles in former numbers of this journal—two

papers, the first by M. I. Novgorodtseff, the second by M. V. N. Gerye.—The usual reviews of books and bibliographical notices complete the number.

I T A L Y.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (October 16).—Signora P. Siciliani contributes an interesting description of Castiglione dei Pepoli, an Alpine town famous in feudal history, which is now concentrated in the ancient palace of Pepoli there. The writer briefly sketches the history of the place. In ancient times Castiglione was surnamed 'of the Cat,' from the mountain which dominates the citadel. In 1340, after the arrival of the Papolis, it took its name from that powerful family. In 1209 the place belonged to the lords of Mangona. In 1317 it had become a refuge of malefactors and bandits, for the place was protected by deep ravines and dense forests. The commune of Bologna attacked the castle, consigning it and the surrounding houses to the flames. Those inhabitants who escaped returned afterwards to the still smoking ruins, and rebuilt the town. In 1340 the Papolis were masters of the castle, town, and surrounding country. In 1369 Charles IV. bestowed the Imperial feudal power on the children of Giacomo Pepoli, and the deed was confirmed by Rudolf II. in 1599, and by Leopold I. in 1700. It was again renewed by a papal grant in 1783, and by Joseph II. In 1796 Napoleon Buonaparte received the oath of obedience from the Papolis. The place is still full of the memory of its ancient lords and of its brigands, and Signora Siciliani gives a vivid idea of these times.—In the following conclusion of the account of the second expedition to South Africa of Prince Ruspoli, the writer of the article, A. Rossi, quotes the words of one who was present at the prince's death, Luigi Lucca. He says :—'Monday, 4th December, 1898.—We left Sanvate, and arrived at Jubalgenda. No one foresaw the catastrophe about to overtake us. Prince Ruspoli delighted in elephant hunting, and his boldness had so increased that he would not allow a guard to accompany him. The Europeans in the camp had frequently warned him of the danger he ran, but he would not listen. That afternoon he started to hunt elephants, but found none, and, not to return empty of result, he shot some birds. Then it seems that, as he was on his way back to the zariba, he met with a majestic elephant, who was peacefully browsing. The prince approached it, at the same time sending his boy to the zariba to fetch a horse. I had just returned from the river, where I had been busy cleaning ivory, and preparing for our departure on the

next day. When the boy with the horse arrived at the spot where the prince was, he ordered them to stop, as there was a deep swamp, which I believe contributed to the accident which ensued, footing being very unsafe. After having fired at the elephant, the prince stepped back, and must have stumbled. Being now very close to the animal, he fired again, with the intention of wounding it in the foot, but missed. Once more he fired at its head, but missed again. The animal, now quite furious, rushed at the Prince and attacked him. When the soldiers, who had followed the boy with the horse, reached the place, they found the Prince on the ground breathing with difficulty. He had been beaten to death by the elephant's trunk. As soon as I heard of the accident I hastened to the spot, arriving before the Prince breathed his last. His body showed no trace of violent contusions, only a violet-coloured streak across his heart. His left eye was slightly contused, his tongue swollen, and his mouth full of curdled blood. His clothes were, however, torn to pieces. One of the soldiers said he saw the Prince tossed into the air by the elephant.'—(November 1)—Signora Deledda here commences a new novel, entitled 'The Old Man of the Mountain,' written in her usual graphic and lively style.—E. Cocchia, in a third part of his essay on the 'School Problem' in Italy, closes his important studies on the subject.—A. Torresia contributes an article on 'Italy in Benedir,' containing many valuable statistics.—In 'Artistic Notes,' G. Frizonni finds his remarks on three French works—'La Sculpture Florentine,' by M. Reynard; 'Les Premiers Venitiens,' by Paul Flat; and 'St. Antoine de Padue e l'art Italien,' by Dr. de Mandach.—E. Pais commences a learned article on the archæic *stela* in the Roman Forum.—A. Loria describes some socialistic evenings passed in London in 1882, where he had the privilege of becoming acquainted with Miss Eleanor Marx, the third daughter of her celebrated father. Signor Loria also frequently visited Frederick Engels, who was about sixty-one years of age; also Elen Demuth, the governess of Miss Marx; and Madame Longuet, Karl Marx's eldest daughter, who inherited her father's mental gifts.—(November 16).—Here is published a new and long poem by Gabriele D'Aunanzio, '*Laudi* of the Heavens, the Sea, the Earth, and Heroes.' A fine poem, in which it seems to us the author has read with benefit, and been influenced by, the works of Walt Whitman and our own Kipling.—G. Finali contributes a full study of the life and work of the late Eduardo Fabbri.—Professor Villari commences a paper on political economy, entitled 'New Problems.' L.

Beltrami devotes an interesting paper to the recently deceased artist, Giovanni Segantini.—S. Sonnino writes on Parliamentary Bills and procedure; and A. Padua on the affairs of discount in Italy.—E. Lorini contributes, by consent of the author, an illustrated article founded on the second chapter of the splendid work, 'Contemporaneous Persia,' just published by Loescher of Rome.—The Municipality of Lucera here publishes a collection of 'Thoughts' by the late Professor Bonghi, relating to various subjects.—(December 1)—This number commences with an interesting paper by P. Molmenti on the Italian poet and novelist, Antonio Fogazzaro, discussing him in each of these qualities.—Signora Deledda's novel, 'The Old Man of the Mountains' is continued in this number, and finished in the following one.—I. del Lungi discusses Galileo as a literary man.—A. Graf contributes three poems; the Bronze Gate, the Distaff, and the Fanfare.—F. Nobili-Vitelleschi writes on State Anarchy.—G. Macchiero sends the first instalment of a paper on the Future of Italy in South America.—C. Boito concludes his remarks on the Architecture of the Milan Cathedral and Doge's Palace in Venice.—G. Secretani sends a monograph on Professor Bonfadino, the late President of the Italian Press Association, who died some weeks ago.—G. S. calls attention to Olive Schreiner's novels, all Italy being intensely interested by the war in the Transvaal.—F. Ranzi discusses the urgency of maintaining and increasing the national defences.—The article on 'Joseph Chamberlain' contributed to this number by Ouida, is marked by great malevolence towards her subject, and enormous lack of patriotism.—(December 16).—Giacomo Rovetta here commences a new novel, entitled 'La Signorina,' containing much conversation on art, and ending in the portion sent, with a fatal deed.—Signora Lovatelli writes on the Ludi Secolari, showing how those famous ancient festivals survive, after disappearing through many centuries, on the jubilees of the Popes, etc.—P. Molmenti continues his study of Fogazzaro's life and works. The veteran novelist now lives a retired life in his villa at Val-solda, on the lake of Lugano, but he has not ceased to write, and more of his excellent novels may be still hoped for.—A. Sindici contributes a series of poems.—A. Venturi, writing on Italian works of art, advocates a new law for their protection, whether they be public statues, edifices, churches, or objects in the possession of institutions or societies.—Signor de Cesare, writing on the Holy Year (*Anno Santo*), says that the present Pope is the only one among 262 who will have been present at his own sacerdotal jubilee, and at the opening of the Holy Year. The

ceremony of the latter was last performed by Leo XII. in 1825, for in 1850 the Holy Door remained closed, the then Pope, Pio Nono, being at Gaeta. The Holy Year was a year of penitence, formally carried out in all its forms. Processions passed through the streets of Rome, all places of diversion were closed, and people fasted and kept strict vigil. The pilgrims walked barefoot to the churches, making the sign of the cross on the pavement with their tongues. There were many flagellants, and all Rome resembled a convent. On the 2nd December, 1774, the cardinal vicar issued an edict enforcing the closing of drinking shops early in the evening, and forbidding all balls and entertainments. Dante, in his time, describes the return from St. Peter's of the immense multitude which then passed through the gate of St. Angelo. At that time religious faith took a sentimental form. In 1300 Rome was crowded by pilgrims, who came long distances on foot, and were lodged without comfort. At the end of the fifteenth century the discomfort was avoided by care being taken to provide lodgings and a refectory. An old chronicler gives a curious description of the rations. Cold beef or lamb was cut up, half a pound for each pilgrim, with salad, soup, a loaf, and a bottle of wine. The priests got an extra dish of figs or nuts, and bread and wine *ad libitum*. On fast days tunny or herrings took the place of the meat. In the middle of the refectory hung three large chandeliers, each having ten wicks, and here and there on the walls of the room were placed lanterns. On the table itself stood forty tallow candles, so that 'the room was beautifully lighted.' The present jubilee is the twenty-second of the ordinary ones, but will be very different to those which have preceded it. Almost all indulgences will be suspended, and the pilgrims will visit St. Peter's, St. Paul's, the Lateran, and Santa Maria Maggiore once a day for thirty days; if foreigners, fifteen days may suffice. But nowadays no sign of penance will be seen. The shops, cafés, and theatres will be open, and more numerous than ever, and with the pilgrims come only curious persons, anxious to behold a curious spectacle. But the Pope will not, as of yore, visit the four churches, and even the ceremony of opening the Holy Door will be carried on almost clandestinely. The pilgrims find a large modern city ready to entertain them hospitably, and offer them occasions of diversion. The manner in which the Holy Door opens to the new century is a proof that the Papacy, supposed to live under hostile conditions, is, on the contrary, free to act as it will, and is actually accommodating itself to the exigencies of modern life.—Professor Villari closes his exhaustive study of 'New Problems.'

RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (October 16).—Some considerations on the economical victories lately accomplished by Germany, is the theme of a paper by T. M., who founds his remarks on M. Blondel's book *Essor industriel du peuple Allemand*. The writer agrees with Blondel's opinion that while military conquest may be the work of one lucky day, economical conquest can only be the fruit of long-continued sacrifice, it being a collective work requiring the strength of an entire nation, and sometimes of several generations.—N. Bardelli has an interesting essay on the beginnings of the Athenian State.—Professor Grabinski sends another instalment of his paper, on the fall of the Liberal minister, Richelieu-Pasquin, begun in April, 1898.—A. Panzini discusses a book by Signor Mordno on 'Possessors, and the Ignorant.'—Follows a lecture by C. Durazzo on Slavery and Christianity in the Roman States.—A. Senesi contributes interesting statistics of Buenos Ayres in 1898. He shows that that city now counts 765,484 inhabitants, which is an annual increase of 3·7 per cent., while London, Berlin, Vienna, and Rome, have respectively only an increase of 0·90; 1·20; 2·10; and 2·70 per cent. In 1898 the births in Buenos-Ayres were 40·9 for every 1000 inhabitants, while in London and Berlin and Vienna, they were respectively 29·8, 21·1, and 31·5; and in Paris, 23·6, and Rome, 22·9 for every 1000 inhabitants. The mortality in Buenos Ayres was small; 17·67 per 1000 inhabitants, the result of many sanitary improvements carried out during late years. Tramway traffic is a characteristic feature of the city. It increases by leaps and bounds, so that Buenos Ayres may be styled the city of tramways *par excellence*. There are ten companies with a network of 394 kilometres of lines. In 1898, 3,212,221 journeys were made along the lines, and travellers numbered on an average 294,346 per day. Quite lately, electric traction has been introduced, and is rapidly extending. The new electric tramway, meeting the villa suburb of Belgrano to the city, is 7,500 metres long. Exportation and importation were considerably increased during the year 1898. 6,111 marriages were contracted in Buenos Ayres, 37 per cent. being between Argentines; 23·47 between Italians, and 9·34 between Italians and Argentines. Crime was increased by 183 cases, none of which, however, was due to violence and robbery.—S. Ricci writes on the representation of the Virgin Mary in Italian art.—Ginestra continues to translate M. Balaguer's *Recollections of Italy*.—A. Piamonti discusses the rolling stock of Italian railways.—Signora Savi-Lopez commences a romance entitled 'In Other Times,' the scene of which is laid in Naples.—(November 1).—F.

Carandini describes poetically an 'All Saints' day in the country.—Professor Bettazzi, saying that public morality is too little regarded or discussed in Italy, appeals to all preachers and teachers to honestly set to work to enlighten the Italian populace, and improve public morals.—U. Papa describes the career of Camillo Tarello, a Brescian agriculturist of the sixteenth century; and G. Rondini gives a similar sketch of the work of Diomede Carafa, statesman and author of the fifteenth century.—'In Other Times' is continued.—G. E. Saltini, in concluding his history of Bianca Cappello and Francesco de' Medici, says that that prince leaves a very sad record in patriotic history, but, far from ascribing his wickedness to his love for Bianca Capello, the author attributes it entirely to the bad education he received in Spain, and the example of his own court. As a private man, Francesco de' Medici possessed some laudable qualities. He was industrious, studious, intelligent, and fond of science and art, and he generously remunerated those who served him.—A. Brunialti writes very pleasant and useful notes about Scandinavia, specially directed to intending travellers in those northern regions.—G. Spenzapane contributes 'Chinese Sketches,' treating of foreign diplomacy in the Celestial Empire.—C. P. Siciliana writes a short memoir of the late Enrico Pazzi, sculptor, who died on the 27th of March last at the advanced age of 81.—Follows a paper entitled 'Neglected Italians,' showing the want of means of cultivating their religion among Italian emigrants. A few statistics taken from the mass furnished by the writer, will suffice to show the gist of the paper. 35,000 Italians, living in New Orleans, are provided with only one church and one priest; 30,000 Italians in Chicago have only one church and four priests. In New York there is one priest for every 12,000 Italians. In Italy itself, there is a priest for every 370 Italians.—(November 16th)—P. Manassei discusses the question of Assurance Banks, etc.—G. Signorini reviews Demoulin's *L'Education nouvelle*, arguing that the method of instruction in Germany and England is not suitable for the Latin races.—M. B. Paoli inveighs against the frequent illegal sale of precious ancient works of art to foreign countries, and blames the clumsiness of the existing laws, proposing considerable modifications.—P. Molmenti publishes a page from an autobiography of Tommaso Gherardi, thus reviving the fame of a dramatist whose comedies were applauded throughout Italy some twenty years ago.—R. Corniani offers some reflections on Signor Ferraro's book, *L'Europa giorane*.—R. Fornaciari describes the national edition of the works of Galileo.—D. Giannitrapani dis-

cusses the project for colonizing Patagonia published by General Ricciotti Garibaldi, saying that for such a vast enterprise in a little known land, preliminary examinations should be made on the spot; and that it may be doubted whether the necessary capital can be found, though General Garibaldi asserts that he could dispose of a capital of 250 million francs for the purpose. Signor Giannitrapani thinks that the Italians who figure in the project should rather prefer to colonize Italy, where, specially in the south and in the islands, much available land lies waste.—C. Pozzolini commences a descriptive story entitled 'A week in Casentino.'—The article 'Italian Diplomacy in China,' by G. Senzapaura, is concluded.—C. di Giorgi writes on Puglia and its economic failure.—G. Angelini describes the good success of the Italian Mission at Madab, Palestine, giving a sketch of the history of the place, which owed its origin to the sons of Moab, and belonged to the Moabites. It was destroyed during the seventh century, first by the Persians and then by the Saracens, and is now a small village.—E. Pastelli and F. Scerbo both write on scholastic reform, which is occupying many minds in Italy just now.—(December 1).—A. Conti writes on the increasing glory of Beatrice in the Divine Comedy.—'Ernest Hello, the Thinker,' is the subject of a short paper by Signorina Allason.—A. Milese describes the effects of absenteeism in Italy.—Father 'F. M.' contributes a paper on San Bonaventura and Dante.—'R. H.' describes the province of Chehkiang in China.—(December 16)—P. Molmenti writes deploring the deficiency in the study of art and history in Italian Schools.—G. Gabrieli contrasts the descriptions of Palestine by the two Italian travellers, Professor De Gubernatis and Matilde Sarao, as shown in their respective books, *The Holy Land* and *In the Country of Jesus*.—A. Senesi discusses the use of electric traction for railways, and its approaching application to railways in Italy.—Signora Azoletti sends a chapter of her forthcoming *Life of Maria Gaetana Agnesi*, an Italian philanthropist.—Captain Tortello discusses the projected enlargement of the Port of Genoa, with a plate of the plan.—B. Chiara sends some 'Scenes and Types' of poor Italians in Barcelona, where they apply for help to the Italian Beneficent Society in that town. He calls them the adventurers of labour, and tells a number of most interesting anecdotes, and describes the thoughts and opinions of the Italian emigrants, their facility for weeping, and their language and the changes they suffer during their wanderings.—J. Stanga relates how he became an agriculturist.—R. H. has a statistical paper on commerce in Shanghai in 1898.—A. Ragani writes on the absolution

of G. V. Picus of Mirandola.—E. A. Foperti discusses the war in South Africa, hoping that an agreement may come to pass which will spare the sacred rights of the Boers, while still satisfying the just aspirations of England.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 5, 1899).—There are only two *articles de fond* in this number, the largest part of it being taken up with reviews and literary notices. The first article is by M. Dom J. Besse, 'Les diverses sortes de Moines en Orient avant le Concile de Chalcédoine (451).' The monks here treated of, however, are Christian, or so-called Christian, monks. They were very numerous, and of very diverse characters. Ostensibly seeking the same object, the ideal of perfection which they found in the Old and New Testaments, their conceptions of that ideal, and of the means by which it might be realised, were very varied. Each chose that which answered to the bent of his own desires. Some selected or fixed on one passage of Scripture, and some on others, and these were often sadly perverted from their true meaning and purpose. It has been found difficult to classify these orders and bring them under any satisfactory rubrics. Jerome proposed to arrange them under three categories, and others have adopted his classification, but with modifications. Our author here gives a very comprehensive summary of the various orders of cenobites, anchorites, ascetics, recluses, etc., etc., that swarmed, especially in Egypt, and describes the manner of life they severally led, and the rules framed in many cases for the better ordering of their daily conduct, and their relations towards one another. There were many earnest and devoted men and women among them, but many also who brought disgrace on the whole movement by their loose, idle, and licentious lives. The various orders are here passed under review, and a rapid sketch is given of their peculiarities. Those of the 'Gyrovagi'—the vagabond or wandering monks—and the 'Sarabaitæ,' are not ignored. Most of the orders, however, had many redeeming qualities, and their members, according to their lights, were really in search of religious ideals.—M. E. Blochet continues his 'Etudes sur l'histoire religieuse de l'Iran,' dealing here still with the legends as to the ascension of the prophet Mahommed to heaven. The origin of these legends is more fully considered in this section. The Persian legends as to Tahmuraf making Ahriman serve him as a steed, on which he traversed the world, or moved about at his will, are summarised, and two curious engravings on a gold vase, now in the Cabinet of Antiquities in the Imperial Museum

of Vienna, are given, along with a miniature which is in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, and which are thought to date from the Sassanade period, and to be illustrative of these legends. It is to these Persian legends that our author thinks those of the ascension of Mohammed owe their origin, or later forms. But the Persian legends are again, he thinks, derived, so far as the winged animals on which Tahmuraf rode through the air are concerned, from the winged bulls placed at the gates of the palaces of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings. These winged figures are found in widely scattered regions, and M. Blochet regards them as traceable to the same source. He gives good reasons, too, for his opinion. His argument as to 'Borak'—the horse on which Mahommed ascended to heaven—being derived from the Persian, seems conclusive. 'Bara' is the Persian word for horse, and the change of *a* into *o* is easily accounted for. Numerous examples of such changes in the transference of words from the one language to the other are given. As an appendix to these papers M. Blochet gives a translation of part of an MS., which is in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (No. 57 of the *Supplément Persan*), and which is a comment on the passage in the Coran regarding Mohammed's ascension.—Of English and American works reviewed here we may mention Emeritus Professor Lewis Campbell's *Religion in Greek Literature*; Professor Max Müller's *Ramakrishna—His Life and Sayings*; Lucy M. J. Garnett and J. S. Stuart Glennie's *New Folklore Researches—Greek Folk Poesy*; John Fiske's *Through Nature to God*; and D. G. Brinton's *Religions of Primitive Peoples*.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (Nov., Dec., 1899; Jan., 1900).—Under the title 'Mathématique et Philosophie,' M. G. Milhaud gives an article—the introduction to a work he is about to issue—in which the influence of a mathematical training on minds to be occupied in maturer life with philosophical studies is to be traced, and demonstrated. The field of illustration is seemingly to be confined to the early Greek thinkers, of whom Plato is regarded as one of the most interesting examples. Here M. Milhaud sets himself to show in what way mathematical studies tell on the mental faculties, and influence the trend of their activities. Mathematics, being one of the pure sciences, has a tendency to develop in the student the pursuit of ideals as distinct from mere materialistic forms. He is accustomed to deal with certainties, and naturally becomes impatient with that in which there seems no finality, and to seek in his conclusions a certainty and force which the evidence does not justify. This tends to make him dogmatic. Dealing

as a mathematician with forms and not with their material embodiments, with ideas, with purely mental conceptions, he becomes an idealist, though not necessarily an unpractical one. His science is applicable to the concrete realities of the world. It is of the greatest use in every branch of human art, and the skilled mathematician is one of the most efficient agents in practical life. Mathematics does not lead to scepticism. The Greek sceptics were none of them deeply versed in mathematics. It was not their knowledge of that science which made them sceptics, but their ignorance of it.—‘La responsabilité et les équivalents de la peine,’ is the second article in the November number, and is by M. Gaston Richard. It is a study in criminology. Is pain, he asks, inflicted on the violator of law effective as a corrective of evil? Has the substitution of social equivalents for penal inflictions not done far more in the way of the redemption of these unfortunates than our penal laws have ever accomplished? He shows that in France the number of criminals has been diminished by one-fourth since the adoption of such substitutes in dealing with them. The article is devoted to the explanation and defence of such equivalents, and illustrations of the beneficial effects of such measures as he advocates, are drawn from the recent legislation of many countries.—M. R. de la Grasserie continues his papers on ‘Des mouvements alternants des idées révélés par les mots.’ He illustrates his subject by showing how terms alter their meanings, some, so to speak, degenerating, and others coming to honour—falling or rising—while others again acquire meanings which may be regarded as neither better nor worse, but simply other than their primary ones.—M. A. Penjon has a lengthy review of Mr. Shadworth H. Hodgson’s *Metaphysic of Experience*.—Mr. George Trumbull Ladd’s *Theory of Reality* is also here reviewed by the same writer.—(December).—‘L’Analyse et les Analystes,’ by M. F. Paulhan. It is a study of the mental processes involved in analysis, as also in synthesis, in the various departments of our intellectual life, and of the practical issues when either the tendency to the one or the other predominates in any one. Numerous examples are quoted of writers in whom the predominance of either the one or the other was very marked.—‘L’éducation du Caractère’ is an interesting essay by M. Jules Payot, and will be specially interesting and useful to all engaged in education, whether of very young children, or of older pupils. It is hardly possible to define what we call character, and to form it in any one is one of the most perplexing problems for the educationist. What is he to aim at? and how is he to accomplish his ideal? These and other

matters are dealt with here in a very practical and instructive manner.—(January, 1900).—This number opens with the first part of a psychological study on 'Ennui' by Dr. G. Tardieu. The mental condition so denoted is somewhat difficult both to define and to account for; but our author sets himself here to discover its physiological and psychological causes, and its effects on human action, or activity. It is produced, of course, in many ways, and Dr. Tardieu enumerates six of them, and proposes in this study to examine and discuss these, devoting a chapter to each. Here he deals with *exhaustion*, and *lack of variety in mental occupations*, combined with *defective power in mental faculties*.—M. A. Bertrand treats of scientific teaching in connection with the evolution and development of morals.—M. A. Schinz furnishes an interesting article on 'Common Sense and Philosophy.'—M. B. Bourdon gives a short but suggestive paper, under the section 'Recherches Experimentales,' on what he describes as 'L'acuité Stéréoscopique,' a subject in optics which Helmholtz in his *Physiol. Optik*, published in 1896, and Stratton in the *Psychological Review*, Nov., 1898, have recently endeavoured to elucidate.—M. C. Hemon furnishes two hitherto unpublished letters of J. Proudhon.—The reviews of books and articles in periodicals are numerous, and embrace works in General Philosophy, Psychology, Logic, and Sociology.

LE MUSEON ET LA REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3, 1899).—The first place is naturally given here to a tribute on the part of the Redaction to the memory of Monseigneur Charles de Harlez, the founder and editor of this periodical from its institution in 1881. Monseigneur de Harlez died after a somewhat prolonged and painful illness in June. He was editor for a short time of the *Revue Catholique*, but it hardly satisfied the aims he thought such a magazine might accomplish, so he set the *Muséon* on foot, and, three years ago, the *Revue des Religions*, was incorporated with it. He has been, it seems, unable from the malady from which he suffered, to burden himself with the details of the management of the journal for the last three years, but he was a constant contributor to its columns. We have given us here a brief sketch of his life, and a warm appreciation of his literary and religious work, especially of that connected with the *Muséon*. He was one of the most brilliant of our Oriental scholars, equally at home in, and familiar with, the classics of Persia, India, and China. The concluding part of his article, the first section of which appeared in last number, on the 'Historical Allusions in Chinese Literature.'—'Les allusions historique dans la littérature Chinoise,' follows. Many of those

allusions perplex the students of that literature from their pardonable ignorance of the historical incidents to which they refer. Monseigneur de Harlez set himself to render them help in regard to these difficulties. He has gathered up in these two papers a number of examples of these allusions, so as to guide students in their work, and lighten somewhat their labour.—M. B. C. de Vaux continues his translation of the Arabic treatise of Al-Gazali, the 'El-Falasifah,' the Destruction of the Philosophers.—M. R. de la Grasserie also continues, and here concludes, his series of articles on 'La conjugaison negative, ainsi que de l'interrogative et de la negative.'—M. A. Marre furnishes another instalment of his translation of the 'Sadjarah Malayou.'—A large number of recent books, bearing on matters within the province of this periodical, are reviewed, or brief summaries of their contents are given.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES.—(No. 3, 1899).—M. Israel Levi examines here the new fragments of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus edited recently for the Cambridge University Press by Professor Schechter and Dr. Taylor. These recent additions to those already published have quite altered M. Levi's opinions as to the Hebrew text being the original text. He was one of those who at first accepted and defended that view. His further study of the fragments, and his study especially of those last issued, has convinced him that the Hebrew version now brought to light is really a translation from a Syriac version. His reasons for so thinking are based chiefly on the occurrence of certain Arabisms; on the incomplete condition of the acrostic poem, (ch. li., 13-20); and on the numerous doublets in the text, which are merely two different modes of expressing the same thought. The argument is not completed in this number.—M. T. Reinach takes up the Athenian Decree in favour of Hyrcanus, given by Josephus in his *Ant.*, iv. 16, and endeavours to determine the real date of it. He tries first to settle the exact form of the text of it, which has sadly suffered from the carelessness of the copyists. He does this with the help of two inscriptions given in *Corp. Inscrip. Attic.*, ii. 470. After justifying his emendations of the Decree, he comments on it, and shows that it refers to Hyrcanus II., and not Hyrcanus I., and fixes the date of it as most probably 47-40 B.C.—M. Israel Sach continues in this number his essay on the radical differences which characterised Israel and Judah, as witnessed to in the Old Testament. In the previous section he set forth his proofs of their having different torahs—laws—on many points which were far from agreeing with each other; of their having different religious usages

and customs, and of their having very different ideas of Jahve, of His nature and the field of His action. Here he educes proofs of the inimical feelings of Israel towards Judah from the patriarchal legends which reflect on the latter, and from the narratives contained in the book of Judges, which are seen to breathe the same spirit of hostility towards that tribe and those in union with it. Judah is presented in these as being of incestuous origin, and as lacking in the higher qualities of courage and truthfulness. Judah is shown, however, to have had no pronounced hostile feelings towards Israel. It concerned itself, rather, with efforts after union with the Northern tribes, and to inspire them with the same religious ideas and sentiments as those which ruled in it, and which it rightly regarded as purer than those in the north. The only prophets who say anything reflecting on the character of Israel, or of the northern kingdom, are Hosea, and (less pronouncedly, however) Amos. When the literary memorials of the past were finally gathered up and brought together, those who edited them, did so in the spirit of the religious ideas then prevailing, and it is only when we study them in the light of these facts that it is possible to come to a true understanding of them.—M. H. P. Chajes has an instructive paper on Jewish Judges in Palestine from the year 70 to 500 A.D. He seeks to bring out the kind of administration then existing, and the administration of justice generally in Jewry.—The other articles in this number are:—‘*Sur la Sémantique des mots Talmudic Empruntés au Grec*,’ by M. S. Krauss; ‘*Lettres de Scheschet b. Isaac b. Joseph Benveniste de Saragosse aux Princes Kalonymos et Levi de Narbonne*,’ by M. D. Kaufmann, alas, we have now to say, the late; ‘*Un Recueil de Consultations Inédites de Rabbins de la France Méridionale*,’ and ‘*La lutte entre Isaie, fils d’Abba Mari, et Yohanan, fils de Matatia, pour le rabbinat de France a la fin du XIV. siècle*,’ by M. I. Levi; ‘*Note additionnelle sur Moïse Halawa*,’ by M. Elkan Adler; ‘*Les Juifs de Tarascon au moyen âge*,’ by M. Kahn; ‘*Les Juif dans la Comédie au XVIII. Siècle*,’ by M. C. Dejob.—Shorter articles to be noted are S. Mendelssohn’s, ‘*Le Ressentiment de Cain*,’ J. Furst’s, ‘*Un Passage difficile du Valkont*,’ and D. Kaufmann’s ‘*Poesies de Moïse Hayyim Luzzato pour féliciter ses amis promus Docteurs en Medecine et en Philosophie*.’

REVUE SÉMITIQUE D’ÉPIGRAPHIE ET D’HISTOIRE ANCIENNE (No. 4, 1899).—M. Halévy continues here his examination of the passages in Isaiah in which the Servant of the Lord is the central figure. In last number he passed in review that

section of Isaiah extending from Chap. xli. 8, to xlix. 13. Here he examines l. 4-11; lii. 13, to liii. 12. Chap. l. 4-9 is, he thinks, complementary to xlix. 1-4. It enlarges and further defines, or explains the gift and mission of the prophet—the gift of eloquence, and the mission of the prophet to encourage the exiled captives—and details the reception he was to get from those of his auditors who were not in sympathy with him. M. Halévy regards the last clause of xlvi. 16, 'and now the Lord Jahve hath sent me and his Spirit' as belonging to v. 4 of Chap. l, or the beginning of v. 5, and as having found its way where it now stands in our text by the mistake of a transcriber. After suggesting a couple of amendments in the text he enters very minutely into the details of Chap. lii. 13—liii. 12, the principal object of his study. The present condition of the text, he regards as very faulty, and he sets himself in the first place to restore it, as he thinks it came from the writer's hand. Hardly a verse in the Massoretic text satisfies him; but while he corrects, he also comments on the prophet's meaning, so that the essay forms an exegesis of the passage, and a critical justification of the emendations suggested. He next gives a translation of the whole section as corrected, and places the text in the light of the epilogue in Ch. liv. Dhum's views are then summarised, and their untenableness brought out. In a second section under his usual rubric, 'Recherches Bibliques,' M. Halévy begins the critical examination of the Book of Deuteronomy in order to show its testimony to, or its bearing on, his thesis. At the outset of his investigations here, he thinks it necessary once more to assert his independence of, or freedom from, any ethnic or religious prejudice in favour of the traditional view as to the chronological order of the Pentateuchal writings. His interest in the question, he asserts, is purely historical and literary. He takes Dr. Cornill as representing here the critical school, and deals with the passages which are looked upon as parallel, or which bear on the same or similar matters in D and P. This section of his study extends to Deut. xii. 24. In the next article here M. Halévy returns to the Zindjirli inscriptions, to which he devoted a series of papers in 1893 and 1894 in the pages of this magazine. A new and more perfect copy of them—that from the stele of Hadad and that from Harrekub—has been recently given by Mark Lidzbarski, in his 'Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik,' and M. H. takes occasion from their publication there to revise his earlier views as to them, and correct what he sees now to have

been inaccurate conclusions based on faulty transcriptions. He gives here the improved texts, and furnishes a new translation of both inscriptions, and accompanies each with a series of critical notes, and with a Hetean vocabulary alphabetically arranged, and supplementary remarks.—M. F. Nau gives an account of a hitherto unedited Syriac version of the Life of Schenoudi, prefatory to its appearance in the columns of this periodical. M. J. Perruchon continues his 'Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie contemporaine.' The 'Bibliographie' is furnished by M. Halevy.

REVUE CELTIQUE (October, 1899).—M. Ernault contributes a number of notes on the text of the Breton Credo of the fifteenth century, noticed in a previous number of the *Celtique* by M. Le. Nestour, and as a completion of the work begun by the latter.—Dr. Whitley Stokes completes his articles on the text of the Bodleian Amra Choliumb chille. At the end is an appendix containing a number of Columba legends, one of which is particularly valuable as proving that the ancient Irish worshipped the sun and moon. Keating referred to it as an instance of apostasy from Christianity.—M. A. Thomas contributes a number of place names in France, hitherto unnoticed, of Gallic origin. All of them are names of obscure places, and appeared to have been culled from topographical dictionaries, the best places, we would say, in which to find them.—Mr. J. Strachan has a note on the Irish term 'toglenomon,' which appears several times in the St. Gall glosses, and comes to the conclusion that it means 'a tag,' and, as he says, "toglenomon exempli" might be translated "a tag to the example."—This is the last number of the year, and the remaining pages are occupied with the usual indices.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (November).—'Green Towns and Black,' a description by Tutein Nolthenius of his experiences of American cities with especial reference to street railways and trams, and the possibility of developing the same in Holland, so as to check overcrowding in towns, and depopulation of country districts.—'Mr. F. A. Van Hall as Minister,' contains reminiscences and a sketch of deceased's not brilliant but industrious career.—'In Behalf of Netherland Sailors.' This is a plea by one of themselves, Captain Vreede, for more attention to be given by the State to the lot of common sailors. Fifty thousand out of Holland's five millions are employed at sea, and both at sea and on land there is pressing need for regulations to secure the safety, comfort, and well-being of sailors.—'What should

Children read,' by Nellie van Kol. She lays down as general characteristics of sound child-literature, that it should be religious in principle, in tendency evolutionary, in contents universal, and in form, pure. She warmly reprobates special boy and girl literature, always untrue to nature, and also the teaching of national prejudice and hatreds.—Another article in this number is devoted to 'Björnstjerne Björnson.'—(December).—'The Grand-child,' by A. Germonprez, a sketch from Flemish peasant life gives a vivid impression, no doubt true to life.—'The proposed Inhabited Houses' Law and Health Regulations.' G. Oosterhaan discusses in this reference the best means of preventing overcrowding in cities and of grappling with the maladies due to the existing condition of many towns. A complete reorganisation of sanitary regulations is declared to be urgently required. 'The Wajang Orang at Jogjakartâ,' a charmingly-written description by a lady who was a guest at this Javanese festival held in honour of the installation of the Sultan's son as Crown Prince.—'Criminal Etiology,' by G. A. Van Hamel, is a general article on the causes of criminality, showing in how many ways the treatment of criminals ought to be conditioned by this sort of knowledge, and how necessary this study is as a preliminary to all attempts at reformation also to the prevention of crime.—(January)—A new complete edition of the seventeenth-century poet, Hooft, gives Professor Kalf the opportunity of discussing *Hooft's Lyrics*, which he thinks are a good antidote to the depressing spirit of modern lyric. Hooft is always bright, cheerful, and finds joy in life, and has much of the breadth of Shakespeare's sympathies, though his style is more artificial. *A Hollander in South Africa* is a laudatory sketch of Herman Coster, a lawyer, who sought his fortune in Africa and rose to be State-Procurator of the Transvaal, involved in all government intrigues, and killed at Elandslaagte.—'The Science of Religion,' by Dr. H. Y. Groenewegen, is for the most part a highly appreciative review of Dr. Tiele's Gifford lectures.—'The Plague,' by Dr. Pijnappel treats of the modern appliances and experiments directed to its cure. He hopes to see a project for a plague laboratory at Amsterdam carried out, and expects satisfactory results. 'The Plague and how it was fought in old times' is a striking contrast to the foregoing article, and of much interest.

D E N M A R K.

AARBOGER FOR NORDISK OLDKYNDIGHED OG HISTORIE (Vol. XIV., Part 3).—This part is of somewhat limited interest, as no less than four of the six short articles it contains deal with questions of church architecture. They are (1) 'Remains of

Stave-building in the Goose-tower at Vordingborg,' by Sune Ambrosiani; (2) 'Did Uvelse Church Have Twin Towers?' by J. B. Löffler; (3) 'Varieties of Chalkstone in Danish Mediæval Churches; and (4) 'Woodwork in Danish Mediæval Churches,' by V. Koch. The first of these is written in Swedish, and all, except the third, are illustrated by diagrams and views.—Of more general interest is the article by Mr. Nyrop, on 'St. Eligius,' in connection with a wall-painting discovered in Stubbeköbing Church in 1881. The saint was a smith by trade, and so proud of his skill in the craft, that St. Peter was sent to earth for the special purpose of humiliating him. This he did, under the guise of an apprentice, by taking the leg of a horse, fixing the shoe on it, and replacing the limb as firmly as before. Eligius tried to imitate the process, but had to confess himself beaten. Another story tells how he once caught the devil by the nose with his smithy-tongs, a legend which in England is attached to St. Dunstan. Both of these events are depicted in the fresco at Stubbeköbing, of which a reproduction is here given.—The remaining article (incomplete) by P. Hauberg, deals with a large find of silver coins made in Flensborg in 1897. The coins number no less than 8000, and belong to the reign of Erik of Pommern (1396-1439).

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE (November, 1899).—The first place is given to an article by M. C. Vulliemin on the correspondence between Conrad-Ferdinand Meyer and Louis Vulliemin.—It is followed by a continuation of the article which appeared in the preceding number on the Philippine Islands.—M. M. Delines concludes his article on 'Dramatic Music in Russia.'—M. E. Muret gives the first instalment of an interesting and well-written article on 'A Winter in Spain.'—M. Tallichet continues his contribution begun in the October number on 'La France et le procès Dreyfus.' Fiction is represented by 'En plein air, Histoire de bons gabelous,' by M. T. Combe, and the second part of M. Jacob Frey's story, entitled 'Parole tenue.'—(December)—M. Jules Repond opens this number with a political article under the title, 'Assurances Sociales et Referendum.'—All the other articles in the number are continuations, viz.—M. Muret's 'A Winter in Spain,' M. Vulliemin's 'Conrad-Ferdinand Meyer et Louis Vullkemin,' M. Plauchut's 'Aux Philippines,' M. Ed. Tallichet's 'La France et le procès Dreyfus,' and the two novels, all of which are here concluded.—(January, 1900)—In an interesting paper, the first of two, which occupies the place of honour in this number, M.

E. Bovet, under the title 'Les conditions présentes de l'Italie,' writes hopefully of that country, and expresses the belief that to the careful observer there are obvious in its present condition signs of great vitality.—Under the title 'Le Village Chinois,' M. Michel Delines contributes the first part of an account of the Russian traveller M. Krassnov's journey up the Yangtze Kiang, and of the villages and towns through which he passed. M. Krassnov is Professor of Botany in the University of Kharkov, and was sent out by the Russian Government to report on the tea plantations in the Yangtze valley. M. Delines draws his material from the Professor's reports, and his paper, as need hardly be said, is of considerable importance at the present moment. M. Paul Stapfer has an interesting literary article under the title 'Les autorités de la Critique.' M. P. Martel follows with a paper bearing the title 'La restauration d'une route d'Europe aux Indes.' The route he discusses is that to be opened up through the ancient Mesopotamia to the head of the Persian Gulf. As most readers are aware, the railway for which the concession has recently been granted, follows one of the oldest of the trade routes from the Mediterranean to India. M. Martel narrates the history of the concession, and glances at its importance politically and commercially.—The Editor sketches the career of Numa Droz, and M. T. Combe represents fiction with 'Les bûcherous.'—The 'Chroniques' are, as usual, full of interesting notes. The war in South Africa is noticed in the 'Chronique politique.' The writer declines to take the view common among many continental papers, and blames the Boers for the war, speaks of the unreadiness of Great Britain, her desire to avoid war if possible, and the rapid conveyance of her forces over so vast a distance.

A M E R I C A .

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (October, 1899).—With one exception the principal articles in this number appeal exclusively to American readers, and can have but slight attractions for any except those who are specially interested in the history of the United States. The subjects discussed in them all are more or less remote. All the same they are not unimportant. Mr. Wolfson opens the number with 'The Ballot and Other Forms of Voting in the Italian Communes.' The article is historical, and goes back to ancient times. It is a scholarly performance, and contains much rare information.—Mr. B. C. Steiner follows with the first part of 'Maryland's Adoption of the Federal Constitution,'

and discusses one of the most important incidents in the War of Independence.—Mr. F. M. Anderson follows with another instalment. His subject is 'Contemporary Opinion of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.'—Over the signature of Mr. Carl Becker is an article with the title, 'The Unit Rule in National Nominating Conventions.'—In the 'Documents' section we have a transcript of a curious document, showing that as far back at least as the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII the judges of the Court of Star Chamber and the Clerk of the Court, and on some occasions the solicitor and attorney-generals, were in the habit of dining together, when their day's work was finished, in the adjoining dining-room, known as the Inner Star Chamber, at the public expense. The document shows who were present at these dinners, the dishes with which they were supplied, and the cost of the entertainments. Their lordships appear to have dined sumptuously, and with due respect to the times and seasons of both the natural and ecclesiastical year. The transcript contains some curious reading.—The remainder of the section is taken up with copies of correspondence between Bancroft and Buchanan in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, 1849-1850.—The notices of recent historical publications are, as usual, well done, and include notices of several books published on this side of the Atlantic, in Britain and on the Continent.—The section headed 'Notes and News' is full of information of interest to students of history.

THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES (No. 1, October, 1899).—This, the latest addition to English Theological periodicals, issues from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It is intended mainly for Theological scholars, but will not neglect wholly the requirements of the laity. According to the editor, 'It will welcome original papers on all subjects which fall within its province, as well as shorter discussions or brief notes upon matters of detail. It will print ancient texts which have not appeared in type, or which for any cause may need to be printed afresh. A portion of its space will be given to summaries and notices of recent literature, and it will review at length a few of the more important works, in cases where a fuller examination may serve to contribute to the knowledge of the subject.' Among the 'Directors' of the *Journal* are some of the chief names at the two Universities mentioned. The opening number is full of scholarship, and forms a remarkably good beginning. Here, of course, we can do no more than mention the contents. Canon Sanday opens with a

discussion, entitled 'Recent Research on the Origin of the Creed,' in which, among other things, he argues against the recently published views of Harnack and Kattenbusch.—The Master of Balliol follows with a paper on 'St. Anselm's Argument for the Existence of God,' in which he shows that the interpretation now put upon that argument is the converse of what it was first presented as being. 'It is not the proof of God from the thought of Him,' he says, 'but, starting with the presupposition that our minds are necessarily carried back to the consciousness of Him as the absolute unity to which all things must be referred, it is the proof that that unity must be conceived as a spiritual principle . . . in the sense that only in spirit can the original unity return to itself through all the differences of the finite.'—In a Practical Discourse on some Principles of Hymn-Singing, Dr. Bridges points out the defects of modern hymn tunes, and modern church music and hymn singing, and lays down the principles in connection with the music of modern hymnody, that 'The music must express the words or sense; it should not attract too much attention to itself; it should be dignified; and its reason and use is to heighten religious emotion.'—Two articles are devoted to the Acts of the Apostles, one discussing its historical value, and the other the date of its composition.—In the section headed 'Documents,' is printed a collection of liturgical prayers, taken from a photograph, of the eleventh century MS., belonging to the library of Laura on Mount Athos. The collection is entitled 'The Sacramentary of Serapion Thumis.' It is minutely described and compared by Mr. F. E. Brightman, whose notes upon it are not completed in this number. The 'Notes' treat, among other things, of the title of the magistrates of Philippi, of some new members of the 'Ferrar Group' of MSS. of the Gospels, and of the significance of *ἄληθης* in John i. 14.—Several books are reviewed; much information is given in the *Chronicle*, and the contents of some British and foreign theological magazines are given.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Fundamental Ideas of Christianity. By JOHN CAIRD, D.D., LL.D., late Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow, with a Memoir by Edward Caird, D.C.L., LL.D., Master of Balliol. 2 Vols. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1899.

With the death of the late Principal Caird there passed away one of the most conspicuous and revered figures in Scotland. Though not to be reckoned in the first rank of theologians, his influence as a theological teacher was deep and broad and good, always making for toleration and thoroughness in theology, and for reality and truth in religion. As a thinker, he cannot be said to have been in any way highly original, most of his theology being based upon the teaching of Hegel, but as an expositor he had few equals and no superior. Whatever he touched he made luminous and set out the most intricate problems with a brilliancy and splendour which has seldom been surpassed. Of all this, the two posthumous volumes before us, which have passed under the affectionate editorial hand of his brother, the Master of Balliol, offer abundant evidence. They contain the twenty-one lectures delivered by the late Principal on the Gifford foundation at Glasgow, together with a Memoir of him by the brother who was his close and constant companion till his removal to Oxford. To those who were personally acquainted with Principal Caird, and to many who knew him solely through his writings, this latter will prove extremely acceptable. It is a model of what such a Memoir should be—restrained, judicious, and charmingly written. Brief as it is, the Master of Balliol has found sufficient space in it to trace with conspicuous clearness his brother's career and mental development. It is pervaded from beginning to end by a calm and beautiful spirit, and one lays it down with a deep sense of its intrinsic value. As the subject of his Gifford lectures, Principal Caird selected the fundamental ideas of Christianity. The term 'doctrine' seems to have been avoided in the title as suggestive of opinion and definition, and the term 'idea' chosen as implying capability of growth and expansion, room for the increase of light and knowledge respecting the object of thought. In the same way 'Christianity' appears to have been adopted in the title in preference to the 'Christian Faith,' in order to indicate what may be called the dynamical aspect of Christianity, rather than its representation as a series of conceptions—i.e., Christianity as a living divine energy leavening society, a thought-producing power rather than a finished system of thought. The ideas discussed in the lectures are the Christian ideas of religion, and of the relation between faith and reason, the Christian idea of God and His relation to the world, of the origin and nature of evil, of the possibility of moral restoration, of the Incarnation, the Atonement, of the kingdom of the Spirit and of the future life. The point of view from which all these are discussed is what is usually known as the Hegelian, or, as it is sometimes termed, the spiritual, and which falls back for support on the teaching of St. John and St. Paul. In Germany Principal Caird has been anticipated by a whole

school, among whom were some of the greatest theological luminaries of the last generation. His exposition is admirable. It is eloquent and richly suggestive. The reader will find in the lectures not only an unequalled exposition of the great ideas handled, but a veritable arsenal of weapons with which to meet the arguments which the scepticism and materialism of the present seek to confuse the issues and to impair the power of Christian truth.

The Ritschlian Theology, Critical and Constructive: An Exposition and an Estimate. By ALFRED E. GARVIE, B.D.,
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1899.

Notwithstanding the acceptance which the Ritschlian theology has met with in Germany, and its advocacy by some of the most distinguished among German theologians, in this country it has been but coldly received. Theologians of almost every school have stood aloof from it, and most of those who have taken in hand to examine it have criticised it unfavourably. Stählin has ventured the pretty large statement—'What Germany thinks to-day, Great Britain will begin to think to-morrow.' Perhaps the wish was father to the thought. At any rate, so far as the theology he advocates is concerned, his statement is as yet unfulfilled. Here and there, of course, Ritschlianism has its advocates among us, for there are still those among whom a theology 'made in Germany' is quite as acceptable as anything else. Mr. Garvie, who in the volume before us has attempted an exposition of it, is a devout student of this popular mode of German theological thought. Fortunately, however, he has brought to his examination of it a cool head and a clear vision, and while favouring some of its points, takes care to show us that in others it is in his opinion, if not absolutely wrong, at least open to grave suspicion. When reading his volume, it is essential to bear in mind that the theology he is expounding is not merely that of Ritschl, but the whole body of Ritschlian theology, as modified and interpreted by Ritschl's principal disciples—Harnack, Kaftan, Herrmann, Wendt, Schultz, and Bornemaun. As Mr. Garvie points out, the distinctive features of the teaching of these writers are the elimination of metaphysics from theology, the consequent rejection of speculative theism, the condemnation of ecclesiastical dogma as an illegitimate mixture of theology and metaphysics, the antagonism shown to religious mysticism as a metaphysical type of piety, the consequent contrast between religious and theoretical knowledge, the emphasis laid upon the historical revelation of God in Christ as opposed to any natural revelation, the use of the idea of the Kingdom of God as the regulative principle of Christian dogmatics, and the tendency to limit theological investigation to the contents of the religious consciousness. On all these points Mr. Garvie has much to say, and on some of them a good deal that is unfavourable. But his main object is to expound what the Ritschlian theology is, and his book may be said to divide itself into four parts: the first introductory, the second an exposition of the critical position taken up by the above-mentioned disciples of Ritschl, the third an exposition of their positive teaching, and the fourth, a criticism of the various teaching and tendencies of the school. The exposition is clear, accurate, and exhaustive; the introduction scholarly, and the critical chapters, while sympathetically written, are, as already intimated, independent. The book makes no pretension to literary style, Mr. Garvie being more intent on giving an accurate representation of Ritschlianism than an example of style, and here and there one meets with an awkward or monotonous series of sentences, but the student who masters the volume will make himself acquainted with all the essentials of

the Ritschlian theology, and find it an extremely valuable guide to the voluminous writings of the theologians of the Ritschlian school, and a good substitute for those he does not read, excepting those of a purely historical character.

The Theology of Modern Literature. By the Rev. S. LAW WILSON, M.A., B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1899.

The task which Mr. Wilson appears here to have set himself is to answer the question—What is the relation between Christian theology and modern literature, and to what extent are the conceptions of the former reproduced or contradicted in the pages of the latter? To answer the question adequately, and even fairly, a large knowledge of theology is required, as also a large knowledge of philosophy and literature, with much weighing of apparently contradictory statements, and great tact and skill in the matter of interpretation. Literature, properly so-called, while always religious, and the more profoundly so in proportion as it is great and enduring, is always undenominational, and is not apt to speak in the language of the Theological Schools. Its language is not technical, but literary. There is more of the emotional and imaginative about it than there is in the definitions of science. Besides, literature is human, not divine. At any rate it does not start from the same luminous ground of assurance as theology. It is the utterance rather of the human heart conscious of its ignorance, perplexed, and bewildered, haunted by shadows, and fighting its doubts and fears. All these things, to mention no others, make the task of its interpretation in regard to the verities of the Christian faith one of more than ordinary difficulty, and delicate to a degree. Mr. Wilson has, doubtless, said many just and true things about modern literature, and said them well; but here and there, and generally in fact, he seems to have expected it to speak in the language which he himself is wont to use. We have no desire to defend modern literature or its theology. All we desire is to point out that its interpretation in relation to the doctrines of Christianity requires to be carried on on larger lines, or on principles somewhat more flexible than those on which the criticism of a book of theology is based. Mr. Wilson, too, has fallen into the mistake of making the literary artist responsible for all that his characters say, or of regarding whatever they utter as a clear indication of the artist's belief. So again he interprets their attitude to Christianity as the real attitude of the author. We have no great admiration for *Robert Elsemere*, yet it is scarcely fair to blame Mrs. Humphrey Ward for not making Elsemere argue with Wendover, and refute his 'infidel assaults,' and then after asking whether it is probable that Mrs. Ward declined to argue the question, because she secretly felt her inability to demolish Christianity in that way, to go on to say:—'It looks so like it, that if any one chooses to infer as much, he does her no injustice, for she has certainly left herself open to that insinuation.' The insinuation, it seems to us, would be extremely unfair, and to make it would, at any rate, on the grounds stated, be a great injustice. Like any other artist in fiction, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, we take it, is working out or depicting a series of characters, conceived by herself it may be, but not her own. They think and talk as she imagines they would do in actual life, but to identify their thoughts and doings with what she herself thinks or does, unless it is expressly said so, is, we venture to say, totally unwarranted. Among the literature Mr. Wilson examines are the writings of Carlyle, Emerson, Browning and George Eliot. He writes fluently, but with a general tendency towards exaggeration. Robert Browning, we are told for instance, 'is the

one great rhythmic spokesman of the age we live in. No other writer has so thoroughly reflected and interpreted the ideas, hopes, aims, and aspirations of the nineteenth century.' . . . Browning has become a leader of men, because he knows so well what men are thinking, and can put into words thoughts which in other minds are vainly struggling for articulation.' This may be Mr. Wilson's view; but there is another which has probably, we might say certainly, more adherents. Mr. Browning, notwithstanding his great gifts, is often unintelligible and inarticulate, chiefly, we suspect, through his impatience, or his unwillingness or inability, though at times he can speak with the clear utterance of Tennyson, Milton, or Shakespeare, to make his language the clear mirror of his thought. As for his being the 'one great rhythmic spokesman of the age we live in,' or the 'one who has most thoroughly reflected and interpreted its thoughts, the formation of a society to interpret what he has said, and to ascertain the meaning of his words, speaks in the opposite direction. Mr. Wilson's estimate of Emerson's teaching strikes us as being thoroughly inadequate. Many of the Concord seer's utterances seem to us far fetched, some of them stagey, and others of them erroneous, but the passages selected by Mr. Wilson are scarcely open to his criticisms. On one point he appeals to the philosophers against Emerson, but Kant, Herbert, Spencer, and many others are with Emerson and against his critic. Mr. Wilson takes exception on some other points, to which the mystics, such as Eckhart, Tauler, Suso, and many whose orthodoxy has never been called in question, are at one with Emerson. Mr. Wilson, indeed, seems to have failed to appreciate this side of Emerson's writings, and to have forgotten that theologians point to a similar side in the writings of St. Paul and St. John. Perhaps the best essays in the volume are those on George Eliot and George Macdonald. Mr. Wilson, however, has evidently studied his subject with considerable care, and though his verdicts are often questionable, they are instructive reading.

Étude sur le Cénobitisme Pakhomien pendant le IV^e siècle et la première moitié du Ve. By PAULIN LADEUZE. Louvain: J. van Linthout. 1898.

This elaborate work of almost four hundred closely-printed pages, large octavo, is the thesis presented by the author for his doctorate degree to the Theological Faculty of the Catholic University of Louvain. It is a historical and critical study of the Cenobite Institutions, or orders in Egypt, which owed their origin and rules to Pakhomius. It describes their constitution and organisation, and traces their history from the time of their founder to the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D. The first part is taken up with an enumeration and analysis of the literary sources on which our knowledge of these depends, viz.—the versions of the Life of Pakhomius, which have been preserved to us, with an appreciation of their historical value; the writings of Pakhomius himself and those attributed with more or less probable accuracy to him, and the writings of Schénoudi, the last of the literary monks of the order. The second part sketches the history of the order; and the third part describes its organisation, and gives the rules that were intended to regulate the lives of its members; those given by its founder, and those given by Schenoudi. In an appendix, Dr. Ladeuze discusses various matters that have been the subject of controversy regarding the morality of the monks in the various districts where the Pakhomian monasteries were founded, and their repute generally, giving the documents regarding them on which the controversy has been based. A bibliography is also given, which will prove very

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serviceable to those who desire to study the subject fully, and to come to personal judgments as to the merits and demerits of the controversy raised. The writer here, it may be mentioned, while heartily in sympathy as a good Catholic with monastic institutions and aims, seeks to examine with an impartial mind the history of the order as set forth in the sources at his disposal, and presents it in a fair and judicial spirit. His work is a valuable contribution to the subject with which it deals, and brings together a very considerable mass of evidence in favour of the monks which should be carefully weighed. That some of them were defaulters, and did not a little to befoul the fair fame of their order, is admitted, but what order is there that has been altogether free from such ?

The Map of Life Conduct and Character. By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY. London, New York, and Bombay : Longmans, Green & Co. 1899.

Though the title which Mr. Lecky has chosen for his volume seems at first sight somewhat peculiar, one has not to read far into the volume without seeing that there is a certain appropriateness about it. The book is certainly on the 'conduct of life,' but it is quite as certainly about a good deal more than is usually conceived under that phrase. For one thing, it is a fairly trenchant criticism of modern social and political morality ; and for another, though it lays down no map or plan of life, and gives no tables or rules or axioms for its guidance, it touches upon most of the problems which a man is likely to meet with in his pilgrimage across the world, and upon most of the influences with which he is likely to have to contend. Among the subjects discussed by Mr. Lecky are work as necessary for happiness, the power of the will, the use of the imagination, the influence of environment, inherited disposition, the pursuit of pleasure and of happiness, military, civic, and intellectual virtues, marriage, social ideals, human depravity, moral compromises in war, law, politics, and the Church, the use and misuse of money, statesmanship, and the management of character. Besides these, many other topics, such as the ethics of party, the Jameson Raid, the criminal code, and the intellectual position of Anglicanism come in for discussion. The tone of the volume is on the whole hopeful, but by no means optimistic. The dangers which threaten modern civilisation, and the increasing evils with which it is attended, are carefully pointed out, and fully appreciated. Speaking of the increase of wealth, and of fortunes which are wholly or almost wholly dissociated from special and definite duties, such as those represented by incomes derived from national or provincial and municipal debts, and the tendency of such fortunes, the multiplication of which 'is one of the great characteristics of our time,' to give unrivalled opportunities of luxurious idleness, and to exercise a 'profoundly vulgarising and demoralising influence upon society,' he remarks : 'Perhaps our own age has seen more clearly than those that preceded it that complete and habitual idleness is immorality, and that when the circumstances of his life do not assign to a man a definite sphere of work, it is his first duty to find it for himself.' The vast and ever increasing expenditure on the luxury of ostentation which is characteristic of modern society is regarded by Mr. Lecky as fraught with danger. 'It is the colossal waste of the means and of human happiness,' he says, 'in the most selfish and most vulgar forms of social advertisement and competition, that gives force and almost a justification to anarchical passions which menace the whole future of our civilisation.' Speaking of commerce, and the unscrupulousness of many to get rich, he says—'It is much to be questioned whether the greatest

criminals are to be found within the walls of prisons. Dishonesty on a small scale nearly always finds its punishment. Dishonesty on a gigantic scale continually escapes.' On almost every page Mr. Lecky strikes at some evil more or less prevalent, and deals with it in a judicial spirit. If his strictures are severe, they are sound, and deserve to be carefully considered. The volume, indeed, is not one to be lightly taken up and thrown aside. It is full of a mature and practical wisdom.

Das Problem Friedrich Nietzsches. By EDWARD GRIMM. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke u. Sohn. 1899.

In a brief preface to this work the distinction is made between Nietzsche as a problem, and the problem of Nietzsche, between the man and his writings, the philosopher and his philosophy. Intimately as these are connected and closely dependent, as the latter is on the former, they ought, and especially so in Nietzsche's case, to be dealt with as far as possible by themselves. They are at least separate entities, and may be examined each by itself. It is the latter that Herr Grimm proposes here to study—to elucidate and appreciate. He divides his work into three parts. In the first of these he traces the development of Nietzsche's philosophical opinions as they are reflected in his writings, and in the order chiefly in which they were published. He divides the period of Nietzsche's literary activity into five parts—into five periods, and places each under a rubric expressive or descriptive of the predominant phase of Nietzsche's views during the years in question. In the second part of his work Herr Grimm deals more particularly with Nietzsche as a thinker and as a moralist, and with his attitude towards religion, social questions, and politics. In the third part he sets himself to determine the significance and value of Nietzsche's system. The analysis he gives in the first of these three parts of his hero's multifarious and often obscure essays and treatises, is excellent. He has rendered both to Nietzsche and his readers—to all likely to interest themselves in Nietzsche's writings—a public service, for, as all know who have attempted to master these writings, it is a considerable tax on time and a trial on temper for any ordinarily gifted mortal to endeavour to track his way by himself through the tangled diction, and all too luxuriant intertwinings of thought and fancy in Nietzsche's volumes. They have a fascination of their own, and many have devoted their time and pens to their elucidation; but we think that the work before us will take rank as one of the most helpful of these.

The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest (597-1066). By WILLIAM HUNT, M.A. London and New York. Macmillan & Co. 1899.

This is the first of a series of volumes dealing with the history of the English Church, which the Dean of Winchester has for some time contemplated, and in the editorship of which he has secured the assistance of Mr. Hunt. The series is to consist of seven volumes, each treating of a well-defined period and complete in itself. So far as at present arranged, the editor-in-chief takes the period of the Norman Conquest down to the end of the thirteenth century; that of the two following centuries is assigned to the Rev. Canon Capes; Dr. Gairdiner takes the history of the Church during the sixteenth century; Mr. Frere will deal with it during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., while the two remaining volumes, which are expected to bring the history down to, at least, the Evangelical movement in the eighteenth century, are given to Mr. W. Hutton and Canon Overton.

The volume from Mr. Hunt narrates the history of the Church from its foundation among the English down to the Norman Conquest. The history of the Church among the British and the Scots of Ireland and North Britain is briefly touched upon, and the relations between the English and the Columbite Church are necessarily given in greater detail. There is also a full description of the attitude of the British bishops towards the Augustine mission, and of the attempts of the latter to secure the co-operation of the former, with a view to the more speedy evangelisation of their conquerors. Mr. Hunt may be right in tracing the rejection of the overtures of Augustine by the British bishops, partly to Augustine's own demeanour, but mainly to race hatred; but it is quite possible that their motive was more complex. At any rate a good deal of excuse may be found for them in the terrible sufferings they and their flocks had had to endure at the hands of their conquerors. Probably, too, their experience of secular intruders made them suspicious of Augustine's intentions. Signs are not wanting that at least some of them viewed the members of the Roman mission with much the same feelings as they entertained towards the English. The Scots' mission is dwelt upon at considerable length; there are admirable chapters on Aidan, and the Whitby Conference, and ample justice is done to missionary zeal and devotion of the brethren of Iona. The defects of their organisation and its unfitness for episcopal work is pointed out, and the essentially missionary character of the order is indicated. There is a good chapter on early monasticism, in which a succinct account is given of the church architecture of the time, of the occupations of the monks, and of their contributions to art and civilisation. The evil times upon which the Church fell, in consequence of its internal corruptions and the inroads of the Danes, Alfred's educational work, Dunstan's reforms, and Ælfric's literary work are all graphically described. In his preface or introduction Mr. Hunt writes in defence of the mediæval miracles, but his belief in them is not particularly extensive. 'Some,' he says, 'may at once be rejected as futile, or as contrary to the revealed will of God. Others seem mere coincidences, interpreted by devout minds as miraculous interpositions of Divine Providence. Many do not rest on good historical evidence, and many were probably the results of the close connection between the mind and the body and of the power which certain persons have over the minds of others.' In the course of his narrative he relates some of the more beautiful of the legends in which they are described, but usually as things recorded rather than as things done. They lend a certain charm to the narrative, which is not less remarkable for its scholarly and impartial character than for the admirably lucid and simple way in which it is told. It forms an excellent beginning to the series, and is one of those learned and valuable works which, like Mr. Green's *History of the English People*, while satisfying the student, can be read with pleasure by all.

Italy and her Invaders, 744-814. By THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., etc., etc. Vols VII. and VIII. Illustrations. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1899.

With these two volumes, Mr. Hodgkin concludes the great work on which he has been engaged so many years, and which has deservedly won its way to the esteem of scholars, and placed him in the first rank of historians. The work has been so often referred to in the pages of this *Review* that it is scarcely necessary that we should do more than chronicle the appearance of these concluding volumes, and indicate their contents. They deal with the Franks and their invasion of Italy, and bring the

history of the Western Empire down to the death of Charles the Great. The first of the two volumes deals with the Frankish Empire. More attractive volumes of history may be found, and Mr. Hodgkin has written several, but the fault is not his, but in his subject. He has spared no effort to make the history of the Franks as attractive as possible within the space he has assigned for it, but the scarcity of material and the general sameness of what there is renders it almost impossible to make the early history of the Frankish Empire little more than a list of wars and uninteresting intrigues, with not infrequently sanguinary results. As soon, however, as the figure of Charles the Great is reached the narrative assumes a different character, and one immediately feels the charm which Mr. Hodgkin has accustomed us to in his previous volumes. The picture which he gives of the great Frank is a piece of excellent portraiture, and is thoroughly supported by what is known of him from contemporary writers. Quite as excellent is the brief sketch of Alcuin in the second of the two chapters in which the Frankish Court is happily contrasted with the Byzantine. As with that of other invaders of Italy Mr. Hodgkin deals largely with the history of the Franks before they set foot on Italian soil, and as in other volumes he prefaces his chapters with brief accounts of his authorities and 'guides.' Among the latter is Mr. Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, in reference to which Mr. Hodgkin writes:—'A careful study of the authorities relating to the great event of 800 only increases the marvel that a young Oxford student, writing a prize essay forty years ago, should have obtained such a wide and comprehensive view of his subject, and have left so little to be said by those who come after him.' In Mr. Bryce's absorption into politics the world has evidently lost a great historian, and some might say gained but an indifferent politician. However, there can be no doubt as to the value of the *Holy Roman Empire*, and it is pleasant to meet with such testimonies. They are among 'the amenities' of literature. Mr. Hodgkin deserves to be congratulated upon the completion of his work. It has already taken its place among the masterpieces of historical writing, of which during the last six or seven decades some of the best have been added to English literature.

Histoire de la Littérature Grecque. Par ALFRED CROISSET et MAURICE CROISSET. Tome V. Paris: Albert Fontemoing. 1899.

This is the fifth and concluding volume of the great work on which MM. A. and M. Croiset have been engaged for some time. The first and second volumes of the work have already reached a second edition and a like honour may be confidently expected for the rest. The present volume is somewhat bulky, and runs out to over eleven hundred pages. It is divided into two parts. The first is from the hand of M. A. Croiset, and deals with the history of Greek literature from the death of Alexander to the time of Augustus. In the second the story is taken up where it is let fall in the first, and continued by M. M. Croiset down to the time of Heraclius. The authors have been well agreed in their plans, the same method of treatment is adhered to throughout, and but for certain unimportant differences of style we might suppose that the whole volume was the product of one pen. Each of the two parts opens with a general survey of the period to be treated, in which the political and social changes are noted, the new intellectual tendencies indicated, and the distinguishing features of the literature of the period under survey are described. A similar survey is prefixed to each of the divisions, after which in separate sections a brief biography of each writer is given, his works enumerated.

and analysed, and then critically examined. Diplomatic and bibliographic notes are provided for each section, and numerous footnotes refer the student to works in which the subjects discussed in the text are more fully handled by other authors. In appearance the work is scarcely so learned as is the way with German books on the subject, but what the volume lacks in this respect it possesses in reality. The perusal of it is made pleasant and instructive by the vigorous and admirably lucid style in which it is written from beginning to end. References to English authors and English editions are few and far between, while those to French and German are numerous. It is difficult, indeed, to recall one. The reason is not far so seek. The literature of this period of Greek history, scholars in this country have neglected, preferring to give their attention to what are generally known as the classical authors. In his introduction M. A. Croiset, who writes the first part of the volume, gives an excellent survey of the Alexandrine period, as well as of its literature. He does not say anything that is absolutely new, or that has not been said before, but it is all put with admirable force and clearness. He notes the profound transformation wrought in the Greek world by the reign of Alexander, the complete change in the entire life of old Greece, the spread of Hellenism, the displacement of Athens from her political primacy, the springing up of new cities, half Greek and half Oriental, the origination of new centres of literary activity, their rivalry with Athens, and the difference between the Greeks of Alexandria and Athens during the Alexandrine period and those of an earlier period. Neither the Greek of Alexander nor of Athens in the third century was the same, he says, as the Athenian contemporaries of Thucydides or Plato. Their works also were different. During the period of national independence, Greek literature grew up out of the innermost life of the city, the natural evolution of which it always faithfully reflected; it was a literature which was popular and traditional, *une littérature de plein aer*. Afterwards, the city being but the shadow of itself, literature became at once more individual and more cosmopolitan; it no longer issued from the innermost life of the state, it was a literature of the school, of the guest chamber, of the library and the cabinet. As compared with that of preceding ages, the Alexandrine literature was a literature of decadence, absorbed in an egoism more or less intelligent, but which atrophies the highest faculties. Taking philosophical literature first, M. Croiset begins with Speusippus, the nephew of Plato and his successor in the groves of the Academy, and passes in review the writings which have been attributed to him and those which bear the names of his successors. Next he passes to the chief writers among the following of Aristotle, but the chief place is given to Theophrastus, who is described as *un fin psychologue et uncrivain délicat*. M. Croiset rejects Casaubon's theory as to the *Characters*, speaks highly of its value, and contrasts the analyses it contains with those of Aristotle. Those of the latter, he says, are abstractions; those of Theophrastus concrete and picturesque. The *Fragments*, too, are spoken of with favour, and regarded as valuable for the history of philosophical opinions. Of the Stoics of the period it is said—They have each their original physiognomy and their personal role in the development of the doctrine. But they have also certain traits in common which at once strike the observer. Art teaches them but slightly, still less does respect for traditional opinion. They bear about with them a grand seriousness and an independence which is afraid of no opposition and no raillery. They affect a language which is brief and sententious. They argue with intrepidity, and conform their conduct to their convictions. In the chapter on Rhetoric, History, and Erudition, M. Croiset follows many by-ways of literature, but gives an

excellent account of the savants who frequented the Museum of Alexandria and laboured in its libraries and laboratories, as well as of kindred spirits who dwelt elsewhere and were their contemporaries. The geographers are treated at length, and attention is called to the multitude of historical writers and the innovations which were being made in the form and character of historical writings. In poetry, the chief place is assigned to Theocritus, and after him to Leonidas of Tarentum. Beyond these there were few. There was much verse-making, but little of it had any real connection with the national life. The laborious erudition which formed the essential characteristic of the period had taken possession of the poets and deprived their poetry of vitality. To Polybius, M. A. Croiset devotes an entire chapter. In the main he agrees in his estimate of him as an historian with Mr. Strachan-Davidson and Mr. Schuckburgh. The chapter is both well worth reading and one of the most enjoyable in the volume. In the second part, which occupies nearly three-fourths of the volume, and covers a period of about seven centuries, M. Maurice Croiset, after sketching the general literary history of the time and the influence which Rome had upon it, begins with Diodorus Siculus, of whose ability as an historical writer he has but a poor opinion, and then, after speaking of the Grammarians, goes on to treat of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, admitting the justice of some of the opinions expressed in his letters and criticisms, but pointing out the many defects in his history and his great inferiority to Polybius. There is an excellent section on Longinus, which is followed by an admirable account of Strabo and his different writings. Philo and Josephus come in for treatment. The method of the former in his commentaries on the Old Testament, M. Croiset remarks, 'is the allegoric interpretation practised with a freedom, or rather a fantasy, which seems to us a perpetual defiance of good sense.' He sketches his philosophy, and dismisses him by saying—'As a thinker, he was the chief promoter of a great renewal of the ancient philosophy; he announced Neoplatonism and likewise Christian theology in so far as he had anything in common with its doctrines. But his influence was not limited to that. Philo was read by all the Fathers of the Church, and as a writer he is one of the masters from whom they all directly or indirectly proceeded. It is in him that we see the religious prose of the hellenic Orient appear, with its characteristics already manifest, its biblical lyricism, its pomp and sweet brilliancy, its subtlety, its graces a little pretentious and soft, its mysticism, and its impassioned spirituality. It cannot be denied that we have here a form of art which in itself is very interesting, the influence of which has been perpetuated by the diffusion of Christianity down to modern times.' M. Croiset writes appreciatingly of Josephus, but admits the truth of the saying that he attempted to hellenise his fellow-countrymen, and remarks that this statement indicates in what sense the information he gives ought to be in some sense transposed. It is impossible here, however, to refer to all the passages we have marked in this singularly excellent volume. We can only in conclusion call attention to the admirable chapters on Plutarch and Lucian, on Julian, and on the Christian Fathers. The work is one of surpassing interest, and its execution is throughout deserving of the highest praise.

The Moorish Empire: A Historical Epitome. By BUDGETT MEAKIN. Illustrations. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1899.

The history of the Moorish Empire is a somewhat voluminous subject, but Mr. Meakin, with the exercise of great skill, has managed to give within

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the covers of a single volume not only a bright and attractive sketch of the history of the Moors both in Africa and Spain, but also an instructive account of the condition of the still surviving remnant of their once-mighty Empire in the present Kingdom or Empire of Morocco. The book is all the more creditable, as the history of the Moors abounds in interesting episodes, and lends itself perhaps more readily than the history of any other peoples, to picturesque, not to say, sensational writing. To temptations of this kind, however, Mr. Meakin has been almost altogether inaccessible, and only on one or two occasions has he allowed himself to describe any of those highly coloured incidents which the popular imagination is wont to associate with the history of the Moors or Arabians. The book is, in the main, a scholar's book, and is evidently intended more for instruction than entertainment, though the student will find much in its pages which is quite as entertaining, though perhaps not in the ordinary sense of the term, as instructive. The archæological history of the North of Africa, over the greater part of which the Moorish Empire at one time extended, has yet to be written; but such archæological or prehistoric remains as we know to exist, suggest wide fields for speculation, and seem to indicate that the country has much to tell of prehistoric peoples, and may yield up many archæological discoveries when its turn comes to be examined. Mr. Meakin slightly touches upon these remains of prehistoric antiquity, and then traces the history of Mauritania down through Roman times till he comes to the accession of Idrees I., after which he goes on to give a succinct account of the extension and consolidation of the Empire, the Berber conquest of Spain, the subsequent subjugation of the country by the Moorish princes, and the final expulsion of the Moors from the Peninsula. The narrative is, if anything, too condensed, but as all it professes to contain is an 'Épitome,' the style in which it is written cannot be too highly commended. Towards the end of the first part we have several excellent chapters treating of the government, the administration of justice, local officials, punishment of offences, bribery, oppression, and military affairs. The second part of the volume is devoted to the consideration of the external affairs of the Moorish kingdom from mediæval times down to the present. Here Mr. Meakin treats among other matters of the employment of Europeans in the Moorish service, of piracy among the Moors, and of Christian slavery among them. Other chapters deal with the diplomatic relations of the Moors with the powers of Europe, Moorish diplomatic usages, foreign rights and interests, and the commerce and present political outlook of the country. In the concluding part of the volume Mr. Meakin reviews a long list of books connected with the history of the Moors, states some interesting particulars respecting the position and history of journalism in Morocco, and gives a list of books which he recommends for study. The work in short is an excellent attempt to bring into public notice a subject of considerable importance in connection with European history, and to commend it to the attention of students. The volume is packed with information and is amply illustrated, some of the illustrations being copies of rare plates.

The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497-1550. By R. S. WHITEWAY, Bengal Civil Service (Retired), Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co. 1899.

Sir William Hunter, in his first volume of his *History of India*, has devoted several chapters to the rise of the Portuguese power in India. But graphic and excellent as those chapters are, they leave many details unnoticed, and have by no means rendered Mr. Whiteway's volume

unnecessary. The two authors seem to have been working over the same ground simultaneously, and with something of the same end in view. Mr. Whiteway's volume, however, can easily stand alone, and contains many things which, probably from want of space, Sir William Hunter was compelled to pass over. At any rate it is well to have the subject treated separately, and in Mr. Whiteway's hands it has received a treatment which for accuracy, fulness, and vividness of relation, deserves the highest praise. Throughout he has used the original authorities, and handled them in judicial spirit. The long continued efforts of the Portuguese to reach India by a sea route and the causes that induced them Mr. Whiteway touches upon but lightly, and takes up his narrative after Covilham's report had reached Europe, and the sea route had been finally made out by Vasco da Gama. Before taking up his narrative, however, Mr. Whiteway treats the reader to four chapters in which many details are given, throwing light on the social life and on the idiosyncrasies of the chief men of the time. These chapters are in some—nay, we may say in many, respects, the most attractive in the volume. In saying so we have no intention of depreciating the value of the others, but dealing with the social life of the time and with the peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of the chief characters who figured in it, they have an interest which a merely military narrative can hardly lay claim to, however brilliantly it may be written. These chapters are also necessary for a thorough understanding of those which follow. Among other things they tell us where the chief centres of trade were on the western coast of India, the wares in which the merchants dealt, the profit the Sultan of Cairo made on such goods as were brought over from Calicut to Jeddah, and thence to his capital, and what goods he sent in return. We are shown, too, the political condition of India and the structure of Malabar society, in which the ruling and military race was the Nair caste, any member of which might approach but not touch a Brahmin, and to whose sacred presence the lower castes could not come nearer than within shouting distance. The Nairs were polyandrists, like the Tibetans. The great feature in their character, Mr. Whiteway points out, was fidelity to an employer. On this account they were employed both as guides in a journey and to guard property. Along the Malabar coast the Portuguese employed them in all their forts as jangadas. It was the duty of the jangada to defend what was entrusted to him with his life, and to kill him was a serious matter, as it involved a blood feud with all his relatives. With any of the races which now furnish recruits for the Indian fighting army the Portuguese never came in contact, nor did their rule ever extend a day's march from their ships. Their power depended entirely upon their predominance at sea. On the combined testimony of a Persian, an Italian, and a Frenchman, Mr. Whiteway with justice pronounces the Indians of the time on the Malabar coast more civilised than the Portuguese, by whom they were robbed, mutilated, tortured, and often massacred. The evidence of the great Xavier is to the same effect. 'Everywhere, and at all times,' he wrote in a private letter, 'it is rapine, hoarding, and robbery.' Under Arms and Methods of Warfare Mr. Whiteway gives an interesting account of the curious way in which the Hindus of the South fought their battles. Their swords were of iron, not steel. For armour they had coats wadded with cotton. There was no night fight and no ambushade. All the fighting was in the daytime, and governed by elaborate rules which every one knew and observed. Cased in their armour a few Portuguese could slay hundreds and thousands of them without running any but the slightest risk. The Mahommedans were different. They were better armed and were ready to take advantage. Later, when the Portuguese met the Egyptian and Turkish fleets,

they found them in possession of better cannon than their own, and the gunners of the Turkish fleet more expert. Interesting, too, are the notes on the Portuguese voyages and ships, on the prevalence of piracy, on the religion both of the Portuguese and of the Indians. The information Mr. Whiteway gives in these notes is quite peculiar, and throws valuable light upon the affairs dealt with in the rest of the volume. The historical narrative covers a period of fifty-three years, beginning with the departure of Vasco da Gama from Portugal on July 8th, 1497, and concluding with the supercession of George Cabral by D. Afonso de Nerouka. The central figure is of course Albuquerque, the greatest of the Portuguese governors. Much space is given to a detailed description of his doings and his disappointments, to the manner in which he served the Portuguese sovereign, and to the way in which he was treated by him. The narrative is, as we have already said, eminently graphic, but the horrors which the Portuguese perpetrated cannot be said to be pleasant reading. Throughout they acted not as a civilised nation but as savages. Their disunion bred of greed, and the vices which ultimately wrecked their Empire in the East, are apparent almost from the moment they set foot in India. Mr. Whiteway has done so well, that it is to be hoped he may be persuaded to carry his history down to a later period.

Balmerino and its Abbey: A Parish History with Notices of the Adjacent District. By JAMES CAMPBELL, D.D., F.S.A., Scot. A New Edition. William Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London. 1899.

During the thirty-two years which have elapsed since the first edition of this work was published, many new sources of information have been opened up, while various records have been printed by the Government, as well as by private individuals, and from these much has been gleaned respecting Balmerino and its Abbey and the surrounding country which was not previously available. With praiseworthy industry Dr. Campbell has, in the light of this more recent information, revised and enlarged his volume until it is now one of the best Scottish local histories with which we have the pleasure of being acquainted. When dealing with the ancient history of their localities local historians are not invariably to be trusted. They are apt to regard tradition as in every respect incontrovertibly true, and to take what passes in the district as history without examination. Nothing of this sort, however, can be laid to the charge of Dr. Campbell. He is always alert and critical, and approaches every such statement he has to deal with as if it were a subject for suspicion. Where others are certain he is usually doubtful, and writes with judicial accuracy. Here and there, however, he is inclined to rest too much on written authority; as, for instance, when he accepts Tytler's statement that, in the thirteenth century, 'free regality may be presumed to have been enjoyed by every religious house in the kingdom.' While it is true that some religious houses did enjoy this privilege in the thirteenth century, there are no strong grounds for believing that it was enjoyed by all. The lands of Dryburgh were not erected into a regality till 1510; the lands of Kinloss had to wait till 1530 before they were erected even into a free burgh of barony; Paisley, again, did not receive its charter of regality till 1451; and the Cathedral lands of Glasgow had no part in the privilege, notwithstanding the high position of their superior and the many immunities which had been obtained for them, till 1450. Possibly the monastic houses were the first to receive the grant of regality, but as yet the fact has to be proved. But generally

the tone of Dr. Campbell's writing is extremely cautious. For instance, when dealing with the origin of local names, some of the remarks he lets fall are particularly deserving of attention. Referring to Norman Law, he observes that it must have derived its present name from some incident connective with the ravages of the Northmen or Norwegians, may be true enough, though it could scarcely be so called while the language of the district was Gaelic. He then goes on to add—'Its other name, however, was Dundemor or Dunmore (the great fortress), which indicates that it may have been a Celtic stronghold long before the Norwegian or Danish invasion. As the readiest way of accounting for the existence of such ancient memorials, they are frequently assigned to some well-known event in history, with which they may have had no connection. This remark holds true especially of sepulchral memorials, which are commonly referred to the invasions of the Romans or Danes, as if no Pict or Scot died a natural death, or was ever commemorated unless he fell in battle. Some of the ancient forts also may be of Celtic rather than of Danish origin, and much older than the period of the Danish inroads. The native tribes had internal as well as foreign foes to resist; and it may be presumed that those who occupied the country during so many ages would leave more numerous traces of their presence than would mark the hasty incursions of strangers from beyond the seas.' The chapters on the Abbey and the Cistercian Order to which it belonged are models of what such chapters should be. They are written with a fulness of knowledge and grace of style which make their reading pleasant and instructive. Still fuller in detail are the chapters on the Protestant Ministers of the Parish for the reason that more is known about them than it is now possible to learn about the Abbots. For a similar reason, one sees less of the social life of the Parish before than after the Reformation. The materials here are greater, or at any rate more accessible, but they all go to show that the social and moral condition of the people after the Reformation, was no more attractive on the south banks of the Tay than it was elsewhere in Scotland. The six chapters, in which an account is given of the landed proprietors of the parish—among whom are the Barons of Balmerino, the Lairds of Naughton, the Crichtons of Bottom Craig, the Balfours of Grange, and the Lairds of Birkhill—are full of interesting details which bring us into close contact with the general history of the country, and show how the life of the parish contributed to the general stream of the national life, and was itself affected by its larger interests. Altogether the volume has been greatly improved by its revision and enlargement, and can take its place among the best of our local histories. It is furnished with a map, some illustrations, and a good index.

The English Radicals: An Historical Sketch. By C. B. ROYLANCE KENT. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. 1899.

Mr. Roylance Kent practically agrees with Mr. Lecky that it was the year 1769, the year in which the Duke of Wellington was born, that witnessed the birth of English Radicalism, and that it was then that the first serious attempt was made to reform and control Parliament by pressure from without, and to make its members habitually subservient to their constituents. Some may be disposed to search for the origin of English Radicalism further back, but whatever earlier attempts were made to control Parliament from without, it is only since 1769 that any such attempts have had a continuous history. In narrating this history, Mr. Roylance Kent has had to travel over familiar ground, and retell the doings and opinions

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of such familiar thinkers and politicians as Wilkes of *North Briton* fame, Beckford, the Lord Mayor of London, Horne Tooke, Priestly and Rice, Tom Paine and Goodwin, Jeremy Bentham, Sir Francis Burdett, Cobbet, John Stuart Mill, Richard Cobden, and many others. He divides his volume into three chapters, corresponding with the three principal phases through which Radical opinion has passed. Though the story is not new, it is well told, and to have it told consecutively and briefly, instead of having to search for it through many volumes of history and biography, is a decided advantage.

The Real French Revolutionist. By HENRY JEPHSON. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1899.

Mr. Jephson here traces the Vendean War from its outbreak down to the final triumph, notwithstanding its many reverses and terrible calamities, of the Vendean cause. His aim, however, is not merely to describe that frightful episode in the French Revolution, but to exhibit what the French Revolutionist really was when he felt that he had a free hand, and saw an opportunity of indulging in the brutal instincts by which he was possessed. Hitherto he has been seen chiefly by the light of Paris; here he is seen as he conducted himself among a simple and harmless people. In Paris he was hampered and restrained by opposition and the fear of publicity; his revolutionary principles did not obtain free play, and his real character was only partially revealed. What of his character came to light there showed that it was bad enough in all conscience—cruel, remorseless, inhuman. In the Vendée he was untrammelled, and had a clear field for putting into action his theories and principles, and free hands to do exactly as his feelings or ideas prompted him. For some time his real character was obscured, and those who made it their business to preach up the Revolution found it to their interest to gloss over his noyades and fusillades, and all the other diabolic atrocities he perpetrated. But thanks to writers like MM. Taine, Saint Prix, Ch.-L. Chassin, B. Fillon, A. Lallié, and others, local archives, records of local courts of justice, registers of prisons, the records of the local administrations, and the correspondence and narratives of those who suffered in the Vendean agony, have been unearthed from their obscurity, and made to tell their story. The pages of Mr. Jephson's volume are full of sickening horrors, not more so however than was necessary, and much less than he might have made them. At the same time, he has done justice to the Vendéans—their harmless-ness, their piety and devotion, their humanity, and their heroism. To many his volume will come as a startling disclosure. At the end Mr. Jephson gives an excellent bibliography, which at once indicates the authorities he has used, and the works in which the subject may be more fully studied.

The Conquest of England. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A., LL.D. 2 Vols. Portrait and Maps. London: Macmillan & Co. 1899.

With the publication of these two volumes, what may be called the Eversley Edition of Mr. Green's History of the English People is completed. Of the merits of the series in which they appear, it is not now necessary to speak. It is well known as containing an admirable selection of works beautifully printed on good paper and in a handy form. Mr. Green's history has been published in many shapes, and some of them more stately and sumptuous, but, considering the price, the edition

which is completed by these two volumes on the Conquest, may be said to be the handiest and most beautiful edition of this most popular history of the English nation.

The Life and Campaigns of Alexander Leslie, first Earl of Leven. By CHARLES SANFORD TERRY, M.A. London, New York & Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. 1899.

The two most prominent characters in the military annals of Scotland during the great Civil War of the seventeenth century, were Montrose and Leslie. They were on opposite sides and of different tempers. Of the two, Montrose was the more splendid and heroic, and has left a deeper impression on the imagination of the country. Leslie was less showy and popular, though of the two he was probably the greater soldier. Trained in the military schools of the Continent, he was slow and cautious almost to a fault, but swift and decisive when once his mind was made up. His reserve was almost impenetrable, and his personal charms were few. He was not a popular leader, and was wanting in that dash and personal magnetism with which Montrose won the hearty devotion of his followers. In the volume which he has devoted to his life and campaigns, Mr. Terry aims less at offering a study of individual character than at illustrating the relations between England and Scotland which the career of the great Covenanted General represents. Leslie's early years are scarcely touched, and his career upon the Continent with the Dutch and under Gustavus Adolphus during the Thirty Years' War, is passed over in a single chapter, much of which is taken up with copies of correspondence. The major portion of the volume is devoted to a detailed narrative of Leslie's campaigns in England and Scotland. The narrative is painstaking and abundantly illustrated with contemporary letters and documents; Leslie's movements are closely followed, and some new particulars, none of which, however, is of any great importance, are added to our knowledge respecting his movements in the north of England, and the part played by the Scots forces at the battle of Marston Moor. Leslie's second invasion of England, Mr. Terry ascribes to the spirit of proselytism, and attributes the failure of the Scottish army to fulfil the demands of its ally to the fact that the fundamental motives of the two nations were absolutely divergent. Their alliance, he believes, was foredoomed to failure. As a rule, however, Mr. Terry is reticent of his own opinions, and confines himself to narrating the course of events. With the surrender of Charles I. to the English Commissioners, Mr. Terry's narrative practically ends, the closing years of Leslie's life being dismissed in a few sentences. All through, it is the soldier and the soldier only, that we see in the volume. One would like to have seen more of the man, but to exhibit Leslie's character otherwise than revealed in his campaigns, was not in the author's plan. So far as it goes, however, the volume is a valuable contribution to the history of the relations between the Scots and English during a great crisis in the history of both, and if not particularly brilliant, it is one of those painstaking and luminous volumes which students of the period cannot afford to overlook.

Recollections 1832-1886. By the Right Honourable Sir ALGERNON WEST, K.C.B. Portraits and Illustrations. 2 Vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1899.

The Recollections which Sir Algernon West has put together in these two interesting and entertaining volumes will undoubtedly give pleasure

to a very wide circle of readers. They are written in a kindly, genial spirit, and are recollections of well-nigh all the principal men who have figured in the social and political life of the last fifty or sixty years. From his earliest days the author has been mixed up in politics, and the various posts he has held have brought him into contact with the leaders of both the great political parties, while his urbanity and great personal worth won for him their confidence and esteem. Few men have been more trusted by those in power, and it says not a little for the author that his official relations with the heads of departments invariably ripened into friendships of the most intimate kind. Sir Algernon West is probably best known as the Private Secretary of Mr. Gladstone, an office which he did not seek, and the offer of which came upon him as a complete surprise. He had already served in the same capacity to Sir Charles Wood at the India Office. This post also came to him unexpectedly, while he was serving at the Admiralty, to which he had passed from the Inland Revenue Department, where he first obtained employment as a temporary clerk at 6s. a day. His work at the Inland Revenue Office was strictly clerical and drearily monotonous, but 'a year after this probationary work,' he writes, 'I was summoned to the daring and splendid presence of Sir James Graham, who was the First Lord of the Admiralty, and was offered a clerkship on that establishment. I was much troubled, for when my interview took place I was wearing a coat which I thought must be, or might be considered, a little loud, and I regretted that time was not given me to change it. My friend and contemporary, Lord Welby, was told when he entered the Treasury, by Mr. Dwight, a colleague of his, that he remembered the day that Mr. Alcock, his chief, a high officer in the Treasury, was sent for by the great Mr. Pitt, but dared not obey the summons because he had not got on his breeches and buckles. However, Sir James Graham overlooked my coat, and I was appointed as the last clerk that ever entered the public service without any examination whatever.' Bernal Osborne was then Parliamentary Secretary at the Admiralty, and a son of a friend of his being nominated to a vacancy soon after, and his education not having been too liberal, the juniors in the office trembled for the result. But the youngster got through notwithstanding. 'Bernal Osborne said the first examination was so important that he should conduct it himself, which he did to the utmost satisfaction of the candidate, who was reported to have passed with flying colours, especially in Theology!' Sir William Hayter did otherwise. Three candidates were nominated to compete for each vacancy at the Treasury, so he kept two very dull boys, whom he felt sure would never succeed, to run in competition with his friend whom he wished to be appointed. This went on till at last, after constant defeats, one of 'his idiots' was finally successful. The chief clerk then at the Admiralty was small in stature, always dressed in a black and snuffy suit, and occasionally came to the office in the morning dressed in a great frilled shirt front and evening clothes, when he announced that as he was going to dine out that evening, he should not be at the office the next day. Mr. Frederick Locker was in the same office, and always wore kid gloves for fear he should dirty his hands with ink. When asked what the chief clerk's duties were, he replied, 'All I know is that whenever I want a clean towel or a piece of fresh soap I always ring the bell, and send for the chief clerk.' Among Sir A. West's early friends was Henry Calcraft, whose many friends commonly called him the 'Hangman.' One day Lord Cowley said to him: 'Whenever I come back to London you are always the first person I am sure to see.' 'Yes,' said Calcraft, 'you may be quite sure I shall be the last.' Of Calcraft's death, Sir A. West tells the following: 'Standing one day with me in front of the telegraphic des-

patches at Brookes's, and seeing the death of some young man from typhoid fever, he said, "There is one compensation in getting old—one is secure against that." Shortly afterwards he was attacked by it, and died from its effects in 1896. Sir A. West has several paragraphs on the changed manners of the times. Here is one: 'Lady Granville once remarked to me that in her younger days nobody in polite society ever mentioned their poverty or their digestion; whereas now they have become the principal topics of conversation, and if society was then vigilant in ignoring all allusion to money and commerce, we have now gone far in the contrary direction. Everybody quotes the prices of stocks and shares, and I have lived to see the day when the youthful scion of a noble and distinguished house produced from his pocket at dinner a sample bundle of silks, to show how cheaply they could be bought at his establishment! Wine circulars with peers' coronets pursue me weekly; and I can buy my coal at 20s. a ton from waggons ornamented with the coronet of a marquis.' Further on he relates the following: 'In this month [February, 1867] Lord Barrington died, and I went to his funeral at Becket. Amongst the mourners was William Ashley, who had recently gone into the wine trade, and I was pleased to see how in his grief, which was genuine and sincere, he did not neglect his business. "Poor dear William," he said, in a voice breaking with emotion, "how often I have enjoyed his hospitality, and what good claret he had! By the by," turning to his neighbour, "I have some of it on hand now, which I could let you have for a price;" and before the train came up he had obtained two orders.' When at the Admiralty, Sir A. West was introduced to many leading personages, among others to Lord and Lady John Russell, to Lady Ashburton, whose *salon* at Bath House was frequented by Hallam, Carlyle, and Thackeray; also to Mr. Fleming, of the Poor Law Board, described by Sir Henry Taylor as a 'purling brook,' and who was much made up. When Lady Ashburton was told of his house being entered by burglars, her reply was, 'It was hard on him, for he could not move, having unfortunately left his backbone on the dressing table.' Sir A. West was on intimate terms with Lady Granville's family, and has much to say in praise of her husband both as a man and as a Minister. Of Thackeray he says: 'I frequently met him, but never really knew him till I had learned to know and love him in his writings.' Of these he says: 'I have been young and now am old; but I can think of no books which have given and still give me such pleasure as "Esmond," "The Virginians," "Vanity Fair," and "The Newcomes." No one photographed like him the world I have known and seen, or gave such pictures of noble generosity, of kind acts and petty foibles, of lofty hopes and profound belief, which have lasted since the world began. How often I have put down his books because the sunlight on the pages made my eyes water, and comforted myself by thinking that, as the great author said, "A man is never so manly as when he is unmanned!"' On becoming Private Secretary to Sir Charles Wood in 1867, Sir A. West remarks, 'I was brought into contact with the extraordinarily brilliant staff of the India Office, and many of the great rulers of India, and I had the opportunity of writing a history of Sir Charles Wood's administration of India, which, though never read by anyone in England, was very favourably received by the press, and was, as Lord Northbrooke, when Governor-General, told me, adopted as the text-book for examination in some of the Indian Colleges.' Sir A. West—he was still, of course, Mr. West—was appointed Private Secretary to Mr. Gladstone immediately on the latter forming his first ministry. He was dining at Lady Adelaide Cadogan's when the butler brought in a letter to him, saying in a pompous voice: 'The messenger has brought it from Mr. Gladstone.' The letter was marked

Immediate and Private, and Mr. West was asked in it to call at Carlton Terrace as soon as convenient. An attempt to catch Mr. Gladstone the same night failed, but on calling next morning 'I was kindly received in the hall,' Sir A. West writes, 'by Mrs. Gladstone, who at once ushered me into Mr. Gladstone's library. He was sitting, as I see him now, at his writing table, wearing a dark frock-coat, with a flower in his button-hole, a pair of brown trousers with a dark stripe down them, after the fashion of twenty years earlier; a somewhat disordered neckcloth and large collar, the never ending subject of so much merriment in contemporaneous caricature; and I noticed the black finger-stall which he invariably adjusted over the amputated finger on his left hand. An upward and almost annoyed look, at the interruption caused by my entrance, melted into a kindly smile as Mrs. Gladstone told him who I was. He was surrounded with a mass of accumulated correspondence, which added to my involuntary awe in approaching him; but he at once, in a flattering way, asked me to be his Private Secretary. I cannot describe the delight with which I accepted the offer. . . . In a few minutes Mr. Gladstone had put into my hands a despatch-box full of correspondence in connection with the formation of his Government.' This was the beginning also of a friendship which ended only with death. From Downing Street Sir A. West passed to the Board of Inland Revenue, of which he subsequently became Chairman, and was brought into constant intercourse with successive Chancellors of the Exchequer. Many pages of the second volume are occupied with recollections of Mr. Gladstone. Much is said, too, of the politics of the times, and not a few good stories are told. No Cabinet secrets are betrayed. Some of the anecdotes we have met with before, but most of them are new. Though the pages are light and pleasant reading, they throw great light upon the inner circles both of the society and the politics of their time, and to the future historian may, and in all probability will, prove of great value.

Memoirs of the Life, Time, and Writings of the Reverend and Learned Thomas Boston, A.M. Some time minister at Simprin, afterwards at Ettrick. New Edition, with Introduction and Notes, by the Rev. GEORGE D. MORRISON, M.A., Dundee. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier. 1899.

This is a new edition of a once famous book, with a 'recommendatory note,' by Dr. Whyte, which it is to be hoped is scarcely necessary. Boston's works must now stand or fall by themselves. They were much read in their day, but whether they will find readers now is another question. If any of them deserves to be read in the present day, or is of present value, there can be little doubt it is the one which Mr. Morrison has here edited. Not only does it contain the narrative of Boston's inner life and conflicts, but much may be gathered from it respecting the religious, political, and social life of the country during the period it covers. On this account, if on no other, it deserves to be preserved and read. Mr. Morrison has discharged his duties as editor with the requisite amount of skill. His introduction, which is brief, gives a succinct sketch of Boston's life and an account of the Marrow men and their theology, and of the Simson controversy, sufficient to enable the reader to follow the text with intelligence. His notes are to the point and not too numerous. In some parts the language of the introduction is cast in too high a key,

and the estimates of things may be deemed exaggerated, but on these points the reader will have no difficulty in arriving at an opinion of his own.

The Yangtze Valley and Beyond. An Account of Journeys in China, chiefly in the Province of Sze Chuan, and among the Man-tze of the Somo Territory. By Mrs. J. F. BISHOP, F.R.G.S., etc. Map and Illustrations. London: John Murray. 1899.

Mrs. Bishop has written many delightful books of travel, but none which has so great a claim on the attention of the British public as this. Even her book describing what she saw during her travels in the land of the 'Hermit Nation,' though dealing with a country which was in many parts absolutely new to the European, and indicating many fresh lines of possible commercial activity, must take a second place to it. The Yangtze Valley, or what has come to be known as the 'British sphere of influence in China,' has an enormous population, and, as a field for commercial enterprise, is probably unequalled, even in the East. Its material resources are immense, perhaps inexhaustible, and though the complaint is made that the great fortunes which used to be made in China are no longer possible, there is no reason why the markets of this vast and densely populated region should not attract towards them the manufactures of Europe, and prove as lucrative to the British merchant as any he has yet tried.—Mrs. Bishop reached Shanghai in a small Korean steamer, and found it in many respects the model settlement which it claims to be, and in some others not what it might be. British merchants were complaining of diminishing profits, and Chinese traders were showing signs of increasing prosperity, dwelling in splendid houses in the British settlement, and managing to get more and more of the trade of the port into their hands. From Shanghai she went on to the ancient city of Hangchow, of which Marco Polo gives a magnificent description under the name of Kinsai. Part of the route lay through the Grand Canal, 'that stupendous work, wonderful even in its dilapidation,' and crossed every now and again by 'surprising bridges.' The 'nine thousand barks, conveying tribute to the Emperor,' are no longer seen upon its waters, but it was covered, when Mrs. Bishop saw it, with laden fleets, 'so vast as to leave only a narrow lane of water available for traffic,' while at its terminus there was a closely jammed mass of cargo and passage boats, through which her own boat was two days and a half in making its way. Hangchow is the sole source of the silk fabrics supplied to the Imperial House of China, as well as a great centre of Chinese culture and literature. It possesses the finest public library in China, the treasures of which, through the generosity of its owner, are open freely to any one who introduces himself by a card from an official. As for silk, 'everything in the city and neighbourhood suggests it.' 'In all the adjacent country the mulberry tree is omnipresent, planted in every possible place along the creeks, on the ridges separating the fields, in plantations acres in extent, and near villages, in nurseries, each containing several thousand shoots, in expectation of a greatly increased demand for this staple product.' The city can boast of seven thousand handlooms for the weaving of silk, employing twenty-eight thousand people. Three hundred and sixty of these looms, under the inspection of an Imperial Commissioner, work exclusively for the Imperial Household. The silk shops rival those at Shanghai; and in them may be seen silks of all kinds and colours to 'the

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heavy figured silks in colourings and shades unknown to us, sold for Chinese masculine dress, and brocaded with symbolical bats, bees, spiders, stags' heads, dragons for mandarins' robes, and the highly decorative characters representing happiness and longevity. . . . quaint and beautiful fabrics, not exported to Europe, and not shown to Europeans unless asked for.' Returning to Shanghai, after visiting Ningpo and other places of historical and other interest, Mrs. Bishop set out on her voyage up the Yangtze River. Six hundred miles up from Shanghai is Hankow, where in summer the river forms an inland sea fifty feet deep, and occasionally floods the land. From various causes the once enormous tea trade of Hankow is now gone. What remains is in the hands of the Russians, who have several factories for the manufacture of 'brick tea.' German and Austrian firms have started several albumen factories, the best products of which are used in photography. The Japanese run two steamers a week between Hankow and Shanghai, and their yarn is rapidly supplanting that of India. From Hankow our traveller went on to Ichang, where preparations were made for passing the gorges and rapids. Of the difficulties encountered in passing up the Yangtze, and of the many moving incidents she met with, Mrs. Bishop, as need hardly be said, gives a graphic account. As need hardly be said, too, we have graphic descriptions of the magnificent scenery, the country, the people, their industries, their attitude towards foreigners, and the discomforts of travel among them. What, however, will attract the greatest attention at the present moment are her political and commercial notes on the country through which she passed. The area of the Yangtze basin is estimated at about 650,000 square miles, and the population, which is described as 'one of the most peaceable and industrious on earth,' at between 170,000,000 and 180,000,000. The Yangtze is believed to be about 3,000 miles in length. It is navigable for cargo boats for 1200 miles, through a rich and fertile district, and bisects the vast coalfields which underlie Central Sze Chuan. The trade carried by the river is enormous. In ascending the river, Mrs. Bishop writes, 'it is evident to the traveller by the time that Chinkiang, the port of junction with the Grand Canal, is reached, that, broad as the river is, there is none too much "sea room" for the thousands of junks of every build, from every maritime and riverine province, fishing and cargo boats, boats of every size and rig, rafts, lorchas, and cormorant boats which throng its waters.' The export trade of the empire province of Sze Chuan alone is estimated at £3,300,000, and its import at £2,400,000, and the Yangtze is the sole outlet and inlet for it. Mrs. Bishop is not altogether satisfied that British merchants are doing all they might to secure a fair share of this trade, or to hold their own against their competitors. From all accounts they, or, at least, their representatives, appear to be too fond of amusements, and far less disposed to adapt themselves to the necessities of the situation. There is just the fear that they are animated with that pride which is said to go before a fall, and are quietly letting what trade they once had, and still have, slip through their fingers into the hands of their more pushing, and perhaps sagacious, rivals. Among these are not only the Germans and Japanese. Their most formidable competitors are apparently the Chinese themselves, with that extraordinary energy, adaptability, and industry which seems to belong to them as a nation. From another point of view Mrs. Bishop writes:—'The Yangtze Basin is a magnificent sphere of interest for all the industrial nations for fair, if not friendly, rivalry, and to preserve the 'open door' there, and throughout China, is a worthy object of ambition. To strengthen, instead of to weaken, the Central Government, is undoubtedly the wisest policy to pursue, for in the weakness of the Peking Government

lies the weakness and possible abrogation of all treaty obligations. It is its strength and capacity to fulfil its treaties which alone make them worth. In the weakening of the Central Government, and the disintegration of the empire, our treaty rights in the Yangtze Valley, for instance, would be worth as much as our sword could secure, and it cannot reach above Ichang, while, if the empire be preserved, and it is aided along judicious paths to reform, this vast basin, with its singular capabilities, and its population of 180,000,000, may become the widest area for commercial rivalries that the world has seen.' Mrs. Bishop puts in a word for the charities of the Chinese, of which, as she thinks, sufficient account has not been taken. She points out, too, the amount of organisation there is in China, and remarks on the influence of the Guilds. The volume is profusely illustrated, and provided with an excellent map.

Shakespeare's Sonnets, Reconsidered and in part Rearranged with Introductory Chapters, Notes, and a Reprint of the Original 1609 Edition. By SAMUEL BUTLER. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. 1899.

This is the most satisfactory effort we have seen to solve the several questions connected with the Sonnets of Shakespeare. Mr. Butler first describes the thorough way in which he prepared himself in order to tackle the problems, and then proceeds in a number of introductory chapters to consider the significance of 'only begetter,' the arguments advanced in support of the Southampton and Herbert theories, together with the arguments and statements of Mr. Sidney Lee in his *Life of Shakespeare*, after which he discusses the date of the Sonnets and the social status of Mr. W. H. Much bibliographic information, most of which of course is not new, is scattered up and down the introductory chapters. The Southampton and Herbert theories fare badly in the hands of Mr. Butler, while his treatment of Mr. Sidney Lee's statements is as fine a piece of destructive criticism as we have met with. The conclusion he comes to is that Mr. W. H. is as likely as any other of the William Hughes or Hewis who are known to have been living at the time, to have been a William Hughes who died in March 1636-7, after having served for many years in the navy on board the *Vanguard*, *Swiftsure*, and *Dreadnought*, and applied for the post of cook in 1633-4. This is as far as Mr. Butler goes with respect to identifying. And assuming that this was Mr. W. H. or assuming he was not, all that is to be learned about him, Mr. Butler maintains, is to be learned from the Sonnets and Thorpe's dedicatory address, which is—'That in the Spring of 1585 he was more boy than man, good looking, of plausible attractive manners, and generally popular, goes without saying. It is also plain that his character developed badly, and that boy as he was, before the end of the year he had got himself a bad name. He was vain, heartless, and I cannot think even cared two straws for Shakespeare, who no doubt loved him; but he dearly loved flattery, and it flattered him to bring Shakespeare to heel; moreover, he had just sense enough to know that Shakespeare laid the praise on thicker and more delectably than any one else did, therefore he could not let him go. In laying, or abetting the laying, of a trap for Shakespeare, we may charitably suppose that he was too young to fully realise the detestable nature of his own action, and he seems to have been bitterly persistent—at any rate for a time. He was forgiven, but before long the intimacy between him and Shakespeare slackened; if I am held to be as approximately right in my dates as I

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I trust I may be, the high fever of Shakespeare's infatuation did not beyond mid-Autumn, 1585, if indeed so long; from that time on: though it again ran high at times, it was intermittent—Mr. W. H. playing with him as a cat plays with a mouse. There seems to have been *redintegratio amoris* during the first few days after the defeat of Armada had become known, but before many weeks had passed there was a final break. Whether if the two men met in after time, Shakespeare passed Mr. W. H. strangely, and scarcely greeted him with that sun, his eye, or whether a *modus vivendi* was established between them we shall never know, but we may be tolerably sure that Shakespeare's love had cast its utmost sun.' As to the publication, the only explanation that Mr. Butler can give is that W. H. was in great straits for money, and was glad of the few shillings, which were all that Thorpe was likely to give. Thorpe, Mr. Butler believes, did not print from the original MSS., but from a copy. He thinks Thorpe's arrangement of the sonnets was in the main the best, but he has himself considerably improved upon it.

La Prise de la Bastille (1789, 14 Juillet). Par FRANTZ FUNCK-BRETANO. Paris: Albert Fontemoing. 1899.

This is apparently the first of a series of fasciculi to be issued by the Société des Etudes Historiques, of which M. F. Funck-Bretano is the Secretary, under the general title 'Bibliothèque de Bibliographies Critiques.' It runs to only eight pages, but these pages are filled with the titles of a valuable series of books and documents bearing upon the taking of the Bastille, admirably arranged and accompanied with critical notes. The titles of the sections in which the contents are arranged will be sufficient to indicate its character. Sources et documents:—1, Relations des assiégés; 2, Relations des Assiégeants; 3, Relations des spectateurs; 4, Relations des ambassadeurs étrangers; 5, Relations officielles; 6, Documents divers; 7, Journaux de l'époque. *État de Paris le 14 Juillet, 1789. Travaux des Historiens.* M. Funck Bretano's critical notes are brief, and contain many references.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Glas-Coch—Graded. (Vol. IV.) By H. BRADLEY, Hon. M.A., Oxon. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1900.

Nearly one fourth of the space in this section is occupied with three of the most important words of the Teutonic vocabulary, 'go,' 'God,' and 'good,' and their compounds and derivations. Their treatment is an excellent example of the thorough and exhaustive way in which the work of this dictionary is done. Other excellent examples are the articles under 'glide,' 'grace,' 'gold,' 'golden,' 'glove,' 'glory,' and 'glow.' The Scottish words treated are numerous. Among them are 'glassock,' 'glede,' 'gley,' 'gleed,' 'gleg,' 'glen' (a daffodil), 'gliff,' 'glisk,' 'glore,' 'glower,' 'guap,' 'good-brother,' 'gouf,' 'gote,' 'gowdie,' 'gove,' and 'goupen.' One remarkable feature of the section is the number of old words which have now gone out of use or fashion. Many etymological peculiarities are brought out. The Celtic origin of 'gown' is rejected, and reasons given for believing it to have come to us through the old French 'goune.' The origin of 'goal' is discussed in a long and exhaustive paragraph, in which its French origin is rejected. Other points of interest abound in the section. The number of quotations is 15,816. The greatest number in any other English dictionary is 1907.

La Bas-relief Roman a Représentations Historiques : Etude Archéologique, Historique et Littéraire. Par EDMOND COURBAND. Paris: Albert Fontemoing. 1899.

M. Courband does not here treat of Roman bas-reliefs in general; very many of them he eliminates from his study, all such, indeed, as are usually considered of Greco-Roman origin, and confines his attention exclusively to those which represent scenes drawn from Roman history, or are employed to decorate monuments erected to commemorate some incident in the history of the Roman people, or in the lives of their leaders or rulers. These he designates historical bas-reliefs, and the question he endeavours to answer respecting them is—What was their origin? are they original creations of the empire? did they originate on Latin soil? were they composed of national elements, or did they, like so many other Roman products, come from Greece? The question has been frequently discussed and different answers have been given to it, among others by Philippi, Helbig, Schreiber, Sittl, and Wickhoff. M. Courband's volume is in the main a reply to the last of these writers who, in his introduction to the *Wiener Genesis*, maintained that the art of these monuments has not only another domain of representation than hellenic art, but is also radically and characteristically different from it. To this M. Courband replies: It is not that the representation of the Roman bas-relief has an entirely different domain from that of hellenic art, for the art of Pergamos was acquainted with representations of historic battles. Especially it is not true that the Roman bas-relief is in its elements different from the bas-relief of the Greeks, for it is made up on the contrary with elements borrowed from hellenistic art. This is not to say, however, M. Courband argues, that the Romans were without merit or originality, or that their art was a mere reproduction of the forms and processes of the Greek, an art of sterile imitations and servile copyists. The Romans borrowed, and borrowed much, but they did not attempt to conceal what they borrowed. They associated and combined it in a new way. Historical realism and picturesque realism existed in Greek art; the one at Pergamos, the other at Alexandria. Besides, in Greece there were many sculptured columns and arches, but they were all destined to other purposes than the Romans were in the habit of using theirs for. The Romans saw the works of others, and adapted them to their own purposes. With the aid of Greece they produced a kind of art which did not exist among the Greeks. They created something, and that 'something' was the Roman historical bas-relief. M. Courband argues this at length; he carries his argument into literature, and points out, more especially in regard to the *Aeneid* and its composite character. At the same time he shews how, during the reign of Augustus, every species of art was made to have but one aim, the glorification of the empire and of the emperor. The work treats of a somewhat recondite subject, but it is highly instructive, and contains a number of excellent illustrations.

The Distribution of Income. By WILLIAM SMART, M.A., D.Phil., LL.D., Adam Smith Professor of Political Economy in the University of Glasgow. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1899.

Professor Smart has the advantage of having been at one time an employer of labour, and of having an experimental acquaintance with both the production and the distribution of wealth. The influence of this

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experience is manifest more or less on every page of his present work as it is in the rest of his writings on the subject he professes. It is seen in the way in which it keeps him aloof from speculations, pins him down to facts, and tempers his judgment. The result is that the present volume is as a contribution to a large and difficult subject of significant practical value, and comes home to the business and bosom of men with considerable force. His first aim is to ascertain what the national income is. Here he adopts the definition of Professor Marshall as everything that is produced in the course of a year, every service rendered, every fresh utility brought about is a part of the national income. Over against this he places the statistician's statement that the national income is about £1,500,000,000 a year, and then shows that the money is really representative of a concrete income which the community supplies for its own living, and includes services as well as goods. There is an income, however, which escapes notice and assessment, such as the unpaid services of magistrates, members of Parliament, managers of charities, those of the women of a household, the services rendered by the invention of new goods, and the improvement in quality of old ones, the actual income of benefit to the nation derived from moveable and government and local property not assessed and yielding no money revenue, the services rendered to the nation by freedom and good government. All these go to form the wealth of a nation, as well as what is represented by the statistician's £1,500,000,000; and the problem which Mr. Smart discusses in the second part of his volume, or rather what he endeavours to ascertain, is the principle by which its distribution is regulated, and whether a better than the one by which it is actually distributed is possible. One point he brings out is that of the vast national income which the country enjoys, a great deal is distributed while and as it is made; in other words, that the production process as we know it is also a distribution process. As to the process by which the wealth of the nation is actually distributed, Mr. Smart, after examining one or two schemes for its better distribution, comes to the conclusion that so far from being arbitrary or chaotic, there are many features about it which 'suggest that the wealth is being divided out as it is made, and falls to the factors which make it in proportion to the share which they take in making it.' Or to put the matter differently. After all things are considered (and among the many considered are some which the reader will scarcely anticipate), and due weight is given to them, 'it seems to me,' Professor Smart remarks, in summing up the whole matter, 'that, given private property, the free transfer of property, and the inequality of that which the possession of two factors of production or of a differential factor gives, there is a good deal to be said for the present distribution as a Distribution according to source. At least there is enough of "rough justice" in it to make even those of us who feel its imperfections most keenly think twice before we give our countenance to any rival scheme which has yet been proposed.' This conclusion is, speaking generally, sound. It is questionable, however, whether if the land had not gone into private hands, but had been allowed to go to the State, life would have been much easier, as Mr. Smart believes it would, for any of us. No reason is given for believing it would, and it may be maintained on good grounds that it would not. Mr. Smart rightly maintains that as wages rise the cost of goods increase, but leaves aside the question the ratio of the increase—whether equal, less or greater. But whatever exceptions may be taken here and there to an isolated statement, it is impossible not to admire Professor Smart's facility of illustration, and the light literary touch by which he has made a volume on the 'dismal science'

interesting as well as instructive. It is to be hoped that it will be largely read by the wage-earning classes, to whom it is apparently particularly addressed.

The Rev. W. Leighton Grave's *Hard Sayings of Jesus Christ* (Macmillan) has for its sub-title 'A Study in the Mind and Method of the Master.' It will be understood therefore that the sermons it contains are not specially on those sayings of Our Lord which are described in the Gospels as 'hard sayings.' Mr. Grave singles out a number of passages which seem to be 'hard sayings' to the modern mind, such as Mark iv. 11-12, Matthew vi. 31-34, Mark iii. 29, Matthew xxv. 46, by which many in the present are perplexed, and endeavours to bring out their exact or original meaning, for the purpose of dissipating doubt, as well as of illustrating the method Our Lord was in the habit of adopting when teaching in public. The book is argumentative throughout. Mr. Grave is a powerful reasoner: a thorough scholar, and at home in his expositions. He makes admirable use of his learning, and his sermons, though somewhat combative, as they can scarcely help being, are written with great vigour. As sermons dealing with misunderstood passages in the Gospel they may claim to be among the best.

Gleanings in Holy Fields (Macmillan) is another of these remarkable volumes which many have come to expect from the hands of Dr. Macmillan, in which he brings his great store of scientific, antiquarian, and historical lore to bear upon passages of Scripture, and to use it for their elucidation. The 'Holy Fields' are the fields of Palestine, and the 'gleanings' he has gathered are suggestions of moral and spiritual truth brought home to him when travelling in the Holy Land. Each chapter is a sermon based upon a text, and illustrated with singular wealth and felicity. As a rule the fact suggests the text. The shells on the shore of the Sea of Galilee suggest the text 'Jesus walking by the Sea of Galilee,' Mount Hermon, the 3rd verse of the cxxxiii. Psalm, his own journey to Damascus, St. Paul's, the fountain of Capernaum, St. James iii. 11. There is not only much religious truth in these sermons, there is also much secular information, but it is all drawn into the service of religious edification. One might almost say that Dr. Macmillan's aim is to show how singularly serviceable science and history may be as handmaids to religion.

Henry Scougal and the Oxford Methodists (Blackwood) is a thoughtful little volume by the Rev. D. Butler, the author of *John Wesley and George Whitefield in Scotland*, in which he gives an account of Scougal, who was Professor of Divinity in Aberdeen and the author of *The Life of God in the Soul*, and endeavours to trace the relations between him and the Wesleys, and the movement they led. Mr Butler wavers a little on the point as to whether Charles Wesley received the first idea of his Holy Club at Oxford from Scougal's practice of meeting with his students at Aberdeen. But though the evidence on this is insufficient, there can be no doubt that he and his brother and Whitefield were greatly influenced in their religious life and teaching by Scougal's *Life of God in the Soul*. Of this, the one work by which Scougal is known, Mr. Butler gives a fairly detailed account, and has much to say of the German mystics of the fourteenth century. It is scarcely correct, however, to say that Tauler was a pupil of Eckhart, or to attribute the *Theologia Germanica* to Tauler. The difference between Tauler and Eckhart is much more than one of style; and as Tauler himself owns, and as Mr. Butler says, his real

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spiritual master was Nicholas of Basle, the leader of the Friends of God. The *Theologia* has often been attributed to Tauler, but that he was the author of it has yet to be proved. Mr. Butler's excellently-written volume throws light on a somewhat obscure period in the religious life of Scotland, and fully maintains the position he took up in his previous volume on the indebtedness of the Wesleys to Scotland.

Two numbers of the Famous Scots Series have reached us during the present quarter. One is *George Buchanan*, by Robert Wallace; and the other *Thomas Campbell*, by J. Cuthbert-Hadden. In the first, Mr. Wallace has made a new departure for the series. Hitherto the volumes have been cast in the biographical form, and the biographical has always predominated in them. In Mr. Wallace's volume we have for the most part a series of chapters on the life and genius of Buchanan. Mr. Wallace has evidently studied his subject with conscientious care, and says many just and true things concerning the great Scottish humanist. On the other hand, he says a number of things on which there is sure to be a difference of opinion. For the most part he follows Dr. Brown, and from a note by the Editor we infer that the volume has Dr. Brown's imprimatur, but there is another opinion as to Buchanan, and it does not follow that because Dr. Wallace and his Editor are enthusiastic in their praise, we must necessarily accept it. Unfortunately, Mr. Wallace did not live to complete his sketch. Its preparation for the press has been placed in the hands of his fellow-student Sheriff Campbell-Smith, who supplies part of biographical details, and a chapter partly on Dr. Wallace, partly on the Buchanan. The volume is rather a curious mixture. Both Dr. Wallace and Sheriff Campbell-Smith agree in their opinion about Buchanan. Whether the same can be said as to their opinion about Knox is another question. Here is a sentence contributed by Sheriff Campbell-Smith—'His (Knox's) wild joy and unbridled merriment over the dying miseries of Cardinal Beaton and Mary of Guise would be scarcely in harmony with the budding benevolence of a half-reformed cannibal.' Mr. Cuthbert-Hadden's volume is a carefully-written memoir of Campbell, in which very many particulars are given respecting his fortunes and his work. Mr. Hadden has used the best authorities and made fresh researches, and the result is a very readable and pleasant volume.

Lady Nairne and Her Songs (Alex. Gardner), by the Rev. George Henderson, contains a brief narrative of the life of Lady Nairne, and an interesting account of her songs. Many of these were published anonymously, and their author always shrunk from making herself known as their originator. The consequence has been that many of them have been attributed to others. Mr. Henderson here points out what songs were hers, and besides recounting many particulars respecting them, dwells with considerable skill on their characteristics, and provides the volume with a number of facsimiles and illustrations. To all lovers of Scottish songs, the book should be very acceptable.

Bible Stories (Macmillan) is a volume of Professor Moulton's 'Modern Reader's Bible.' The selection here has been made from the New Testament, and is intended for children. The selections have been made with skill, and contain some of the most beautiful narratives in the Evangelical narrative, as well as a number of the great sayings of our Lord.

In *Life and Happiness* (Kegan Paul), Mr. Auguste Marrot aims, according to his preface, neither at waging war against human passions nor at setting up a system of philosophy, but at communicating to his readers certain rules, in the observance of which he has found health and happi-

ness, in order that they may find the same. The statement is open to the very obvious criticism, that when trying to induce others to walk in the way of health and happiness he is doing his best to war against human passions, which, on his own showing, are among the chief hindrances of human felicity. That, however, apart. After dwelling upon the relations between the body and mind, and the necessity for physical health as the condition of happiness, Mr. Marrot prescribes a number of rules whereby the body may be kept in health. Most of them are sensible, but some freedom and common sense would require to be used in their selection and in carrying them out. Mr. Marrot then speaks of the health of the mind and of the soul. Here also he lays down a number of simple rules. The aim of the book is praiseworthy.

Richard Carvel (Macmillan), by Winston Churchill, has had a remarkable success in America, and is likely to be as well received on this side of the Atlantic, notwithstanding the fact that it is an historical novel. But whether it does so or not, Mr. Churchill deserves all the success he has met with. The volume is written with more care than novelists usually give to their writing. Here and there it reminds us of Thackeray; but though Mr. Churchill may have studied Thackeray, his book is in no sense an imitation. At first it is very quiet, and in parts a little tedious, but as Richard Carvel grows up to manhood the story becomes lively, and is soon as full of incidents and remarkable situation of dangers, fights, shipwrecks, and escapes, as is possible. The scene is at first laid in America, and then crosses over to Great Britain. Here we are introduced to C. J. Fox and his companions, and to company of a less aristocratic character. Incident follows upon incident with almost startling rapidity. One does not read a novel for instruction but for enjoyment, and one does not expect to meet with perfect accuracy as to dates and incidents, but in tone and character, manners and habits, one expects to find something like the verisimilitude of history, and in this respect Mr. Churchill's work is excellent. He has evidently been at pains to study the period. Hence the individuals who figure in his story are all living, and drawn with genuine creative power. The book, in short, is likely to stand, and to take a place beside *The Virginians*.

Stalky & Co. (Macmillan), by Rudyard Kipling, is a boys' book, and can scarcely be reckoned among the best of Mr. Kipling's writings. There is abundance of fun and incident in it; the characters are undoubtedly well sketched, but the peculiar defects of Mr. Kipling are fairly pronounced in it. *Stalky & Co.* are wonderful boys, and the school they attend is wonderful, but we doubt whether such boys ever existed, and that any school had ever such a group of masters. The stories have too much of the imagination about them, and too little of reality. They have their attractions, however. Whether they are educative is another question.

The Shadow on the Manse (Greening), by Campbell Rae-Brown, is described as a story of religion and the stage. There is a good deal of the stage in it, and just a little of religion. The scene is laid down the Clyde, and either the geography of the book is bad or endeavours have been made to confuse the real geography of the place. Some of the walks taken by Hamilton, the hero of the piece, are simply impossible. One has a little difficulty too in making out the hours of the day. There are some good points in the volume, however. The author appears to be gaining in power both in the description of scenery and in the delineation of character. The plot, too, is well managed, and the situations are frequently interesting; one of them is almost appalling. But 'play actors' are not always

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ART. I.—A SCOT ABROAD.

THE pathos of the story of the last century Jacobites does not lie in the Fifteen or even in the Forty-Five. The halo of romance that surrounds that magical Edinburgh week, the dignity of immortal defeat upon Culloden Moor, the marvel of those glorious months of wandering in the 'land o' the leal;' all these things are a crown of life to a dead cause. Nor does it lie solely in the after-life of the Prince. Rather do we find it in the records of those who spent long years in exile, sighing for 'Lochaber no more' and repeating ever the sad refrain—

' But the weary never come
To their ain countrie.'

It is true that there were those among them who found friends in the land of the stranger, and who lived to work for the alien and to fight against the land that gave them birth; but this is no alleviation of the story. For it merely shows what a loss this hopeless struggle caused to the country for which the best on both sides would willingly have died. In happier circumstances, the eighteenth century might have had on its roll of fame

numbers of brave and true men whose lives were wasted in miserable intrigues in Foreign Courts and who might have given new associations to great traditional names and have invested old Scottish homes with fresh memories that men would not willingly have forgotten. But all the time—

‘Lone stood the house, and the chimney-stone was cold.’

From this great band of exiles there stand forth two brothers, who are distinguished from their comrades at once by their personality and by their fate. By the sea-coast, nor’ nor’ east, in the farthest corner of Aberdeenshire, stood, till last year, the ruins of the castle of Inverugie. On the one side, the sea-spray dashed against its walls and windows; on the others, lay the bleak, bare treeless country of Buchan, passing, southwards, into the sands of Forvie, the deserted parish long since buried under sand hill and covered with green bents; and stretching, northwards, into the fertile Howe o’ the Garioch, bounded by the haunted hill of Benachie, and almost within sight of Tap o’ Noth itself. For miles and miles the great feature of the landscape was the stern castle wall, and in this corner of the country the owners of Inverugie had the guiding o’ t. To the great house of Keith belong many pages of Scottish history. They had been for centuries hereditary Earls Marischal of Scotland. It was a Keith who had led the Scottish cavalry at Bannockburn, and the blood of a Keith had stained the banner of Scotland on Flodden Field. The fifth Earl, the founder of the college which produced Dugald Dalgetty, had borne a great part in Reformation politics, and he had gone on that perilous voyage to Denmark to bring back King James’s bride: the voyage when five witches had raised a storm such as no man could remember, by baptizing a cat, knitting to its four feet four joints of men and casting it into the sea with mystic words of hellish adjuration, the devil himself being present and being seen to carry a mysterious staff. The Ear had lived to tell the tale and to execute righteous judgment

upon such bold and presumptuous sinners. In the seventeenth century, the family interest shifted southwards from Inverugie to Dunnottar, and during the 'Troubles' their attitude was strangely inconstant. But in the end they are found definitely enough upon one side, and the story of the Black Hole of Calcutta was rehearsed in the dungeons of Dunnottar. As we approach the end, we find ourselves back again at Inverugie. There, in 1693, was born George Keith, and, in 1696, his brother James, sons of the ninth Earl Marischal and Margaret Drummond, his wife, the high-spirited daughter of the House of Perth, doomed to spend her latest years in the never to be realised hope that

' I'll be Lady Keith again,
The day the King comes o'er the water.'

It is of the younger of these brothers that we are to speak—James Keith, Scotsman, Frenchman, Spaniard, and Russian; and, finally, the Marshal Keyt, whose statue is in the Wilhelmplatz, and whose figure is to be seen on the Denkmal of Frederick the Great in the Unter den Linden. Of his earlier years a few words must suffice, for he himself begins his Memoirs thus:—'Memories are commonly tedious in the beginning by the recital of genealogies, trifling accidents which happened in the childhood, and relating minucies (hardly fit to be imparted to the most intimate friend), that it renders them not only uninstrucive to the reader, but often loathsome to those who wish to employ their time in any useful way.' The formative influences of his life (to use our modern jargon), were three in number—his brother, his brother's tutor (afterwards Bishop Keith the historian), and his own tutor, Peter Meston. They were all staunch Jacobites and Episcopalians, and Meston was the author of a poem of great popularity in his own days. 'The Knight' was an imitation of Hudibras, and consisted of a coarse satire upon Whigs, Hanoverians, and Presbyterians. When Meston was made a regent in Marischal College, James Keith followed him thither, and was pursuing the learning of that age when the news burst on an excited world that Queen Anne was dead.

After Queen Anne, the deluge. Keith has himself told us all about the intrigues that preceded the Fifteen, and he sketches with great incisive power the causes of its failure. Following his brother, the tenth Earl, he joined the Jacobite forces. Keith was under no misapprehension about the leaders of the plot. He knew men, and he spares neither Ormonde nor Mar. He was present at Sheriffmuir, the battle of which

‘Some say that we wan,
And some say that they wan,
And some say that nane wan at a’ man ;
But o’ this I am sure,
That at Sheriffmuir
A battle was fought which I saw, man ;
And we ran, and they ran,
And they ran, and we ran,
And we ran and they ran awa’, man.’

Keith was only seventeen years of age, but the Fifteen was the first event of his life, and he has pictured it with much detail. But we must hasten on. In May, 1716, Keith escaped to France, where the Queen Mother, the unfortunate Mary of Modena, received him most graciously. ‘Had I conquered a kingdom for her, she could not have said more.’ Next year he had a never to be forgotten meeting in Paris with Peter the Great, but he failed to attain a position in the Russian service. Not Peter, but his daughter, was to profit by Keith’s genius, and, ere that time came, Keith was once more to fight on Scottish soil. In 1718, he took part in the mismanaged Spanish invasion, and was defeated in the skirmish of Glen-shiel. Curiously enough, he made his way from the West Coast to the East, instead of making straight for France, and, in the summer sunshine of 1718, he looked his last upon Inverugie and Peterhead, and betook himself to Spain. In the Spanish army he fought with distinction. He was present at the siege of Gibraltar in 1726-7, and made a suggestion which might have led to its capture. He pointed out that the English considered it scarcely worth while to guard against the little Spanish troop, that they allowed the Spanish soldiers to enter the town without any hindrance, that ‘at less than

400 yards from the place there are sand banks where a thousand men might lie concealed, and which they then had not the precaution to reconnoitre,' and he suggested that it would be easy to surprise the garrison. But the Spanish general was much too magnificent for this. He expected reinforcements, and he said that Keith was a Protestant, and that Spain would take Gibraltar by storm or not at all. So it was not at all; and Keith, declining the earnest request of the King of Spain that he would change his religion, departed to Russia, where Spanish influence obtained for him the position of Major-General in the Russian army. As everybody knows, he rapidly acquired a position of supreme importance in the Russian army; he won Russian battles, ruled Russian provinces, negotiated Russian treaties. Then, in 1747, he suddenly left Russia and entered the service of Frederick the Great. The real cause of this decision has not been properly understood, although the instinct of James Grant led him to form a correct hypothesis, where more sober historians and biographers have missed the point. Before dealing with this, it may be well to give the remaining facts of his life. He became a Prussian Field Marshal, and the intimate friend of Frederick. In battle, siege, and especially in the great marches which redeemed Frederick's chances so often, Keith was ever the guiding hand. He had a share in the victory of Rossbach, and the defeat of Hochkirchen came about because the king declined Keith's advice. There, on the 14th October, 1758, Keith dealt his last blow. 'Two shots in the right side he had not regarded: but this one on the left was final: Keith's fightings are suddenly all done. . . . He sleeps now in Berlin, far from bonny Inverugie: the hoarse sea-winds and caverns of Dunnottar singing vague requiem to his honourable line and him, in the imaginations of some few.' So far, Carlyle. The Earl Marischal wrote thus: 'My brother leaves me a noble legacy: last year he had Bohemia under ransom, and his personal estate is seventy ducats.'

Keith's biographers have always been puzzled to know the reason of his leaving the Russian service. Mr. Nisbet Bain, in his recent book on the Empress Elizabeth, attributes it to his

‘being offended by the refusal of the Russian Government to give an asylum to his brother, the ex-Jacobite, and piqued besides at not receiving the command of the auxiliary corps of 30,000 men sent to the Rhine in 1747.’ The secret history of the year is explained in a series of letters, the originals of which were in the *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, and seem to have disappeared after the dispersion of that collection. Copies, however, were presented by General Hebler to the Royal Library at Berlin, in 1843, and the present writer had the privilege of examining them in the summer of 1898. They are mainly addressed to the ‘Chevalier John Drummond,’ a cousin of Keith, and a grandson of the fourth Earl of Perth. Young Drummond had been ‘out’ in the ‘Forty-five, and Keith had set his heart upon his taking service under the Empress Elizabeth, and carrying out the great designs for the aggrandisement of Russia, which Keith himself had formed. The series of letters extends from 1745 to 1756, and two of them are addressed to the Chevalier’s father, Lord Edward Drummond, and one to the Empress herself.

It is in a letter to Lord Edward Drummond that we find the real reason of Keith’s leaving Russia. It bears no date, but internal evidence shows that it was written about 1755. The Empress had made to her great soldier a proposal of marriage, and Keith had left because of her ‘royal determination to raise me to a height which would have been both my destruction and her ruin, of which she was soon convinced—even the day after my departure, when she had but barely intimated her design.’ No doubt, Keith was right. He had already made enemies, ‘being a foreigner, and deemed by those who knew not better, an Englishman.’ So he went away on the morrow. Was Elizabeth’s heart really touched? She certainly made love in a somewhat matter-of-fact way. She argued that Keith was ‘the only general, martially, geographically, and politically, who perfectly understood the grand projects of my great and good parent, and . . . who had a soul suited by the great God of the universe to comprehend, and powers alone to execute them.’ Elizabeth was probably a married woman; she was childless, and thirty-eight years of age. But

it would have involved no great difficulty to divorce or otherwise remove the Cossack shepherd whom she seems to have made her husband, and she longed for an heir to establish her throne. 'You,' she said to Keith, 'are the only man alive who can, in time to come, train up a son, if he possesses your mind, to execute the plans of Peter the Great, under your improvement.' But there was probably more than this, for the Empress was not a woman who regarded practical considerations only, and to the end of Keith's life she maintained a correspondence with him. Six years after he had left her Court, she could write to him in terms like these: 'Alas! Keith, I am, as you well know, but a woman. So was Zenobia, the wife of Odenatus, who was, as you was, her general, her hero,' and Keith himself says that her letters remain 'a sacred pledge of her gracious friendship, confidence, and unbounded attachment.' Keith's own attitude suggests nothing of this sort. He admired and trusted the Empress, and regarded her as his ally in carrying out his great schemes. But of the lover there is not a hint. Keith's attachments were very steadfast, and some years before he had rescued a Swedish girl from the fate of a Russian captive, and had trained her up to be his life-long companion.

The correspondence between the Empress and Keith was not restricted to love-making or vain regrets. From Berlin he attempted to guide the policy of Russia. He was convinced of the folly of thinking (the words sound strangely modern) 'that it is the interest of the commercial nations of Europe to maintain the Turks in splendour,' and he believed that it would help 'the greatest intercourse of commerce, navigation, population, and happiness to mankind,' if Russia should be in possession of Constantinople, 'while virtue and abilities animate the Russian Government.' To this end he wrote long letters of advice both to the Empress and to young Drummond, pointing out how this object would best be attained. The final subjection of the Ottoman Empire might, he thought, involve a war of conquest, and he made a full estimate of the military and geographical conditions. But to this method of accomplishing his end he was strongly adverse, and he gave

Russia incidentally a motto which she might well inscribe on her banners. 'Progressive boundaries, not rapid conquest,' he said, and Russia has not failed to profit by the lesson. The letters which contained military details were mostly addressed to Drummond, who never entered the Russian service. But when the Russo-Turkish war of 1768 broke out, Drummond communicated Keith's letters to the Russian Government, and placed them at the disposal of the Russian authorities.

The letters are interesting in other ways. They contain evidence of the mastery possessed by Keith over all the conditions of European politics in his day. He knows the military power of every nation; he gives us tables of the strength of the various navies; he approves of his cousin's idea 'of opening the neck or narrow space of continent between the *cul de sac* of Darien with the South Sea at or near Panama, and there dividing that grand continent.' He knows intimately the factions contending for power in Great Britain, and the secrets of the government of Louis XV. It is characteristic of Keith that his letters are discursive and touch many varied topics. He knew history well, and he was easily led into an historical dissertation. Like many Scotsmen, he had a weakness for historical parallels and contrasts, and a chance reference leads now to an elaborate comparison of Alexander the Great with Peter the Great, and again to a picture of the problems that confronted Henry IV. of France as contrasted with those that Peter had faced. He had, too, the national love of dogmatic statements and the national antipathy to priestcraft. 'Peter the Great,' he says, 'took example from the wise powers of the North—Sweden, Denmark, Scotland, Holland, and Prussia—where the priesthood are confined to labour but in the vineyard of divinity and morality, or suffer pains and penalties for misdemeanours and crimes.' The Scotsman's love of Scotland was always with him. Three years before Hochkirch, he wrote passionately of his attachment to the laud of his ancestors, nor would he admit that her doom was sealed, as most men thought, in 1756. 'England has the vanity and folly to imagine herself equal to an

extended territorial empire in America. She will repent when it is too late. Her venality of Government and the vice and avarice of her factions will finish her career. The nature of her climate, soil, air, and her inherent stamina will again revive her, and therefore Britain cannot sink into a Province, but for a season; for, after all her spurious breed are exhausted, her distant mountains and remote valleys will again re-people the land.' A regeneration of the country from Aberdeenshire is a vision worthy of a Keith.

The personal fascination of a man who captivated the Empress Elizabeth, and became the confidant of Frederick the Great, can have been no small thing. Yet in life he formed but few attachments. His ruling affection was probably his love for his elder brother, the Earl Marischal, whose character Mr. Lang has so brilliantly sketched in *The Companions of Pickle*. His life can scarcely be accounted a failure, for he helped to lay down the lines of Russian policy. Had fate been kinder, his name might have ranked with that of Peter the Great. Or, had he been educated amid Whig influences, we might have associated him with Pitt and Wolfe. In 1740, indeed, he had an interview with George II. in London. But between Keith and the House of Hanover there was a great gulf fixed, and to bridge it proved impossible. So he lived in exile, beloved of a Russian Empress and a German King, the last and the greatest of Scottish soldiers of fortune.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

ART. II.—THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY.

The Great Company (1667-1871): Being a History of the Honourable Company of Merchant-Adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay. By BECKLES WILLSON, with an Introduction by Lord STRATHCONA and MOUNT ROYAL. Portraits and Map. 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1900.

IN these two volumes Mr. Beckles Willson tells the story of the Hudson's Bay Company. The story is compiled from the Company's archives and from other reliable sources, and is prefaced by an introduction from the pen of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, the governor of the Company. It is full of stirring and often of startling episodes, and narrates many deeds of courage, endurance, and heroism, not unmixed here and there with others of faint-heartedness, cowardice, and even of crime. On the whole, however, it is the story of a great success. The Honourable Company of Adventurers never gave themselves out as anything but traders. They have never carried the Bible in one hand and the rum-bottle in the other; nor have they ever laid claim to be acting from any high or exalted motive, or given out that their first and principal aim was the evangelisation of the Red man. Their open and avowed object has always been gain, and while they have pursued it tenaciously, and often in the face of great difficulties and discouragements, to their credit, be it said, they have never condescended to the use of unworthy means, but all through their long career, and in spite of numerous temptations, they have dealt honestly with the natives through whose industry they sought to profit. They have had their reward. Not only have successive generations of shareholders reaped the gain they sought, the Company has proved itself a power for good, scattering the elements of civilisation among the rude and savage tribes with whom its agents came in contact, contributing towards the amelioration of their physical lot and the improvement of their moral

condition, and at the same time adding largely to the sum of our knowledge of the earth's surface, and preparing the way for the colonist. One of the most beneficial results of the Company's operations may be seen in the kindly relations it fostered and which still exists between the White and the Red men through all parts of the British dominions on the North American continent.

The Hudson Bay Company, or the Great Company, as the Red men prefer to call it, originated in 1667. Great Britain had just awaked out of the terrors of the Civil War, and escaped from the oppressive hand of Cromwell. The spirit of commercial enterprise had begun to make itself felt, and the Court of Charles II. was thronged with adventurers, eager to win his favour for the advancement of schemes to which the leaders of the Commonwealth would not have listened. The fur trade of North America was already being vigorously prosecuted by the Dutch, the English in Boston, and the French in Canada. The greatest share of the trade was falling to the French. As early as 1630 the Beaver and several other companies had been organised at Quebec for carrying on the fur trade in the West, near and around the great Lakes, and in the North-West Territory, and twice annually for many years had vessels anchored at Havre laden with the skins of fox, marten, and beaver, collected and shipped by the Company of the Hundred Associates, to whom in 1627 Richelieu had granted a charter conferring upon the Company a monopoly of the trade in Canada. The extent of the trade was no secret, and a feeling became current in London that England ought to have a larger share in the traffic than it had. There were difficulties in the way; but by 1665 the charter of the *Compagnie des Cents Associés* having been ceded to the Crown, a new Association known as *La Compagnie des Indes Occidentales* was formed under a new charter, and in the following year two of the employees of the old Company, dissatisfied with their prospects under the new *régime*, propounded to the Intendant, Jean Talon, at Québec, a scheme for the extension of the fur trade to the shores of Hudson's Bay.

These two employees, 'bushrangers,' as Mr. Willson designates them, were Medard Chouart, who subsequently added to his name des Groseilliers, and his brother-in-law, Pierre Radisson. Groseilliers, for by that name Chouart came to be generally known, was born in France, near Meaux, and had emigrated to Quebec when he was little over sixteen years old. His father, who was a pilot, intended that he should succeed him in the same calling, but, falling in with a Jesuit just returned from Canada, and full of thrilling tales about the New France beyond the seas, he was so affected by the suggestion which the Jesuit's anecdotes awakened in him of a rough and joyous career in the wilderness, that he resolved to take his own part in the glowing life they depicted. In 1641 he sailed with Maissonneuve from Rochelle. Five years later he was trading among the Hurons. Next year he married Etienne, daughter of the pilot Abraham Martin, from whom the plateau adjoining Quebec takes its name, and which a century later was the scene of the struggle between Montcalm and Wolfe. Etienne did not long survive her marriage, and within a year after her death Groseilliers fell in with Pierre and Marguerite Radisson, Huguenots of good family who had just quitted France to start a new life amid new and more tranquil surroundings in Canada. With this young couple Groseilliers was soon on terms of great intimacy. Marguerite he married, and with Pierre he entered into partnership, and the two were soon the leading spirits of the settlement at Three Rivers. Here Radisson married Elizabeth Herault, one of the few Protestant young women in Canada. After her death he married the daughter of a zealous English Protestant, who afterwards became Sir John Kirke, and to whose brothers Champlain had thirty years before surrendered Quebec. Groseilliers about this time is reported to have turned Protestant.

It was to Groseilliers and Radisson that the Hudson's Bay Company may in one sense be said to have owed its existence, and for a long time they are the central figures in the early part of its history. As already said, they were for some time in the employment of the Hundred Associates, and it was while engaged with them that they acquired the information

which suggested the plan of carrying on the fur-trade from the shores of Hudson's Bay. When the proposal was laid before the Intendant at Quebec he refused to entertain it. Groseilliers then made his way to Boston. In Boston his scheme was regarded with favour, but money was scarce, and the colony was already overstrained in carrying out projects for its own security and maintenance. At Boston, however, he met with the members of a Commission who had been sent over to adjust certain complaints, and one of them, Colonel Carr, it is said, strongly urged him to proceed to England and offer his services to the King. In Boston he also met with Zachary Gillam, captain and part owner of the *Nonsuch*, in which he plied a trade between the colony and the mother country. Gillam entered into the project with enthusiasm, and offered his services in case an equipment could be found. But, failing to find the support they needed in Boston, in June, 1665, Groseilliers and Radisson set sail in the *Nonsuch* for Plymouth, from whence they proceeded to Paris. Here they were as unsuccessful with the French authorities as they had been in Canada. By a happy coincidence, however, the Colonel Carr just referred to, chanced to be in Paris, and meeting with Groseilliers and hearing of the failure of his mission, he renewed his recommendation to the bushranger to try his fortune in London, and gave him a letter to Lord Arlington, the British ambassador in Paris who, after carefully weighing the matter, gave him a letter to Prince Rupert, then in London, where he was spending the time in the cultivation of science and the arts.

Groseilliers left Radisson, who by this time was thoroughly disheartened, in Paris, and made his way to London. On his arrival the Prince was unfortunately ill and unable to see him, and it was not till the 4th of June, 1667, some two or three weeks later, that they met. When they met they were alone, and the result of the interview was that the Prince promised his credit for the scheme. Three days later the Prince sent for Groseilliers. This time he was not alone. In the Prince's apartments were several gentlemen, among whom were Lord Craven, Sir John Robinson, and Mr. John Portman. A week later

Groseilliers, Radisson, and Portman travelled to Windsor Castle at the Prince's request. Of what happened there is no record, but Oldenburgh, the famous Secretary of the Royal Society, soon after wrote to Robert Boyle in America :—' Surely I need not tell you from hence, what is said here with great joy, of the discovery of a north-west passage by two Englishmen and one Frenchman, lately represented by them to His Majesty at Oxford, and answered by the grant of a vessel to sail into Hudson's Bay and Channel into the South Sea.' Evidently the scheme of the two intrepid traders was at last to be set afoot.

The year 1667 was too far advanced for any practical steps to be taken, but in the following year Zachary Gillam's *Nonsuch*, a ketch of fifty tons, was chartered for the project, and after success to the expedition had been drunk in the captain's cabin by Prince Rupert and several of his friends, the vessel dropped down the Thames on the 3rd of June. Two months later Resolution Isle, at the entrance of Hudson's Straits, was sighted, and on the 29th of September the adventurers cast anchor at the mouth of a river situated in 51 degrees of latitude. Groseilliers and Gillam went promptly ashore. They christened the river Rupert's River, and resolved to winter on the spot where they had landed.

The first care of the traders was to build a fort. Under Groseilliers' direction they made it of logs after the manner of those built by the traders and Jesuits in Canada, a stockade enclosing it, as offering some protection against sudden attack. The cargo was not landed until the attitude of the Indians had been ascertained. On the fourth day a number of these appeared. Under the management of Groseilliers they proved friendly, and promised to return before the winter set in with all the furs they had, and to spread the tidings of the new trading post amongst the neighbouring tribes. The supply of furs brought in in the autumn was small, but that of the following spring, chiefly owing to the activity and tact of Groseilliers, was abundant, and in June the *Nonsuch* sailed away with such cargo as had been gathered, to report to the Prince and his friends the excellent prospects afforded by the post on

Rupert's River, provided only the Indians could be made aware of its existence, and the French trade intercepted.

When, in the following August, Gillam cast anchor in the Thames, and delivered the despatch with which Groseilliers had entrusted him, the patrons of the enterprise were delighted. They at once set about fitting out two other ships for the business, and induced Prince Rupert to use his influence with the King to procure for them a charter of monopoly. Rupert seems to have had no difficulty in procuring the charter. It was the age of charters and monopolies, and the charter granted was sweeping enough to gratify the most ambitious. It is dated at Winchester, 2nd May, 1670, and is probably, as Mr. Willson describes it, 'one of the most celebrated instruments which ever passed from monarch to subject,' and though incessantly in dispute was perpetuated in full force through two centuries. It was granted to Prince Rupert and seventeen others, who were incorporated into a company, and given the exclusive right to establish settlements and carry on trade at Hudson's Bay. It proceeds on the narrative that the eighteen adventurers had, at their own great cost, undertaken an expedition to Hudson's Bay to discover a new passage into the South Sea, and to find a trade for furs, minerals, and other commodities, and having made such discoveries as encouraged them to proceed with their design, His Majesty grants to them and their heirs, under the name of 'The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay,' the power of holding and alienating lands, and the sole right of trade in Hudson's Strait, and the territories upon its coasts. They were authorised to fit out ships of war, erect forts, make reprisals, to send home all English subjects entering the Bay without their license, and to declare war or make peace with any prince or people not Christians. Prince Rupert was appointed the first Governor of the Company, and the territories conveyed to the Company, which included the whole of the vast region, then of unknown extent, which is drained into Hudson's Bay, were to be henceforth reckoned and reputed 'one of our plantations or colonies in America,' and to be called 'Rupert's Land.'

The first of the new ships, the *Eagle*, entered Rupert's River in July, 1669, conveying among others Radisson, who had been prevented from joining the first expedition by an accident. The other left Gravesend, with a newly appointed overseer of trade, a few days after the Company had received its charter.

Meantime, the French Company had been far from inactive, and new measures for the increase of its trade had been taken. With the establishment of the new post on Rupert's River, the rivalry between the French and English to the north of the St. Lawrence had begun, as well as a series of disputes concerning the sovereignty of the whole northern territories, which has endured down to the present generation. 'Few historical themes,' Mr. Willson observes, 'have ever been argued at greater length or more minutely than this—the priority of discovery, occupation, and active assumption of sovereignty over those lands surrounding Hudson's Bay, which for two centuries were to be held and ruled by the Hudson's Bay Company. The wisest jurists, the shrewdest intellects, the most painstaking students were destined to employ themselves during two centuries in seeking to establish by historical evidence, by tradition, and by deduction, the "rights" of the English or the French to those regions.' Mr. Willson, who examines the subject with some degree of minuteness, sums up the whole matter by saying: 'On the whole it may be as well for the reader to dismiss the French pretensions. They are no longer of interest, save to the hair-splitting student of the country's annals; but in their day they gave rise to a wilderness of controversy, through which we in the twentieth century may yet grope vainly for light. For all practical purposes the question of priority was settled for ever by the Ontario Boundary Commission of 1844.'

The Company's first public sale took place on the 24th January, 1672. It was the first of those great sales which, during the two past centuries, have made London the centre of the world's fur trade. It was advertised for the 17th November, 1671, but did not come off till the date mentioned above, when it was held in the great hall in Garraway's Coffee-house. Among

the spectators at it were Prince Rupert, the Duke of York, and Dryden the poet, who is said to have improvised on the occasion the following verses :

“ Friend, once 'twas Fame that led thee forth
To brave the Tropick Heat, the Frozen North,
Late it was Gold, then Beauty was the Spur ;
But now our Gallants venture, but for Fur.’

The meetings of the Company were at first held in the Tower, at the Mint, or at Prince Rupert's house in Spring Gardens. Once or twice they met at Garraway's. In 1671 it was resolved to keep minutes and accounts, and to hold stated meetings. A report was spread abroad that Prince Rupert received a handsome sum of money for his trouble in procuring the charter of monopoly. For a long time the capital of the Company was kept a secret ; but in 1749, nearly eighty years after its establishment, it came out that at first the Company's capital was £10,500, representing thirty-four £300 shares, and one share given to Prince Rupert. Great curiosity existed as to the kind of business the Adventurers transacted at their meetings, and the cargoes they sent out. The latter were currently believed to consist of ribbons, beads, toys, trinkets, and other kickshaws. Under the guidance of Radisson, they seem in reality to have consisted of goods much more useful to the Indians, and better calculated to further the end the Adventurers had in view. For the *Prince Rupert* and the *Imploy*, which were to sail in the spring of 1672, the following cargo was prescribed by Radisson and Gillam :—500 fowling-pieces, with powder and shot in proportion ; 500 brass kettles of from two to sixteen gallons apiece ; 20 gross of knives ; and 2000 hatchets.

By the year 1673 affairs on Rupert River had begun to assume a somewhat serious aspect. The opposition of the French was beginning to make itself felt ; the attitude of the Indians was less friendly ; and dissensions were rife among the employees of the Company, due chiefly to the want of tact, and even of common-sense, on the part of Bailey, who had been sent out as governor. Fortunately, on the 24th September in the following year he was superseded

by William Lyddal, but not before he had quarrelled with Groseilliers and Radisson, and been the cause of their leaving the service of the Company. Bailey's conduct was reviewed at a general meeting of the Adventurers specially held for the purpose, and a majority professed that they were well pleased that Groseillier and Radisson had quitted their service. One of the Adventurers, however, was of a different way of thinking. This was Sir John Kirke, Radisson's father-in-law, who predicted that some disaster would result from the treatment the two men had received, and was loud and persistent in asserting the bad faith and unjust suspicious of Bailey.

Kirke's prediction was not far wrong. While Chouart was passing his time inactively at Three Rivers, Radisson made several attempts to establish a northern rival to the Company. Failing in this he joined the French navy, but was shipwrecked in 1679, and lost all his property. The Vice-Admiral wrote in his favour, and the Court granted him a sum of a hundred crowns, and hope was held out to him that he would be entrusted with the command of a frigate. His heart, however, was in the fur trade, and he urged his scheme for ousting the English from Hudson's Bay upon Colbert, the French minister; but in vain. Next he tried to placate the Company, and sought an interview with Prince Rupert, who received him kindly enough, but pointed out that the temper of the Company was such that it would be vain for him to use his interest in an attempt to effect his reinstatement. Radisson then re-crossed the Channel, for it seems to have been all one to him which side he served, whether he spent his energies in trying to oust the Company or in furthering its plans. This time Colbert received him with black looks, and in his extremity he applied to the Marquess de Seignely, who at a second interview flatly told him that he was regarded by the King as little better than a traitor, and that his Canadian project met with universal distrust. At this juncture there arrived in Paris M. de la Chesnaye, who was in charge of the fur trade in Canada, at the head of the *Compagnie du Nord*, and had crossed the Atlantic to report upon the intrusion of the English Company. As may be readily understood, Radisson was overjoyed. La

Chesnaye, as Mr. Willson remarks, 'proved a true friend; he evinced himself most heartily in favour of the Government securing the services of Radisson in establishing a rival establishment, on the principle of those of the Company to which he had formerly been attached.'

The Government were in no hurry to assist Radisson. In fact neither in Paris nor in Canada did he obtain the slightest official recognition. In 1681 he joined La Chesnaye in Quebec. Here La Chesnaye was maturing his plans to share the northern trade of the Company, and was busily fitting out a couple of ships for the purpose. The Governor refused to give his official sanction to the enterprise, and Radisson left the country under the pretence of returning to France by way of New England, but, as privately arranged between him and La Chesnaye, he landed on an island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where he was picked up by the two ships, and thence sailed along with Groseilliers and his nephew Chouart for Hudson's Bay. On the 26th of August in the following year, 'after innumerable episodes, some of which almost ended in tragedy,' the two vessels entered the Nelson River. Fifteen miles up stream Radisson left Groseilliers to build a fort, while he himself set out in search of natives with whom to trade. On the 12th of the following month he returned, and had hardly arrived when the boom of a gun led to the discovery of another party of adventurers. They turned out to be under the leadership of young Gillam, son of Zachary Gillam, who dissatisfied with his profits under the Company, had resolved to adventure an expedition on his own account from Boston. Needless to say the two parties were agreed in their feelings and aims in respect to the Company, and were soon on good terms with each other. Another arrival was less welcome. A ship cast anchor in the river; next morning a boat was lowered and filled with men, who at once made for the bank where on the previous day Radisson had kindled a fire in order to attract attention, and where in the meantime he had posted his men, all armed, at the entrance of a wood. Ten yards from where the boat grounded, Radisson stood alone with folded arms and in an attitude of defiance. But the rest we must let Mr.

Willson tell. His narrative shows the character and pretensions of Radisson, and is a singular comment upon the story just related.

'One of the crew,' he says, 'had got a leg over the side of the boat when our bushranger cried in a loud voice :—"Hold, in the King's name." And then presenting his carbine, he added, "I forbid you to land." The occupants of the boat were astonished. "Who are you?" they asked, "and what is your business?" "I am a Frenchman," was the answer, delivered in English, "and I hold this country for His Most Christian Majesty, King Lewis!" Radisson signalled to his followers, who emerged from their retreat, making a brave show of their weapons. The *coup* seemed destined to be successful. The leader of the boat party, visibly impressed, standing erect in his craft without any attempt on the part of his followers to land, replied, "I beg to inform you, gentlemen, that we hail from London. Our ship yonder is the *Prince Rupert*, belonging to the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, and commanded by Captain Zachary Gillam." "You arrive too late. This country is already in the possession of the King of France, and its trade belongs to the Northern Company of Canada."

'A short dispute succeeded. Suddenly changing his tactics, Governor Bridgar, for it was he, feigned acquiescence, admitted that, after all, Radisson might be right, and requested the privilege of landing and saluting him. The two leaders now conversed amicably. Radisson took occasion to elaborate the narrative to which he had recently treated young Gillam without, however, mentioning the circumstance that he had met Benjamin. He did not scruple to allege a lengthy residence in the region, detailing his forces, both French and Indian, with a fine display of exactitude.'

The conversation was continued on board the ship, where Radisson met the elder Gillam, and added to his fine display of mendacity. Governor Bridgar professed absolute credence in all he said, but was not deceived. Radisson had managed that two of the boat's crew should be left on shore as hostages for his own return, and but for these he might have been detained as a guest to ruminate upon his treachery. Bridgar believed in the Company's power, and as he had been sent to build a fort on the Nelson, as soon as Radisson left, the majority of his people set to work to build it, the French party hiding in the woods watching their movements.

On the 28th November, 1682, died Prince Rupert, the first Governor of the Company, and a week later the Duke of York

was chosen as his successor. Fifteen years had now elapsed since the Company was formed. They now owned four ships; and after all the cost of plant, ships, and equipment had been paid the adventurers were making an annual profit of two hundred per cent. on their capital. The policy of the Company was extremely conservative, and though four forts had been built, little was being done to extend the area of its trade. The affairs of the Company were managed parsimoniously, and its servants were not of the best. In 1683 the Governor of Fort Albany was instructed to select from the servants at his fort such as were 'best qualified with strength of body and the country language to travel and penetrate into the country, and to draw down the Indians by fair and gentle means to trade with us.' He replied, 'I shall not be neglectful, as soon as I can find any man capable and willing, to send up into the country with the Indians, to endeavour to penetrate into what the country will and may produce; but,' he adds, 'your Honours should give good encouragement to those who undertake such extraordinary service, or else I fear that there will be few that will embrace such employment.' This niggardly policy was followed by the Company until it was at last absolutely compelled to act more liberally towards its servants as a means of self-preservation.

But to return to Radisson and Groseilliers. For a time they were inactive, but in February, 1682, Radisson paid a visit to Governor Bridgar, saw the elder Gillam's ship in a dangerous position, talked to Bridgar about an imaginary ship which he professed to have somewhere in the neighbourhood, and tried to seduce Gillam from his allegiance to the Company. Next he brought the father and son together, but, failing to secure their co-operation, he returned to Groseilliers at Fort Bourbon. Here a long consultation took place between the two brothers-in-law, the upshot of which was that Radisson paid the younger Gillam another visit, invited him to Fort Bourbon, made him a prisoner there, and then starting with an armed force for Hays' Island, seized the fort young Gillam had built upon the island, and took possession of his ship, the *Susan*. When the news of all this reached Fort Nelson, Bridgar, with the sup-

port of the elder Gillam, decided to head a party of relief. His first point of attack was the *Susan*, but, suspecting the plan, Radisson sent all his available force and overpowered the Governor's men, taking most of them prisoners. Next morning Groseilliers arrived with reinforcements, and the two bushrangers marched upon Fort Nelson, where Bridgar was seeking solace in the rum cask, seized the establishment, and carried off the Governor a prisoner to Fort Bourbon. Some months later Radisson and Groseilliers accompanied Bridgar and his companions to Quebec, whence the ill-starred Governor and young Gillam sailed on board the *Susan*, which the Governor of Quebec had returned to them, for New England. According to Radisson's account, he and Bridgar 'parted on friendly terms.' But in his evidence before the Company he was denounced by Bridgar as 'a cheat, a swindler, and a black-hearted, infamous scoundrel;' while as for the older Gillam, he was heard to declare that he would not die happy until his 'hanger had dipped into the blood of the French miscreant, Radisson.' The two accomplices did not stay long in Quebec. The place was too hot for them. La Chesnaye also was now in no mood to befriend them. He had had the satisfaction of discovering that they had cheated him out of two thousand crowns' worth of furs. Besides, the Governor had received instructions to despatch the two worthies to the Court of France. They left Quebec on the 11th of November, 1683, on board a French frigate for France. The elder Gillam also sailed for England on board the *St. Anne*. The frigate made all haste, but Gillam arrived in Europe before them, and by the time the two brothers-in-law reached Paris all England was ringing with the story of the French encroachments on the Hudson's Bay Company's territories.

In spite of all the harm he had done them, the Adventurers were strangely enough still anxious to secure the services of Radisson, and as soon as it was known that he was in Paris a letter, signed by two of them, was sent to Lord Preston, the British Ambassador, suggesting that 'it might be worth while to see him.' Lord Preston sent his attaché, Captain Godey, to make overtures to him. Godey found him in the third floor of

a house in the Faubourg St. Antoine, surrounded by relatives and boon companions, deeply engaged in drinking healths and retailing his adventures to an appreciative circle. 'He was appalled,' says Godey, 'more like a savage than a Christian. His black hair, just touched with grey, hung in wild profusion about his bare neck and shoulders. He showed a swarthy complexion, seamed and pitted by frost and exposure in a rigorous climate. A huge scar, wrought by the tomahawk of a drunken Indian, disfigured his left cheek. His whole costume was surmounted by a wide collar of marten's skin; his feet were adorned by buckskin mocassins. In his leather belt was sheathed a long knife.' Godey was well received by the bushranger, who protested that all he and Groseillier had done was to be laid at the door of the Adventurers, and that they honestly wished to serve them. Strong efforts were made to obtain his services in the French interest, but after a short period of indecision he finally resolved to rejoin the Company, and crossing over to London, he was for a few weeks lionised, presented to the King, and shown off by the Duke of York at the theatre.

On May 17 three vessels left Gravesend for Hudson's Bay. On one of them, named, singularly enough, the *Happy Return*, was Radisson. The weather was favourable, and a quick passage was made. All through the voyage Radisson, who had never borne a part in a joint enterprise without being animated by jealousy and distrust, was in a fever of anxiety lest either of the other two ships should outsail the *Happy Return*. Fortunately for him neither of them did, but when twenty leagues from Port Nelson the ship was so blocked with ice that further progress, except at a raft's pace, was impossible. Radisson persuaded the captain to lend him a small boat and seven men, and in this, after forty-eight consecutive hours of labour, the entrance of the Nelson River was reached. Here Radisson was surprised by the discovery of two ships riding at anchor. One of them was an English frigate; the other was the *Alert*, with the new Governor, William Phipps, on board. Radisson made for the latter, and, after making himself and his allegiance known, was permitted to board the Company's ship.

On making enquiry, he found that the Governor and his men had not dared to land for fear of the French and the Indians, who were considered hostile to the English interests. That was precisely the situation Radisson desired. He now made his way in the direction of the abandoned York factory, with some Indians, and afterwards met with Chouart, his nephew. To Chouart he made the proposal that he should surrender his fort. In this, according to Radisson, the nephew at once acquiesced. According to another, Chouart at first flatly refused to entertain the proposal. However, in the end the uncle had his way, and by this stroke of craft secured for the Company the fort, some 12,000 skins, and merchandise sufficient to barter for seven or eight months to come. He was now all anxiety to return to London to show what great things he had done, and, after a quarrel with the Governor, set sail on the 4th of September. On board ship he managed to conceal his impatience, but on arriving at Portsmouth, while the captain, crew, and Company's servants loitered about the town, waiting for the coach, he made off to a post-house, hired a horse, and scarcely drew rein until he reached the house of Mr. Young, one of the leading Adventurers, in Wood Street, Cheapside. The Honourable Adventurer had retired for the night, but rising in gown and cap he listened to the bushranger's tale. Next morning, at eleven o'clock, he had him to Whitehall, where he had already been himself to tell the good news, and Radisson had the pleasure of recounting to the King and his Royal Highness, the Prince, the great things he had done. He had scarcely left the royal presence, however, when the Deputy-Governor, Mr. Dering, arrived hot foot with Phipps', the Governor's despatch, which put an entirely different complexion upon Radisson's doings. This was the last of Radisson's exploits in the Company's service. When the General Court met, a majority of the Honourable Adventurers felt that they had had enough of him and his ways. He was retired on a pension, which he continued to draw down to 1702, the year of his death. Groseilliers predeceased him by about ten years. Radisson's retreat may be said to have ended the first chapter in the history of the Company.

Another opened immediately. The fortunes of the French in the fur countries had been so badly hurt by Groseilliers and Radisson, that they were fiercely hated. They were burnt in effigy at Quebec, and steps were taken to repair the injury they had done. A new expedition had been sent out to Port Nelson, but had returned to the St. Lawrence without a single beaver. In July, 1685, two other ships belonging to the French Company were returning from Port Nelson in a like bare condition when they fell in with the *Merchant of Perpetuana*, one of the Hudson's Bay Company's ships, bound for York Fort with a cargo of merchandise and provisions. She was at once seized by the Frenchmen and taken to Quebec, where her captain and crew were summarily cast into prison. After a miserable confinement of eleven months they were sent away to Martinique, and there sold as slaves. On Christmas Eve of the same year, the Chevalier de Troyes, a Canadian nobleman and a retired captain in the army, asked the Governor for a commission to drive the English utterly out of the Northern Bay. The commission he received gave him the fullest powers, and, taking with him a force of over a hundred and twenty men, thirty of whom had seen service in one or other of the European wars, he at once set out. Pushing on overland, though the rivers were frozen and the earth covered with snow, he made for Moose Factory, attacked it in the night, and took possession of it for Louis XIV. Fort Rupert was next taken, and a couple of the Company's ships. At Fort Albany the Governor offered a stout resistance, but the courage of his men giving way, after a bombardment lasting a couple of days, he was obliged to surrender. On August 10 the Chevalier turned his face towards Montreal. He took with him no fewer than 50,000 beavers as a trophy of his arms, and compelled many of the Company's servants to carry them. During the long and wearisome march a number of these unhappy captives, through the connivance of the French, were murdered by the Indians.

When the news of all this reached England, an extraordinary meeting of the Honourable Adventurers was held, and a petition was shortly afterwards presented to the King, praying that

he would demand and procure satisfaction to them for the losses and damages they had suffered 'as well formerly as by this last invasion.' Correspondence followed between the British and French Governments, but little came of it. The scene of conflict was too distant, and the conflict still went on. Iberville, who had acted as de Troyes lieutenant, and afterwards became famous in Europe, was sent by the French Governor to complete what the Chevalier had begun. He captured several of the Company's forts and ships, and carried off an immense booty in skins. But the chief object of his desire was the capture of Fort Nelson. It was an object of equally ardent desire on the part of Demonville, the French Governor. Louis also desired its capture, and sent a fleet of no fewer than fourteen ships, under Admiral Tast, to effect it. Iberville, however, refused to co-operate with the fleet. Just before its arrival at Quebec he had returned from the Bay with 80,000 francs worth of beaver skins and 6,000 livres in small furs, and had no mind to share the glory and profit of his freebooting with the Northern Company of Canada or with the Admiral. The fleet therefore sailed back to France ingloriously without effecting its purpose. The same year, however, a frigate, belonging to the enemy, drew up before Fort Nelson, and most of the garrison being away on a hunting expedition, Phipps, the Governor, rather than let it fall into the hands of the French, set fire to it, destroying merchandise to the value of £8000. The following spring, on the arrival of the Company's ships, the Fort was rebuilt stronger and on a larger scale, but on the 15th of the following October, Iberville entered it in triumph, after having subjected it to a bombardment of nineteen days. There being plenty of provisions and merchandise in the place, he passed the winter in it, and leaving a garrison of 67 men behind him, sailed away on the 20th of the following July. On the 24th of August, 1696, it was attacked by the English, when the garrison and an immense quantity of furs fell into their hands. Next year it was again taken by Iberville, but not before he had fought two fierce battles on land and sea. From any attempt at a reconquest the Company was debarred by the Treaty of Ryswick,

which had recently been made and confirmed in the French the possession of the Forts they had taken along the Bay, and were in possession of on the day it was signed.

The fortunes of the Company were now at a low ebb. A petition was presented against it to Parliament; the shares of the Adventurers fell in value; their petitions to the King, the House of Commons, and the Lords of Trade and Plantations, were ineffectual; and the only solace they had was the knowledge that their French rivals were in trouble and were mismanaging the trade from which they themselves had been ousted. At last, finding their petitions to the Lords of Trade without effect, the Company drew up a memorial, and presented it to Queen Anne. The Queen at once espoused their cause, and when the Treaty of Utrecht was completed, it was found that the whole of Hudson's Bay was ceded to Great Britain. The Treaty was signed 31st March, 1713, and on June 5th, in the following year, a Committee of the Adventurers went down to Gravesend and 'delivered to Captain Knight, Her Majesty's Royal Commission, to take possession (for the Company), of York Fort, and all other places within the Bay and Straits of Hudson; also another Commission from Her Majesty constituting him Governor under the Company, and Mr. H. Kelsey Deputy Governor of the Bay and Straits of Hudson aforesaid.' Knight also took with him the French King's order, under his hand and seal, to M. Iérémie, Commander at York Fort, to deliver the same to whom Her Majesty should appoint, pursuant to the Treaty of Utrick.' Thus, after fifteen years of waiting, during which they never lost hope or courage, the Honourable Adventurers came to their own.

When war broke out between Great Britain and France in 1744, the Company resolved that, if possible, the treatment their forts and servants had received at the hands of the Chevalier de Troyes and Iberville should not be repeated. The temper the Honourable Adventurers were in may be seen from some of the instructions they sent out on the outbreak of the war to their various factories:—

'The English and French having declared war *against each other*,' they wrote, 'and the war with Spain still continuing, we do hereby strictly

direct you to be always on your guard, and to keep good watch, and that you keep all your men as near home as possible.

'We do also direct that you fix your cannon in the most proper places to defend yourselves and annoy an enemy, after which you are to fire each cannon once with powder to see how they prove, and instruct your men to the use of them without firing; and that you keep them constantly loaded with powder and ball ready for service. You are also to keep your small arms loaded, and in good order, and at hand, to be easily come at.

. . . and you are to exercise your men once a week till they are well disciplined, and afterwards once a month. And you are also to keep a sufficient number of your trading guns loaded and at hand in case of an attack; and if there be any Indians that you can confide in, and will be of service to you, we recommend it to you to employ them in such manner as you think proper.'

At their earnest request letters of marque were granted to the *Prince Rupert* against both France and Spain. Altogether the attitude of the Company was most belligerent, and continued so till Canada was ceded to Great Britain.

An incident which happened during this war, but as a consequence of another, may be noticed. In the list of proprietors of Hudson Bay Stock, published in 1749, the name of John Stanion is followed by the word 'deceased.' John Stanion was none other than the second Governor of the Company, James II. The exiled monarch had never relinquished his share in the Company, and under the name of John Stanion the dividends had always reached him or his heirs, but after the escape of Prince Charles Edward, by an order of the Company, they were withheld and the stock confiscated.

Meantime the honourable adventurers had had to defend themselves against enemies much nearer than the shores of Hudson's Bay. Their charter had been confirmed by William III. in the first years of his reign, but in 1748 a motion was carried in the House of Commons for the appointment of a Committee of the House to inquire into the state and condition of the countries and trade in Hudson's Bay, and the right the Company professed to have by charter to the property of the land and to exclusive trade to those countries. The object of the motion was obviously to destroy the Company's monopoly and to deprive it of its property around the Bay. The enquiry aroused great national interest. It lasted a

couple of months, during which many witnesses were examined and a great variety of opinion delivered. An idea then prevalent was that a north-west passage existed through Hudson's Bay, and great fault was found with the Company that it had not only not discovered the passage, but had made no attempt to find it. In the course of the enquiry it came out that dull as the times then were, the profit of the Company on the actual paid-up capital was forty per cent., and as may readily be supposed there were not a few in London who were desirous of sharing in so profitable an undertaking. The Committee, however, reported in the Company's favour, and pronounced its charter unassailable. Beaten in this direction several of the Company's enemies tried to obtain a footing on the shore of Labrador in order to draw away some of its trade; but, on the advice of the Attorney-General, Sir Dudley Ryan, and the Solicitor-General, Sir William Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, the petition they presented to the Government for a charter was refused.

After the conquest of Canada, the trade of the Company rapidly expanded, but its way was far from smooth. First, the Adventurers discovered that the leakage of furs through the dishonesty of some of their servants was considerable. Next, they had to encounter the hostility of the Indian tribes, the chief among them being the powerful Iroquois. They had troubles, too, with the discontented bushrangers and voyageurs. In 1768 their seamen struck for higher wages, and difficulty was experienced in despatching the year's ships. In 1782 Admiral La Perouse entered the Bay with three men-of-war, and cast anchor before Fort Prince of Wales, which Hearne, who under the auspices of the Company, had made three notable journeys, with scarcely a show of resistance, weakly surrendered. The Admiral then proceeded to Fort York, where again he was easily successful. After ordering the Fort to be burned, he carried the Company's people away prisoners. The damage was estimated at many thousand pounds.

Meanwhile, the competition of the Scottish traders from Canada was threatening the trade of the Company with

absolute ruin. For many years the Company had obtained from Fort York alone at least 30,000 skins a year, but in 1790 the number it received from all its posts did not amount to more than 20,000. In 1783-84 a number of merchants in Montreal had formed themselves into an association, known as the North-West Company, under the leadership of Joseph and Benjamin Frobisher and Simon M'Tavish. The object of the association was distinctly to oppose the Company. No capital was deposited, but each of the sixteen associates or parties in the Company furnished a proportion of such goods as were necessary for the trade, while the 'wintering partners' or the actual traders of these merchants, received corresponding shares of the profits. The servants of the association had thus a direct interest in its prosperity. Two of the chief of these Canadian traders, Pond and Pangman by name, refused to fall in with this scheme, and with the assistance of Alexander Mackenzie, who was afterwards knighted for his discoveries to the north and west of Hudson's Bay, attempted to trade by themselves; but in 1787, after encountering many difficulties and fierce enmity, they gave up the attempt and joined the rest of the merchants. Eleven years later Mackenzie formed another association, known as the New North-West Company, but more popularly as the X. Y. Company. Both the Companies, though opposed to each other, were animated by the same spirit of hostility towards the Honourable Adventurers.

How strong the opposition of the Canadian Companies was may be inferred from the fact that the business of the North-West Company, which in 1788 was worth £40,000, had risen in value in 1798 to £125,000. In 1801 the price paid for furs exported from Quebec at the sales in London was £371,139. The following year the Honourable Adventurers were obliged to borrow £20,000 from the Bank of England. In the spring of 1803 the North-West sent the *Beaver*, a vessel of 150 tons, to Hudson's Bay, with instructions to exploit commerce under the very guns of the Company's forts. At the same time Mackenzie was in London trying to establish a new scheme, which was still further to maim the Company. Five years later (1808), the funds of the Adventurers were so low that no

dividend was paid. Altogether, the Company was in a bad way. The North-West and the new North-West Companies had united. They were said to have formed a plan for systematically driving the Company out of all valuable beaver tracts, and to be entertaining the hope of reducing the fortunes of the Adventurers to so low an ebb as to compel them to make over to them their chartered rights. Collisions between the servants of the rivals became frequent. Schultz, one of the Northmen, murdered Labau, a young lad of about nineteen, because he was on the point of transferring his services to the old Company. At the Big Fall, near Lake Winnipeg, a party of Northmen rifled the Company's stores, and stabbed and otherwise ill-used their servants. On a second visit they carried off a great number of valuable furs, and compelled the trader in charge to sign a paper stating that he had given up the furs voluntarily, though, as a matter of fact, the signature was extorted from him under threats of instant death. Many other outrages were perpetrated by the servants of the North-West Company, and, by the year in which no dividend was paid, the affairs of the Honourable Adventurers had reached a crisis.

But, as the Arabian saying puts it, 'when the night is darkest there is hope, for the dawn is near.' The Adventurers began to bestir themselves. First they petitioned the Lords of the Treasury, but, receiving no substantial help from them, they began to set their house in order, and, imitating their opponents, gave their chief officers a considerable participation in the profits of their trade. Next, they urged and finally succeeded in securing the passing of an Act which gave the Courts of Upper and Lower Canada criminal jurisdiction over the whole of the Indian territory. But the salvation of the Company was practically due to the Earl of Selkirk. To relate all that was done by this generous and enlightened nobleman for the Company and his countrymen, to detail the measures he set on foot, the fierce opposition with which they were assailed, the fightings and murders which were perpetrated in order to prevent their success, together with the many other and varied incidents which

occurred in a conflict which was unquestionably one of the bitterest that was ever waged in connection with a commercial undertaking, would require a volume. Many of them are related by Mr. Willson in his second volume. Here it must suffice to say that finally, with some help from the Government, after infinite labour and many vicissitudes, and with the co-operation of Mr. Ellice of the North-West Company, eventually, though not without strenuous opposition on the part of some of its own members, the Company succeeded. In 1821 an arrangement was come to by which the North-West Company was amalgamated, under conditions which appear to have been equitable for both parties, with the Hudson's Bay Company. The result was beneficial. The country which had so long been disturbed by their contentions settled down, trade increased, the Company's servants went further and further afield, new geographical discoveries were made, the condition of the natives was improved, and the way was prepared for those vast changes in the aspect and character of the country which succeeding years were to bring about.

Difficulties subsequently arose with the United States and Russia in respect to boundaries, the former going as far as to claim the Red River Settlement; but these were all amicably arranged. In 1857 the opponents of the Company again succeeded in getting its rights and privileges examined into by a Committee of the House of Commons, in the expectation, of course, that their schemes against it would be realised. Many witnesses were examined, and at the close of the evidence Mr. Gladstone, who was a member of the Committee, moved a series of resolutions unfavourable to the Company, but by the casting vote of the Chairman, Lord Taunton, they were negatived. In their report the Committee recommended that the Red River and Saskatchewan districts should be ceded to Canada on equitable principles, and that the Company's rule over Vancouver Island should cease; but urged that in the interests of law and order, and of the Indian population, as well as for the preservation of the fur trade, the Company should 'continue to enjoy the privileges of exclusive trade which they now possess.'

On the inception of the great scheme for a trans-continental road and telegraph system in 1862, a proposal was made to buy out the Company. The price suggested was a million and a half. The scheme did not at once succeed, but it was not unfruitful. After much negotiation and not a little discussion, and a good deal of indignation on the part of the 'wintering partners,' a scheme was formulated by Lord Granville, and accepted by the Company. By this scheme the Company ceded all its rights of government, property, etc., in Rupert's Land, and in any other part of British North America in exchange for the sum of £300,000, but retained its right of trade. Canada thus came into possession of the vast territory hitherto owned and governed by the Company, extending to two million three hundred thousand square miles. The scheme contained a valuable reservation. By this, up to fifty years after the date of surrender, in every township or district within the Fertile Belt—a region of 300,000,000 acres in extent, believed to be of great agricultural value—whenever any land is set out for settlement, the Company can claim a grant of land not exceeding one-twentieth of the land so set out.

After yielding the sovereignty of the Great North-West to Canada, the Company, as Mr. Willson observes, 'still ruled, though sceptre and crown had been taken from it.' 'Its continental ascendancy,' as he goes on to add, 'was no whit injured: it is still one of the greatest corporations and the greatest fur company in the world.' Since 1871 its history has not been without stirring incidents, but it has maintained untarnished 'its long record of steady work, enterprise, and endurance'; and no one, we venture to think, will question Mr. Willson's assertion that the 'Great Dominion owes much to the Great Company.'

Much credit is due to Mr. Willson for the skillful and attractive form in which he has presented his narrative. Besides being full of almost romantic incidents, it is a substantial contribution to the history of commerce, and will take a place among the best works of its kind.

ART. III.—WAYLAND THE SMITH.

An Anglo-Saxon, German, and Norse Tale.

IN Southern England there is still the old tale current about Wayland the Smith. He was the Vulcan or Hephaistos of the Anglo-Saxon and other Teuton tribes, as well as of the Norse branch of the great Germanic stock. His very cave is yet shown in Berkshire, and curious magic qualities have from ancient times been attributed to that 'Invisible Smith.'

Thanks to monkish fanaticism, a great deal of the old heroic poetry, and of that which referred to the grand Nature-worship creed of the German race, has been destroyed; only stray bits being, by a lucky chance, recovered here and there. Karl the Great, the Frankish Kaiser, a full-blood German, had the 'barbaric poems of high antiquity' collected, as his biographer, Eginhard, states. But under his successor, Ludwig the Pious, who in his youth had learned those remarkable songs, they were evidently done away with. That ruler, who was under the strict influence of the priesthood, 'would no longer read, nor listen to, nor communicate, those pagan songs.' So we learn from his contemporary, Thegan, the bishop of Trier. Often we have, therefore, to go to Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon sources for clearing up doubtful points of the heathen creed of ancient Germany.

When we turn to the Edda, the Norse Scripture, which deals with the Gods and Heroes of the Germanic race, we find a highly interesting song about Völundr the Smith—that is, the Anglo-Saxon Wayland, the German Wieland. The Icelandic Edda was written down by Christian hands, but, fortunately, with some respect for the Old Faith. In that collection of songs concerning the divine circle and the heroes of old, Völundr describes himself as a Rhinelander—in other words, as a German. He had been made a captive in the North, and put in fetters. When the Norse king, who holds him as a prisoner, asks Völundr where, as a goldsmith, he had got his great treasures, the magic smith answers:—

Wayland the Smith.

‘ Here, there is no gold as on Grani’s path ;
Far is this land from the hills of the Rhine.
More of treasures did we possess,
When hale we sat at home.’

‘ Grani’s path ’ is a paraphrase for the roads which the horse of Sigurd, or Siegfried, was accustomed to canter upon. These roads were in the Rhinelands, in Germany. It is well known how much gold was once washed out of the sands of the Rhine ; large amounts of money being coined from it every year. Sigurd himself, whose name is but one of the frequent Northern contractions from the German name Siegfried, is, in the Edda also, not a Scandinavian, but a Teutonic hero. On the Lower Rhine—even as in the Nibelungen Lied—Sigurd’s home is placed by the Icelandic poet. Sigurd is called there a ‘ Southern,’ a ‘ Hunic,’ that is, a German chieftain or prince. Both expressions—southern and Hunic—were synonym for Germans.* The Northmen called us ‘ southern folk,’ even as the Scots, to this day, call an Englishman a ‘ Southron.’

The Hunes of the Edda have nothing to do with the Mongolic Hunns. Those Hunes over whom Siegfried, or Sigurd, ruled, were dwellers in north-western Germany. There the Hunsrück range and many place-names still bear witness to their former existence as a tribe. In our heroic sagas, names like Hunolt, Hunbrecht, Hunferd, are frequent enough. Humboldt’s name means ‘ bold as a Hune.’ In consequence of the Great Migrations, which produced a chaotic state of intermixture, the Hunns of Attila, by an easily comprehensible misunderstanding, took the place, in poetic sagas, of the German Hunes, and of Atli, the ruler on the Lower Rhine.

This Atli name also was a frequent Teutonic one. It still survives in English place-names like Attleborough and Attlebridge. For to England, too, German Hunes came, together with Frisian, Anglo-Saxon, and other German warrior clans—as testified to by the English monk, Baeda, the Venerable Bede, in his *Church History*. There are Anglo-Saxon names composed

* See the Eddic *Saga of Atli*.

with Hun. A mass of place-names, from southern England up to Shetland, still reminds us of those Teutonic Hunes, who took a part in the making of England. Certainly, no Mongolic Hunns from Attila's army ever came to this country.

In the Rhine, the Hunic Sigurd of the Edda, the son of a king in Frank-land, proves the sword which the dwarf Regin had forged for him by letting a piece of wool down the stream, when the sword clove the fleece asunder as if it were water. Rhine-upwards Sigurd fares to the Gnita Heath to slay the Dragon. The Gnita Heath, according to Scandinavian testimony, lay between Mainz and Paderborn. In the many Eddic songs referring to Sigurd we hear of Burgundians and other Teutonic tribes, of the Rhenish hills and the 'Holy Mountains;' these latter being manifestly the Sieben-Gebirge, which has its name from the sacred number seven. Further southwards, Sigurd rides to Frank-land, where he awakens Brynhild. Murdered by Hōgni (our Hagen), he sinks down in the south, near the Rhine. In the Eddic poem in question ('Fragment of a Brynhild Song') there is a note at the end, saying that German men (*thydverskir menn*) had said that Sigurd was killed in the forest.

I have mentioned all this because it is calculated to shed light on the transplantation of the German tale about Wieland the Smith to Scandinavia and Iceland, as well as by the Anglo-Saxons to Britain, which they made into an England. Northmen had heard the Wieland, the Siegfried, and other tales in Germany, and carried them to the North. There, those tales were cast into a new poetic form, but their Teutonic origin was not disowned. On the contrary, it was fully acknowledged. German men of Soest, Bremen, and Münster, and dwellers in castles of Lower Saxony, were expressly quoted as sources of such sagas in ancient Scandinavian writings. Twice, in this way, came the Wieland tale to the North. No wonder the famed magic armourer and goldsmith himself mentions the Rhinelands as his home. In the Wilkina Saga, the German sources are clearly given.

Wayland the Smith.

II.

Now I come to a subject of a somewhat painful (Comprehensive erudition, or extensive reading, is un sometimes far from being allied to a proper recognition simplest facts or truths. Professor Sophus Bugge, of tiania, known for his strange views about Northern myth in which he thinks he detects merely classic traditions with Christian notions—wrote a paper a short time ago, by which he tries to make out Wieland to have been, not a German, but a *Finn!* As to the Swan-Maidens or Valkyrs, who, according to the Eddic poem (‘*Völundar Kvidha*’), came from the South to the famed captive armourer and goldsmith in the North, Professor Bugge endeavours to deny, at least partially, their Germanic character. One of them he makes out to have been an *Irish girl!* At the same time he wants to show that the Wieland tale did not come to England from Germany, but by way of the North. In doing so, he distinguishes, rather unnaturally and unnecessarily, between Anglo-Saxons and Germans. That is as if somebody were to say that the early English settlers in America were not English.

The Finns are undoubtedly a little nation meriting much respect—more particularly so now, since they have been the object of that philanthropic and peace-loving Czar’s special care. Against Irish girls nothing shall be said here which could detract from their charms. But whoever reads the Eddic poem about *Völundr* with an unbiassed mind, cannot but be astounded at the attempted perversion of the plain truth that the captive himself declares the Rhinelands to be his native country. In his argumentation, I regret to say, the Norwegian scholar has laid himself open, moreover, to the charge of having rather surprisingly omitted dealing with facts which he, in his wide reading, must have fully known, but which, because they tell against his own views, he preferred to ignore or to suppress. This is not the proper manner in learned discussions.

The ‘*Finnish*’ theory of Professor Bugge reposes on the following circumstances. The Eddic *Völundr* Song, which probably dates from the tenth century, has a prefacing note tacked

to it by some later scribe, who, regardless of the fact of Völundr declaring himself to be a Rhineland, designates him and his brothers, Slagfidr and Egil, as sons of a 'Finn King' (*synir Finna konungs*).

We know how these things were often done and muddled in the Middle Ages, when the older and purer folk-traditions had gradually paled. By the way, taking such transmogrifying passages into unmerited account, might we not make out Völundr to have been even an Asiatic or an African? In an old French poem, in which Wieland, by a well-known law of letter-change, appears as Galans, he forges a sword at Damascus and in Persia, which is said to be part of a treasure of Pharao. Here we are both on Asiatic and African ground.

Maybe that Pharao was put in the place of a Frankish Pharamund or Faramund; for no doubt the Wieland tale was, with other heroic and divine sagas, brought by the German Franks into Gaul, which by conquest they converted into a Frankish kingdom, even as the Angles gave to Britain the name of Anglesland, or England. Mediæval poetry is luxuriously rich in the misunderstanding of names.

In his translation of the Eddic Völundr Lay, Simrock, one of the best authorities, very properly placed a point of interrogation behind the word 'Finn King' in the prefacing note. Jakob Grimm, a still greater authority, asks whether, perchance, Finn, son of Godwulf or Folkwald (*Folcvaldansunu*) may be meant, who in the Anglo-Saxon and Norse pedigrees of Royal families is mentioned as a predecessor of Wodan or Odin. This Finn, it need scarcely be said, belongs to the German race.

One might have expected that Professor Bugge, who shows his full reading by numerous quotations, would have mentioned and dealt with Grimm's noteworthy hint. But there is not a word of reference to it in the treatise of the Norwegian writer.

Grimm could truly have said even more. Finn is to this day a family name in Germany, Scandinavia, and Ireland. It was evidently brought to Ireland by the Finnians, Fianna, or Fenians—that semi-mythical, fair-haired, blue-eyed, martial North folk, which, like men of the Germanic stock in general,

was also much given to the cult of the cup, and which had come to Ireland over the sea from Lochlann, that is, Norway. In Ireland, it got the mastery for a time over the Kelt-Iberian natives. These Finnians, or Fenians, represent the first wave of the historical Norwegian and Danish conquerors, who from the ninth to the twelfth century ruled over the Green Isle. An Irish tale speaks of such Finnians having come both from Scandinavia and from Germany. Frisian Teutons were unquestionably mixed with the Scandinavian sea-dogs who took hold of Ireland. I may add that the island of Fühnen in the Baltic was of yore called Fiona.

On English soil, a number of place-names like Finningham, Finningley, Finney, Findern, are characteristic enough. The Anglo-Saxon saga knows a chieftain called Finn, in struggles in which a Hengist appears. But as little as Mongolic Hunns ever visited England, did Finns of Finland come to this country.

The real Finns originally called themselves Suomalainen—morass-dwellers. Now, the Germanic Finnian or Fiona name—which an Irish disruptionist party has unduly adopted, as if it had reference to their own heroic forebears—may easily have given rise to a misunderstanding which led to the designation of Völundr as the son of a Finn King. Nay, it is even possible, as Grimm suggests, that the author of the note mentioned did not think of the Finns at all, but had a Germanic Finn in his mind. However that may be, even supposing that the writer of the note had wished to localise the scene of Völund's art-working in Finnmarken, in the poem itself the famed smith says he is a Rhineland. That settles the point.

The various names in the Eddic song are also mostly recognisable as Germanic ones. Finnish they are not. But how weak the argument of Professor Bugge is, may be seen from a few further specimens.

The real Finns—kindred, as Ugrians, to the Mongols—are not distinguished by whiteness of skin. They are rather slightly yellowish. Yet, in the Eddic Lay, the 'white neck' of the Rhenish smith is specially mentioned. He is also said to be a Light Elf. Such descriptions in ancient poetry are always given for a manifest, so to say ethnographical, purpose.

Here, Professor Bugge, trying to get out of this difficulty, says that it is not necessary, after all, that Völundr, as a King's son, should have been of *pure* Finnish blood. Another argument is still more curious. Völundr prepares for himself some roasted bear's flesh at the fire by means of fir-wood. That is quite in keeping with old Norse habits and poetry; but the Norwegian writer deduces therefrom that the scene must be in Finnmarken, because there are bears there as well as forests of fir and birch trees!

But were there not bears once in the whole North, nay, also in Germany, whither even now such an animal occasionally strays? And are there fir and birch trees only in Finnmarken, and not also in Sweden and Norway—not to speak of Germany?

As to whether the Wieland or Wayland tale came, in Professor Bugge's view, to England from the North, or rather by the Angles, the Saxons, and other German tribes, this is a point of little importance. The probability is on the latter side. But why does Professor Bugge not mention the fact of Godfrey of Monmouth speaking of Wayland's home being in the Sigen country—that is, in the German Rhinelands? Is it allowable to suppress such a reference as this:—

'. . . . aurum, gemmasque micantes,
Pocula, quæ sculpsit Guilandus in urbe Sigeni.'

'The Sigen country,' says Simrock in his *Deutsche Mythologie*, 'still famous for its mining, was already known far and wide, in the early Middle Ages, for its artistic work.' Why should Professor Bugge neither quote Godfrey of Monmouth nor Simrock's telling remarks?

In his observations on Wieland's brother, Egil the Marksman, Professor Bugge says that the town of Aylesbury in England bears, from olden times, Egil's name; but that no hero of the German saga is known under that name! Well, should Professor Bugge not know what can be read in Simrock and Grimm—namely, that Völund's brother, Egil, is known in the German tale as Eigel the Marksman, and that, as such, he is almost as famous as Wieland the Smith? Again, should he not know that there is a German tale of King Eigel of Trier; that in the

Rhine and Mosel districts there are the curious *Eigel Stones*; and that the family name *Schützeichel* (*Eigel the Marksman*) occurs to this day on the Lower Rhine? These facts must have been known to Professor Bugge. Why does he not refer to them? Or should he really be unacquainted with *Simrock* and *Grimm*? It is an impossible assumption.

In the same way, nothing is said in his treatise about the many ancient German place-names connected with *Wieland*, such as *Welantes Gruoba*, *Wielantesheim*, *Wielantisdorf*, *Wielantes Tanna*, *Wielandes Brunne*. It is true, he quotes the oldest German testimony concerning *Wieland*, from the Latin *Walthari* poem (about the year 930). He also mentions that in the German poem, '*Friedrich von Schwaben*,' *Wieland*, as well as the *Swan Maidens*, appear. I need not say that their figures occur also in the *Nibelungen Lied*, where *Hagen* takes their feathery garments from them, in order to compel them to utter a prophecy.

In the *Nibelungen Lied* they are called '*Sea Women*,' although they rise, up and down the stream, like birds on the river *Danube*. This characterisation as *Sea Women* is, it seems to me, another proof that our ancient, but lost, *Siegfried* songs—which are fortunately preserved, in Norse form, in the *Edda*—were originally localised throughout in north-western Germany, not far from the *North Sea*. Although, by a misunderstanding, the revenge for *Siegfried's* death was afterwards transferred to the *Danube*; in *Attila's* realm, the name of *Sea Women* still clings to the prophecy of semi-Goddesses in feathery garb.

III.

In the *Edda* the three spell-working maidens fly through *Myrkwidr*, the *Black Forest*, in swan's garments, to the *North*. Their names are purely Germanic. They are called *Hladgud* *Swan-White*, *Hervör All-Wise* (or perhaps *All-White*), and *Aelrun*. Two of them are daughters of King *Lödwer*, whose name—as even Professor Bugge avows—is synonymous with the German name *Ludwig*. *Aelrun* is described as a daughter of *Kiar*, of *Wal-land* or *Welsh-land*.

In the Eddic poem itself, however, the word 'Wal-land' does not occur; only in the prose note before mentioned. What country is meant thereby—whether Gaul, where the Franks, or Britain, where other Germanic tribes had penetrated, by whom the natives were called 'Walas,' or Welsh people, a name also applied by the Germans to the Italians—it is impossible to say. At any rate, the author of the *Völundr Lay* is as little responsible for this word 'Wal-land,' as for the word 'Finn King.' In the poem we simply hear that the three Swan Virgins, after having for seven years been the wives of *Völundr* and his brothers, felt a yearning for *Myrkwidr*, the dark or black forest, which lay in the South, and from which they had once come.

These Maidens are called 'southern women.' That denotes them as figures of Teuton origin. They are Valkyrs, as may be seen from the first verse of the Eddic Lay, where it is specially said of *Hervör All-Wise* or *All-White*, that she had come to the North in order to decide about battle-strife. On the sea-shore the three are sitting, spinning beautiful flax. That is a darkened indication of their weaving the fate of men, like the *Norns*, or *Sisters of Fate*, whose figures often slide into those of the Valkyrs. In the Edda the Valkyrs, or *Battle Virgins*, the *Choosers of the Slain*, also are called 'southern women,' or southern semi-goddesses (*disir sudhroenar*). So they are named in the *First Lay of Helgi the Hunding-Killer*. Thus the Icelandic Edda bears witness to *Norns* and *Valkyrs* having been creations of Teuton mythology.

In fact, a remarkable stone image, evidently representing the three *Sisters of Fate*, was discovered years ago at a cloister in Bavaria, which, no doubt, had been built on an old temple site of German heathens, in accordance with a well-known rule of the Roman Church. It was thought that the *Old Faith* could best be disestablished by laying hold of its own sacred grounds.

From *Kiar's* name Professor Bugge tries to conclude that the third Swan Maiden may be an Irish girl. His tentative suggestions of the connection between the word 'Kiar' and various Keltic names are wholly uncertain. Certain, however, it is that *Kiar's* daughter, too, bears a Germanic name. Moreover, she is

described as being of the same kinship with the others (*kunn var Oelrún Kjars dóttir*).

However, in order to save his Keltic theory, the Norwegian writer boldly suggests an alteration of the Icelandic text. That is an easy way of getting over a difficulty. Instead of the poem saying that Egil had clasped one of the fair Maidens to his comely breast (*fögr maer fira*), we are asked to read: *fögr maer Ira*—that is, the Irish girl. It is really too great a liberty to take.

On this occasion, the Norwegian author remarks that there are noteworthy affinities between the spirit of ancient Irish and Norse poetry. Quite true. It holds good, for instance, in regard to the so-called Fenian Poems, which, having come down to us in Keltic language, refer to the Germanic Finns, the conquerors of Ireland. But these Finns, as has already been shown, were not Kelts, or Iberians, like the natives of the Green Isle. They were Northmen; and that accounts for the affinity of spirit. The very reverse of what Professor Bugge attempts to prove is thus the case.

Nearly correct is his statement that the Eddic song about Völundr is wholly lacking in those artificial poetical paraphrases, the so-called *kennningar* of the North. There are, however, I would point out, two of them in the *Völundarkhvida*. One of them is the description of Völund's fatherland as 'Grani's path.' The very circumstance of the absence of all such paraphrases in the Icelandic text rather points, I should think, to a close ancient connection with German poetry, which was of a simpler, less artificial style. For this reason, too, we may say with Simrock that the Norse Lay of Völundr 'has come from a German source, and that a poem of that kind must have been known in Germany even at a comparatively later time.' Jakob Grimm, on his part, brings to mind that in the Middle Ages the memory of Wieland was still upheld among German smiths, whose smithies were called 'Wieland Houses.' Perhaps, in Grimm's view, the image of Wieland was set up before, or painted upon, the walls of those houses.

Professor Bugge only mentions by a few words the connection

between the *Wieland* tale and the Greek one about *Daidalos*. On this subject, too, Grimm has already said in the main that which can be said. He thinks the name of *Wieland* must have arisen from a German verb denoting skill in art. Then he goes on:—'This inner significance of the hero's name receives, however, a surprising confirmation by a manifest analogy with the Greek fables about *Hephaistos*, *Erichthonios*, and *Daidalos*. Even as *Weland* does violence to *Bendohild* (*Völundr* to *Böðhvíldr*), so also *Hephaistos* tries to ensnare *Athene* when she comes to him to have weapons forged for her. Both *Hephaistos* and *Völundr* are punished by being lamed; and *Erichthonios*, too, is lame, who therefore invents the four-horse car, even as *Völundr* invents the boat and wings. With *Erichthonios*, the later *Erechtheus*, and his descendant *Daidalos*, are equivalent figures; the latter being the originator of various artistic contrivances—for instance, of the wings with which his son fell down from the clouds.' And so on.

It is impossible to make out whether the *Wieland* tale and the Greek tale have come from an original earlier one, or how far the Teutonic saga was afterwards influenced by the Hellenic one. In Eastern Europe and in Asia Minor, in Greece itself, the great Thrakian race, kindred to the Germanic Scandinavians and to the Teutons, dwelt of yore in pre-Hellenic times. The Greek writers themselves fully acknowledge how much their nation was indebted to the Thrakians in mythology and heroic saga, in religious ceremonies and philosophical views, in music, and in the poetry connected with it.

Nobody can deny that creeds following each other have often undergone intermixture; much of the Old Faith being taken over into the new one. That may be seen in the Indian Pantheon, in which there are figures also from the creed of the subjected Drawidian populations. The same was the case with Hellenic mythology, in which Thrakian and other northern, Phoenikian and Egyptian component parts are discernible. The same holds good for the religion of the Romans. Not less so for the creed, the legends, and the ceremonies of the Papal Church, which contains, in

Wayland the Smith.

its doctrines, many ancient heathen legends of southern eastern, of Germanic and Keltic origin.

In a far lesser degree this can be averred of Scandinavian mythology. Some Christian interpolations there are—for instance, in the Prose Edda, in reference to the creation of world. But these interpolations are in gross contradiction with other passages giving the real Germanic cosmogony. Such forgery is easily detected. In the same way, a monk's hand inserted in Josephus' work on Jewish Antiquity—as is universally acknowledged now by the most orthodox theologians—a passage about Christianity, which is now given up as a manifest forgery.

It is not the place here to enter into Professor Bugge's general views about Northern mythology—views full of strange exaggerations. My object only was to show in what arbitrary way attempts are made to set aside the best ascertained facts—apparently for the sole purpose of cutting, on the domain of heroic and legendary lore, the connection between the Anglo-Saxons and their nearest kinsmen, the Teutons. Having myself always upheld the matchless service and merit of the Scandinavian, North Germanic race in the matter of the preservation of the ancient creed and poetry of our common stock, I may truly say that I am judging without undue bias. Though the Norsemen have not a finished Nibelungen Epic as we have, I have always contended that the Eddic lays concerning the Siegfried tale are full of the most signal epic and dramatic power—all the more so because in them the unalloyed spirit of Germanic heathendom is maintained.

To every one his due! But when an endeavour is made to divide the Anglo-Saxon from the German, or even to convert an ancient heroic figure of the Rhineland into a Finn, we must say, in Goethe's words, which Simrock has prefixed to his 'Handbook of German Mythology, including that of the North':

Dies ist unser ; so lasst uns sagen, und so es behaupten !

KARL BLIND.

ART. IV.—THE LITERARY INSPIRATION OF
IMPERIALISM.

TO treat in a non-partisan spirit of the most burning of all present-day public questions in the pages of a non-political magazine is to execute an egg dance of no common difficulty. The war in South Africa is not yet over; perhaps the end is not yet in sight. The controversy over the events which caused the precipitation of hostilities is being waged as fiercely as ever. The names of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Kruger evoke as passionate demonstrations as they did six months ago. The mere idea of a 'pro-Boer' meeting still suggests the possibility—which, indeed, ought not to have been forgotten by any reader of previous passionate episodes in British history—that free hissing is not necessarily opposed to, but is rather a phase of free speech. The author of *The Areopagitica* was the greatest champion of freedom of speech that the world has produced, but being also the greatest of pamphleteers, he claimed and exercised to the full his right to hiss, groan, and cat-call his chief opponents, such as Salmasius, out of existence.

But we have reached a period in the South African struggle when we can think of and even have glimpses of the divinity that has been shaping our ends, regardless of our rough hewing. The stage of self-preservation has passed; the stage of philosophic and deliberate 'settlement' will ere long be entered upon. We can now stand erect on the summit of the South African kopje without any apprehension of a rain of bullets from Boer political Mausers; we can from it, as from a Pisgah, survey the Promised Land. For 'we are all Imperialists now,' much more truly than according to Sir William Harcourt, 'we are all Socialists now.' The differences between 'Liberal Imperialism,' 'Sane Imperialism,' 'Common-Sense Imperialism,' and 'Jingo Imperialism' may not be quite unreal or academic. If they savour of hair-splitting, they tend also to party-splitting. But Imperialism transcends our political distinctions and distractions. It is an idea, a passion, a worship, a fascinating siren, such as inspired

that poet who surpassed even Keats in his sensitiveness to Beauty :—

‘ Ligeia ! Ligeia !
My beautiful one,
Whose harshest idea
Will to melody run.’

When we think of the uprising of the British nation after that black week which witnessed the disasters—as they then seemed—of Magersfontein, Stormberg, and the Tugela, and when we look at the rush of Australians and Canadians to meet, live, and even die together on the South African veldt, we cannot help feeling dimly conscious that we are in the presence of one of those gregarious ideas through whose dominance death is swallowed up of victory, that caused the best blood in Europe to be spent in the Crusades, and sent the best brains in England to seek Empire and plunder on the Spanish Main.

Like everything else which has stimulated men and altered the careers of nations, Imperialism has its feet of clay as well as its head of gold. Like Cromwell, whose worship it has served in such a remarkable manner to revive, it is a compound of realism and mysticism. It is the function of literature, according to that great critic whose place, now that he has ‘ passed, not softly but swiftly, into the silent land,’ has not been filled, to apply ideas to life. How has Literature discharged this idea towards Imperialism ? To what extent is it responsible for recent and passing events ? And in this connection we must think both of the feet of clay and of the head of gold. In the first instance, what is Imperialism as a historical fact ? In the second place, what is Imperialism as a sentiment—divine or diabolic—which carries strong nations, as passion carries strong men, off their feet ?

Imperialism, by whatever adjective, such as ‘ Sane ’ or ‘ Common-sense,’ it may be qualified, involves attachment to, or faith in the British Empire. What, in turn, is the British Empire ? In this case *fas est ab hoste doceri*. Mr. Goldwin Smith is well known as a very able man and a very diligent student of British—perhaps it might be more accurate to say English—history,

but he is the last man to be accused of 'Jingoism.' He is a Unionist, but Lord Beaconsfield once styled him 'a wild professor.' So little of an advocate of Imperialism or Expansion, in the limited or specially British sense, has he been, that he has persistently advocated the annexation to the United States of Canada, which has been his second home. In his latest work, *The United Kingdom*, he thus pronounces upon Imperialism as an historical fact:—

'The British Empire embraces at this day, besides the thirty-nine millions of people in the two islands, three hundred millions in India and twenty millions, more or less, in colonies scattered over the globe. Instead of being sea-girt, England has an open land frontier of four thousand miles, allowing for indentation, in North America, besides the whole northern frontier of Hindostan. To hold this empire she has to maintain a fleet, not only for her own defence and that of her trade, but for her command of all the seas. An empire this vast aggregate of miscellaneous possessions is called. To part of them the name is misapplied, and the misapplication may lead to practical error. Empire is absolute rule, whether the imperial power be a monarchy, like the Persian or the Spanish; an aristocracy, like the Roman or the Venetian; or a commonwealth, like Athens of old and Great Britain at the present day. In the case of the British possessions, the name is properly applicable only to the Indian empire, the crown colonies, and fortresses or naval stations such as Gibraltar and Malta. It is not properly applicable to self-governing colonies such as Canada, Australia, and the Cape, which, though nominally dependent, are in reality independent; do not obey British law; do not contribute to British armaments; and are at liberty even to wage commercial war against the mother-country by levying protective duties on her goods. The word "colony," too, is used in a misleading sense, as if it were synonymous with dependent, or were limited to colonies retaining their political connection with the mother-country. The colonies of England which now form the United States did not cease, on becoming independent, to be English colonies. In the feudal notion of personal fealty, which led the colonist to think that even at the ends of the earth he remained indefeasibly the liegeman of the British King, combined, perhaps, with the notion, also feudal, of the crown as supreme land-owner, we probably see the account of the political tie between the British colonies and the British crown. The *Mayflower* exiles, in their compact before landing, described themselves as loyal subjects of King James, who had undertaken, for the glory of God, the advancement of the Christian faith, and the honour of their King and country, to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia. Had the exiles of the *Mayflower* been citizens of a Greek republic, they would have taken the sacred fir-red

the hearth of the mother city and gone forth to found a new commonwealth for themselves, owning no relation to its parent but that of filial respect and affection.'

This passage is of value because it demonstrates not only what Imperialism—in so far as it involves attachment to the British Empire—certainly is *not* in the sense of historical fact, and what it vaguely *is* in the sense of historical sentiment. It is *not* absolute rule in the strict and only proper meaning of the phrase—the meaning in which we speak of the Roman Empire of the past and of the Russian Empire of to-day. Mr. Smith says that in the case of the British possessions 'the name is properly applicable only to the Indian Empire, the Crown Colonies, and fortresses or naval stations such as Gibraltar or Malta.' Fortresses may be left out of consideration. They are under military government and exist for military reasons. But the British rule of the Crown Colonies, of India—and it may for the sake of argument be added of Egypt—is characterised by a different Imperialism from the Roman or the Russian. It means government not for the sake of fortune to individuals or even of glory to the nation, but for the sake of civilisation—in other words, for the diffusion of peace and justice over regions where these blessings have hitherto been unknown. Unless we demean ourselves in India, in Egypt, and as the result will no doubt show, in South Africa, as if we were the trustees of civilisation, we shall have failed to accomplish our professed mission and to be unequal to bearing 'The White Man's Burthen' with dignity and moral profit. Unless indeed Imperialism is an essentially noble ideal—it may be imperfectly understood here, still more imperfectly practised there—it will fail. In the meantime, it is an attempt to give harmony, and, if one may say so in such a connection, the heartiness of a chorus to the otherwise differing sentiments that animate the collocation of self-governing States, Crown Colonies, and ancient Empires over which the British flag flies. Mr. Goldwin Smith has shown how the sentiment of feudalism, of personal fealty, animated the *Mayflower* settlers when they established themselves on the North American continent. That was quite compatible with the sturdy maintenance of rights and privileges; so indeed the quarrel which

ended in the establishment of the independence of the United States was to prove. There never was a greater Imperialist even in the modern sense than Chatham; and it may therefore safely be assumed that he would not in that memorable last speech of his have defended the 'schismatic' action of the colonists had he not been certain that their vindication of their 'rights' was not quite compatible with loyalty to the central *Mayflower* idea.

That the New England idea is very different from that usually associated with the phrase, 'Little England,' is now indeed almost startlingly manifest. The United States left to themselves, and with the ample facilities for 'expansion' afforded by the size of the continent on which they are the most considerable Power, have developed an Imperialism of their own, and one which has, on the surface, but a remote connection with the Monroe doctrine. And in considering the literary inspiration of Imperialism generally, we cannot do better than take an American illustration. Walt Whitman lived and wrote before the recent war between the United States and Spain, and the consequent appearance of his beloved Republic among the World-Powers interested in the Far Eastern problem, with the almost innumerable complications which that involves. That even before then there prevailed a passion for American unity equivalent to that similar passion which here we call Imperialism, the following passage shows:—

'The highest separate personality of these States will only be fully coherent, grand and free, through the cohesion, grandeur, and freedom of the common aggregate—the Union. This is what makes the importance to the identities of these States of the thoroughly fused, relentless, dominating Union—a moral and spiritual idea subjecting all the parts with remorseless power. What needs most fostering through the hundred years to come, in all parts of the United States—North, South, Mississippi Valley, and Atlantic and Pacific Coasts—is this fused and fervent identity of the individual, whoever he or she may be, whatever the place, with the idea and fact of American totality, and with what is meant by the flag, the stars, the stripes. We need this conviction of nationality as a faith to be absorbed in the blood and belief of the people everywhere—South, North, West, East—to emanate in their life and in native literature and art. We want the germinal idea that America, inheritor of the past, is the custodian of the future, of humanity. Judging from history, it is

some such moral and spiritual ideas proper to them (and such ideas only) that have made the profoundest glory and endurance of nations in the past.'

Mr. Rudyard Kipling is commonly regarded as the Tyrtæus of Imperialism, and the influence of his writings in the way both of fostering the passion of Imperialism and of expressing its moods will be dealt with later on. But here we have an American of the Americans, a democrat of the democrats, the latter-day poet of 'liberty, fraternity, and equality,' who, lacking in humour—otherwise he might have been the trans-Atlantic Burns—has carried the doctrine of 'the brotherhood of man, the sisterhood of woman' to the verge of farce, giving expression to what we on this side of the Atlantic call the Imperial sentiment with that poetical ardour which can only be explained by sincerity. This 'fused and fervent identity of the individual, whoever he or she may be, whatever the place, with the idea and fact of American totality, and what is meant by the flag,' this 'moral and spiritual idea subjecting all the parts with remorseless power,' certainly holds of the United Kingdom as fully and as absolutely as of the United States. It may be doubted if even yet Imperialism as 'a moral and spiritual idea subjecting all the parts of the Empire with remorseless power' is thoroughly understood by the poets who sing or the politicians who practise it. That must be effected before it can be 'absorbed in the blood and belief of the people everywhere.' Meanwhile a sufficiently wonderful feat has been accomplished. An idea has been found for which the same enthusiastic loyalty can be manifested as was evoked by the older political watchwords—by the Throne, by the Dynasty, by 'Our glorious Constitution.' And the romantic fascination of the idea has been heightened by the fact that the Queen who, in the earlier years of her reign, showed herself equal to the task of embodying as it had never been embodied before the doctrine of limited monarchy—'the crowned Republic's crowning common-sense'—should, in what must necessarily be the latest period of her reign, have shown herself not less equal to the task of indicating the practical meaning of Imperialism.

That Imperialism should become a force—in some respects the prominent force—in our literature, was as 'inevitable' as the

war in South Africa itself. At the present moment we are not specially concerned with the non-literary 'con-causes' of Imperialism, except to the extent that literature is or ought to be the application of all ideas to life. That Imperialism is allied to, and has been fostered by the recent British delight in athleticism, is as certain as that it is a passionate and yet philosophic protest for nationalism as a force in the life of the world against Internationalism, especially in the destructive forms of Socialism and Nihilism. But, looking to Victorian literature, and the great names which were all-influential in those decades of it which are quite familiar to middle-aged men, it is really one of the most easily explicable of phenomena. On the moral side it is a protest against the merely materialistic view of life—the notion that a man is to be valued not according to the good that is done through his influence while he lives, but by the amount of wealth he leaves behind him. However much 'the simple great ones gone' of the Victorian era may have differed from each other—Carlyle from Arnold, Ruskin from Swinburne, Clough from Browning—they have agreed in holding up to scorn and reprobation that materialistic conception of happiness, which has naturally obtained great importance in a reign so remarkable for its fat years of prosperity as that of the present sovereign.

But Imperialism goes back further than the Victorian era, to the time when Byron captivated Europe, even although he was boycotted in Great Britain, with 'the pageant of his bleeding heart.' His romantic heroes, and still more romantic villains, his Corsairs and his Laras, dashed their heads as gallantly and as ineffectually against their prison walls of conventional Philistine sentiment as he did himself. But the strength of Byronism, apart from the views on special things with which it will be associated, lies in energy and in action. Imperialism means, therefore, the revival of Byronism, an attempt to place action above speculation on the one side, and above materialism on the other side. Mr. George Meredith, who, more than any living man of letters, represents the transition between the older and the younger Victorian ideas, puts into the mouth of one of his best characters, Alvan of 'The Tragic Comedians'—notoriously and even confessedly

Ferdinand Lassalle, the orator and inspirer of German Social Democracy—a theory and special application of the Byronic gospel of action. When Clotilde first heard him (Alvan) speak, ‘His theme was action; the political advantages of action, and he illustrated his view with historical examples to the credit of the French, to the temporary discredit of the German and English races, who lead to compromise instead. Of the English he spoke as of a power extinct—a people “gone to fat,” who have gained their end in a hoard of gold and shut the door upon bandit ideas. Action means life to the soul as to the body. Compromise is virtual death; it is the path between cowardice and comfort under the title of expediency. . . . Let then our joy be in war; in uncompromising action, which need not be the less a sagacious conduct of the war. Action energizes men’s brains, generates grander capacities, provokes greatness of soul between enemies, and is the guarantee of positive conquest for the benefit of our species.’

These words are worth noting. Mr. Meredith is generally recognised as the first novelist of the day; if there can be truly said to be any rival near his throne, it is Mr. Thomas Hardy, like himself a novelist with a purpose, and one even more persistently tragic than his. Mr. Meredith has only now come into his kingdom, in the sense of even a circulating-library popularity. But from his first appearance he has been an influence with the intellectually select, and there can be no doubt that, through their power in turn, much of his teaching—for in spite of his capacity as an interpreter of what he himself terms the Comic Muse he is too serious not to be intentionally didactic—has been conveyed into the actions of the present generation, which of necessity knows him rather as a master, and a mystery, than anything else. Who does not recognise in the words he has put into the mouth of Lassalle—Lassalle is even more deserving than Heine of being considered the German Byron—the Continental contempt of the British nation as ‘a power extinct, a people gone to fat, who have gained their end in a hoard of gold and shut the door upon bandit ideas!’ That contempt should breed exasperation is the most natural thing in the world. The remarkable patience, with which since the present war began,

the British people have borne Continental insults, may yet be found to have been ominous, to have indicated a grim determination to show the world, if ever a suitable chance came, that such contempt was not justified.

But mere 'bandit ideas' have never had any permanent influence in this country; the Byronic theory of life has been infinitely more fruitful in Paris than in London. There may have been in the past, and there may again be in the future, outbreaks of Berserkerism in our literature, but never of sheer brigandage or buccaneering. Action, merely for the sake of action, war simply as a means of giving vent to energy, have never been appreciated as a moral meal for the nation, although they may have tickled the appetite as a sauce. For the truly commanding force in present-day literature one inevitably and almost instinctively goes back to Carlyle—because, in spite of his violence and his frequent injustice where individuals are concerned, he represents the permanently serious side of what is at bottom a serious people. He loved Byron, but he had no sympathy with Byronism. He denounced Napoleonism—between which and Byronism there are many ties of sympathy, affinity, and more—as Dick Turpinism; during the Franco-German War he denounced France as 'the Cartouche of nations.' But, as all the world knows—knows *ad nauseam*—he was a hero-worshipper. And, although it is possible that, in certain respects, his influence has latterly been on the wane, the revival of the worship of Cromwell as the best type of British influence abroad, as the incarnation of what most of us would wish a 'spirited foreign policy' to be, is evidence that the true gospel of Carlyle is still a power—an unconscious and indirect power perhaps—with the British mind. The germs at all events of the modern preaching of Action as a protest against Materialism, as an escape from the despair and scepticism which Matthew Arnold has 'moulded in colossal calm,' are found here.

'The works of a man, bury them under what guano-mountains and obscene owl-droppings you will, will not perish, cannot perish. What of Heroism, what of Eternal Light was in a Man and his Life is with very great exactness added to the Eternities; remains forever a new divine portion of the Sum of Things. No nobler feeling than this of admiration

The Literary Inspiration of Imperialism.

for one higher than himself dwells in the breast of man. It is to
and at all hours the vivifying influence in man's life. Religions,
stand upon it. . . . What, therefore, is loyalty proper, the life
of all society, but an effluence of Hero-worship, submissive adm
the truly great? Society is founded on Hero-worship. . . . I
see in this indestructibility of Hero-worship the everlasting ad
lower than which the confused wreck of revolutionary things cannot fall.
. . . . Silent, with closed lips, as I fancy them, unconscious that they were
specially brave; defying the wild ocean with its monsters, and all men and
things, progenitors of our own Blakes and Nelsons. Hrolf or Rollo, Duke
of Normandy, the wild Sea-King, has a share in governing England at this
hour. . . . No wild Saint Dominics and Thebaid Eremites, there
had been no melodious Dante; rough, practical Endeavour, Scandinavian
and other, from Odin to Walter Raleigh, from Nefela to Cranmer, enabled
Shakespeare to speak. Nay, the finished Poet, I remark sometimes, is a
symptom that his epoch itself has reached perfection and is finished; that
before long there will be a new Epoch, new reformers needed.'

The strain here is not only of a higher mood than that re-
presented in the quotation from *The Tragic Comedians*, but it
comes nearer to that actual temper of the younger and more en-
terprising section of the nation which has found vent in Expan-
sion, and which has been at least the advance-guard of
Imperialism. These old heroes, 'silent, with closed lips, un-
conscious that they were specially brave, defying the wild ocean
with its monsters,' have been in a measure, at all events, repro-
duced in the 'still, strong men'—the humbler, the more heroic
—who have given the defences of Ladysmith, Mafeking, and
Kimberley a not unimportant place in British military annals.

Carlyle's greatest disciple, and most articulate—not forgetting
Ruskin, Dickens, and, Browning—was Tennyson. We are apt
to forget that the author of *The Idylls of the King*, and *In
Memoriam* was also the author of *Riflemen Form*. Mr. Frederic
Harrison has gone so far as to express regret that this side of
Tennyson could not be forgotten. And yet, as Lord Lans-
downe's new scheme for the defence of the Empire clearly
proves, the volunteer movement, which originated in the threats
of invasion uttered by Napoleon the Third's colonels, was the
concrete beginning of Imperialism. Here, indeed, we have the
spirit, though not the music-hall air of Kipling, the conten-

tion that domestic reforms should be postponed to the great work of setting the defences of the Empire in order.

‘ Be not deaf to the sound that warns,
Be not gall’d by a despot’s plea ;
Are figs of thistles, or grapes of thorns ?
How should a despot set men free ?

‘ Let your reforms for a moment go,
Look to your butts and take good aims,
Better a rotten borough or so
Than a rotten fleet or a city in flames.’

The spirit of Imperialism, so far as Tennyson is concerned, is, however, to be found at its best in ‘ Maud ’ :—

‘ I stood on a giant deck, and mix’d my breath
With a loyal people shouting a battle-cry,
God’s just wrath shall be wreck’d on a giant liar ;
And many a darkness into the light shall leap,
And shine in the sudden making of splendid names,
And noble thought be freer under the sun,
And the heart of a people beat with high desire ;
For the peace that I deem’d no peace is over and done.
And now by the side of the Black and the Baltic deep,
And deathful-grinning mouths of the fortress, flames
The blood-red blossom of war, with a heart of fire.’

On this outburst M. Taine remarks :—

‘ Men said that he was imitating Byron ; they cried out against these bitter declamations ; they thought that they perceived the rebellious accent of the Satanic school ; they blamed this uneven, obscure, excessive style ; they were shocked at these crudities and incongruities ; they called on the poet to return to his first well-proportioned style. He was discouraged, left the storm clouds and returned to the azure sky !’

This is, however, a vastly clever and thoroughly French way of saying both that Tennyson was considerably in advance of his time and that he was not so much a man of war as a man of the cloister or of the cathedral close, who, having been seized with the patriotic fever, rushed out of his retirement, shook his fist in the face of the Czar, and, alarmed at the sensation caused by his unexpected militancy, ‘ turned him to his thought again ’ somewhat shamefacedly.

The spirit of Imperialism was in Tennyson, however, as it was in Carlyle, and perhaps as, notwithstanding his romantic and dandiacal Jacobinism, it was in Byron. We identify the spirit now-a-days with the muse of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, mainly because he sings the praises—and lays bare the weaknesses—of that ‘Absent-Minded Beggar’ who corresponds to the legionary of Rome, and whose mission, like his prototype’s, is to defend that ‘extended frontier,’ which, according to Mr. Goldwin Smith, is the characteristic of an empire of the modern type. How familiar he is now—

‘ We aren’t no thin red ’eroes, nor we aren’t no blackguards too,
But single men in barricks, most remarkable like you ;
An’ if sometimes our conduct isn’t all your fancy paints,
Why, single men in barricks don’t grow into plaster saints ;
While it’s Tommy this, an’ Tommy that, an’ Tommy “fall
be’ind,”
But it’s “Please to walk in front, sir,” when there’s trouble in
the wind ;
There’s trouble in the wind, my boys, there’s trouble in the
wind,
O, it’s “Please to walk in front, sir,” when there’s trouble in the
wind.’

‘ You talk o’ better food for us, an’ schools, an’ fires, an’ all ;
We’ll wait for extry rations if you treat us rational ;
Don’t mess about the cook-room slops, but prove it to our face,
The Widow’s Uniform is not the soldier-man’s disgrace.
For it’s Tommy this, an’ Tommy that, an’ ‘Chuck him out, the
brute !’
But it’s ‘Saviour of ’is country’ when the guns begin to shoot ;
An’ it’s Tommy this, an’ Tommy that, an’ anything you
please ;
An’ Tommy ain’t a bloomin’ fool—you bet that Tommy sees !’

Or—

‘ What was the end of all the show,
Johnnie, Johnnie ?
Ask my colonel, for I don’t know,
Johnnie, my Johnnie, aha !
We broke a King, and we built a road—
A court-house stands where the reg’ment goed,
And the river’s clean where the raw blood flowed
When the Widow gave the party.’

But even Mr. Kipling was anticipated, not perhaps by Campbell, in whose best battle-pieces Great Britain figures not so much as what the late Mr. J. R. Green termed an 'earth-power,' as 'the tight little island,' fighting gallantly against overwhelming odds for its own life and for the liberty of the world, but by Dibdin. Dibdin, as emphatically the singer of the sailor, of the humble but capable master of that element which, in Byron's phrase, 'washed us power,' had glimpses of Empire. Here, at all events, is Tommy Atkins soberly photographed, yet distinctly alive, both in his personal weakness and in his representative strength.

' This, this my lad's a soldier's life,
He marches to the sprightly fife,
And in each town to some new wife,
Swears he'll be ever true ;
He's here, he's there—where is he not ?
Variety's his envied lot,
He eats, drinks, sleeps, and pays no shot,
And follows the loud tattoo.'

And yet—

' Called out to face his country's foes,
The tears of fond domestic woes
He kisses off and boldly goes
To earn of fame his due ;
Religion, liberty, and laws,
Both are his and his country's cause,
For these through danger without pause,
He follows the loud tattoo.'

Substitute ' the flag ' or ' the Widow of Windsor ' for ' religion, liberty, and laws,' and we have the special sentiment or revived feudalism which animates the modern ' Empire builder.'

What the more recent and popular exponents of Imperialism have done is, without going any further, to supply a special reason for the faith that is in them, to sing the praises of a ' Their's not to reason why, their's but to do or die,' devotion to it. The two writers of to-day who have done most to foster the spirit which is being exhibited on an Imperial scale in South Africa are Mr. W. E. Henley, mainly in virile prose, and Mr. Rudyard Kipling, both in ' graphic ' prose and in resonant verse. Mr.

The Literary Inspiration of Imperialism.

Henley is the candid prophet of latter-day Byron maintains that the singer of 'Lara' is the greatest English poetry since Shakespeare. He is a believer in preacher of the vigour of the senses; he advocates action annexation as a cure alike for Arnoldian megrims and flabby politics. In a passage written whilst Lord Kitchener was still engaged in the task which was triumphantly concluded at Omdurman he lays down his views:—

'We have renewed our old pride in the Flag, our old delight in the thought of a good thing done by a good man of his hands, our old faith in the ambitions and traditions of the race. I doubt for instance, if outside politics (and perhaps the Stock Exchange), there be a single Englishman who does not rejoice in the triumph of Mr. Rhodes; even, as I believe, there is none inside or out of politics, who does not feel the prouder for his kinship with Sir Herbert Kitchener. And the reason is on the surface. To the national conscience, drugged so long and so long bewildered and bemused, such men as Rhodes and Kitchener are heroic Englishmen. The one has added some hundreds of thousands of square miles to the Empire, and is neck-deep in the work of consolidating what he has got and of taking more. The other is wiping out the great dishonour that overtook us at Khartoum at the same time that he is "reaching down from the North" to Buluwayo, and preparing the way of them that will change a place of skulls into a province of peace. Both are great, and that is much. But both are, after all, but types; and that is more. We know now, Mr. Kipling aiding, that all the world over are thousands of the like temper, the like capacity for government, the like impatience of anarchy; and that all the world over, these—each one according to his vision and his strength—are doing Imperial work at Imperial wages—the chance of a nameless death, the possibility of distinction, the certainty that the effect is worth achieving and will surely be achieved.'

Here we have Byronism, but in phrases like 'capacity for Government' and 'impatience of anarchy' we have Carlyism also. Mr. Kipling's chief strength lies in his always intense, frequently grotesque, and occasionally repellent realism. Perhaps we have here the true Kipling—

'You couldn't pack a Broadwood half-a-mile—
You mustn't leave a fiddle in the damp—
You couldn't raft an organ up the Nile,
And play it in an Equatorial swamp.
I travel with the cooking-pots and pails—
I'm sandwiched 'tween the coffee and the pork—

And when the dusty column checks and tails,
You should hear me spur the rearguard to a walk ?

‘ With my “ Pilly-willy-winky-winky pop ! ”
(Oh, it’s any tune that comes into my head !)
So I keep ’em moving forward till they drop ;
So I play ’em up to water and to bed.
In the silence of the camp before the fight,
When it’s good to make your will and say your prayer,
You can hear my strumpty-tumpty overnight
Explaining ten to one was always fair.
I’m the Prophet of the Utterly Absurd
Of the Patently Impossible and Vain—
And when the Thing that couldn’t has occurred,
Give me time to change my leg and go again.

‘ With my “ Tumpa-tumpa-tumpa-tum-pa-tump ! ”
In the desert where the dung-fed camp-smoke curled
There was never voice before us till I led our lonely chorus
I, the war-drum of the White Man round the world ! ’

Or if truth in realism means the same thing as unpleasantness,
a still truer Kipling is to be found in ‘ The Sergeant’s
Weddin’—

‘ See the chaplain thinkin’ ?
See the women smile ?
Twig the married winkin’
As they take the aisle ?
Keep your side-arms quiet,
Dressin’ by the Band.
Ho ! you ’oly beggars,
Cough be’ind your ’and !

‘ Now it’s done an’ over,
’Ear the organ squeak,
“ Voice that breathed o’er Eden ”—
Ain’t she got the cheek !
White and laylock ribbons,
Think yourself so fine,
I’d pray Gawd to take yer
’Fore I made yer mine !

‘ Escort to the kerridge,
Wish him luck, the brute !
Chuck the slippers after—
(Pity ’taint a boot !

Bowin' like a lady,
Blushin' like a lad—
'Oo would say to see 'em,
Both is rotten bad !'

And yet, thanks perhaps to the strain of Wesleyanism in his blood which makes him the General Booth of Atkinsesque Imperialism, Mr. Kipling is a Carlylian in his love of a strong man wherever he finds him.

' They have looked each other between the eyes, and there they found no fault,
They have taken the oath of the Brother-in-Blood on leavened bread and salt.
They have taken the oath of the Brother-in-Blood on fire and fresh-cut sod,
On the hilt and the haft of the Kyber Knife, and the Wondrous Names of God.
The Colonel's son he rides the mare, and Kemal's boy the dun,
And two have come back to Fort Bukloh where there went forth but one.
And when they drew to the quarter-guard, full twenty swords flew clear—
There was not a man but carried his feud with the blood of the mountaineer.
" Ha' done ! ha' done ! " said the Colonel's son. " Put up the steel at your sides !
Last night ye had struck at a Border thief—to-night 'tis a man of the Guides ! "
Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat ;
But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the earth !'

There may be more of Wesleyanism than of Carlylism—a Wesleyanism which is none the less genuine that, like John Wesley's own, it is flavoured with mysticism—in those of Mr. Kipling's poems in which he seeks to 'improve' Imperialism, as in his famous 'Recessional,' with its—

' Lord God of Hosts—be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget.'

But he is back to Carlylism—the Carlylism of the *Latter Day Pamphlets*, and the cry to arms against anarchy in—

‘ Take up the White Man’s Burthen—
 Send for the best ye breed—
 Go bind your sons to exile,
 To serve your captives’ needs ;
 To wait in heavy harness,
 On fluttered folk and wild—
 Your new-caught sullen peoples,
 Half devil and half child.

‘ Take up the White Man’s Burthen—
 No iron rule of kings,
 But toil of serf and sweeper—
 The toll of common things.
 The ports ye shall not enter,
 The roads ye shall not tread ;
 Go, make them with your living,
 And mark them with your dead.’

This may not be the last or the best word of modern Imperialism. It may be expecting too much of human nature, it might even be prejudicial to the best interests of the United Kingdom, as the centre and citadel of the Empire, to ‘bind our sons to exile’ in Africa or in India. It is highly probable, to say the least, that the energies of ‘the best we breed’ will be fully taxed with the domestic problems which will demand consideration when the present crisis has terminated. That, however, cannot be discussed here and now. Enough has been said to show that Kiplingism—more especially in its serious and religious aspects—is, like Imperialism itself, a natural stage in the evolution of the unprecedently protracted and marvellously diversified Victorian period.

ART V.—SIR WILLIAM HENRY FLOWER,
K.C.B., Etc.

IN Sir William Flower, who was born on 30th November, 1831, and died on the 1st July, 1899, we have an example of what has so often been alluded to, viz., the combination of the skilful surgeon and the observant naturalist. It was his fondness for zoology which prompted the study of medicine, indeed, this was the only career then, and for many years thereafter, open to young naturalists devoid of private fortunes. Shortly after qualification, and in a time of emergency, he volunteered for service with the army in the Crimea, and remained on medical duty till the close of the war. Returning to London, he was, after holding some minor appointments, elected Conservator of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, a post that he held for more than twenty years. While in this office the majority of his contributions to science were published, many of them being of a most elaborate nature, so that he won for himself a distinguished position in zoology and comparative anatomy. Besides, he revolutionised the great Museum founded on the collections of John Hunter, the famous surgeon-naturalist, and in which Sir Richard Owen had previously made a great reputation. Especially was the change noteworthy in the remarkable collection of the skeletons of whales and of mammals generally; indeed, the materials for his well-known volume on *Comparative Osteology*, form a conspicuous and valuable series in the galleries. Foremost among these were his beautifully finished and mounted preparations of the modifications of the extremities of the vertebral column and other parts in the group. Residing in the house adjoining the Museum, he devoted the whole day to its interests, and during his tenure of office a continual series of improvements and additions took place. Moreover, he had the advantage of very able sub-curators, whose help he ever generously acknowledged. Thus, during the earlier part of his tenure of office, and while he himself was engrossed with the

bony framework of animals, he was fortunate in having a finished manipulator and ingenious dissector—whose beautiful preparations of the muscular system, of the vascular system, of the fibres of the stomach, heart, and other viscera, remain to this day a monument to his skilful and persevering labours—carried on even to the loss of health. These preparations, and those of the fibres and nerves of the heart in the University of Edinburgh, are justly a source of pride to both Institutions, and their author's communications on them in the *Philosophical Transactions* are no less valued. This finished dissector and complimentary young colleague of Sir William's was Dr., now Professor Pettigrew. Amidst such congenial surroundings, and encouraged by the sympathy of the authorities of the College of Surgeons, Flower laboured unceasingly, and no position—not even the directorship of the British Museum—could have been more favourable for original scientific work, for he was not too much handicapped by administrative cares. In this post he elaborated all his careful studies of the whales and other mammals—from the monotremes to man—and gave regular courses of scientific lectures as Hunterian Professor of Comparative Anatomy, besides numerous lectures elsewhere—many of a more or less popular description. Moreover, he spread the fame of the Museum all over the world.

His appointment to the Directorship of the British Museum (Natural History) was equally creditable to his great intellectual powers and his administrative ability, and for fourteen years he laboured no less energetically in this great collection—the finest in existence. Besides the entire re-arrangement of great groups, such as the Mammals, Birds and their nests, and Corals, the Entrance-Hall was transformed. Instead of the somewhat solitary skeleton of the huge sperm whale, ten large cases gave expression to the modern developments in zoology, such as External Variations in Animals, as exhibited in the Canaries, Ruffs or Reeves, Mallards or Wild Ducks, Domestic Pigeons, and other forms, as well as adaptations of colour to surroundings—in winter and in summer, or on ground of peculiar tint (*e.g.*, the brown of the Egyptian desert). Other cases contained groups of intermediate forms, or those showing Melanism or

Albinism. The bays or recesses of this Hall were filled with exquisite dissections and skeletons of the main types of animals, with special organs in great detail, besides illustrations of protective resemblances and mimicry. Moreover, he introduced explanatory labels throughout the Museum, and a highly artistic method of arrangement and mounting. The changes in the Entrance Hall alone would have made his period of office memorable.

His work at the two great Museums did not comprise all his engagements. As President of the Zoological Society of London, he not only contributed many valuable articles to its Proceedings and Transactions, but by his dignity and suavity in the chair, and the encouragement and aid which he invariably gave to young members of the Society and others who communicated papers, he extended its popularity and the solidity of its scientific work in a remarkable degree. In the same way his numerous and important contributions to Anthropology gained him the Presidency of the Anthropological Institute.

His well-directed labours produced a long list of valuable papers in the groups already mentioned, and varying, indeed, from Monotremes to Man, besides eight works, viz. :—*Diagrams of the Nerves of the Human Body, Introductory Lectures to the Course of Comparative Anatomy at the Royal College of Surgeons, Recent Memoirs on the Cetacea, Osteology of Mammalia, I., Man, Osteology of the Mammalia, Fashion in Deformity, The Horse: a Study in Natural History, Text-Book of the Mammalia* (with R. Lydekker), and his last volume—*Essays on Museums, etc.* In all these works his remarkably accurate and careful methods are conspicuous. No trouble was too great in dealing with the subject in hand. Thus, when working up the Cetacea every Continental Museum containing specimens of note was visited—some of them more than once.

Amongst his earlier contributions, after entering on duty at the College of Surgeons, was that on the brain of the higher apes. This formed important evidence in the discussions which took place between Owen and Huxley in regard to the posterior lobe of the brain, the posterior cornu, and the hippocampus minor. Sir R. Owen, at the Cambridge Meeting of the British

Association in 1862, maintained from casts of the human brain in spirit, and from a cast of the interior of the gorilla's skull, that in man the posterior lobes of the brain overlapped the cerebellum, whereas in the gorilla they did not; that these characters are constant, and therefore he had decided to place man, with his overlapping posterior lobes, the existence of a posterior horn in the lateral ventricle, and the presence of a hippocampus minor in the posterior horn, under the special division *Archencephala*. Moreover, he grouped with these features the distinctive character of the foot of man, and showed how it differed from that of all monkeys. Flower's accurate investigations enabled Huxley to substantiate his antagonistic position to Owen's doctrines—viz., that these structures, instead of being the attributes of man, are precisely the most marked cerebral characters common to man with the apes. Huxley also asserted that the differences between the foot of man and that of the higher apes were of the same order, and but slightly different in degree from those which separated one ape from another.

In the preparation of the Catalogue of the College of Surgeons on Man, great labour was involved, and it proved a thorough training to its author in Anthropology, a subject which to the end of his career he devotedly upheld. His numerous contributions covered a wide area, and some are especially valuable as dealing with extinct races.

Another of his early and important papers related to the development and succession of teeth in the pouched animals or marsupials,* and in it he made known the discovery that in this group of mammals a peculiar condition of dental succession is present and more or less uniform, so far as known, throughout the order. Whilst the teeth are divisible, according to their position and form, into incisors (cutting teeth), canines, premolars, and molars, as in mammals generally, there is apparently vertical displacement and succession only in the case of a single tooth on either side of each jaw, that tooth being the last of the premolar series. This tooth is preceded by one having as a rule the characters of a true molar, and which is the only one com-

* *Philos. Trans.*, vol. 157, p. 631. Ph. 29 and 30. 1868.

parable to the 'milk teeth' of the ordinary diphyodont mammal (Eutheria). Previously, the chief authorities, such as Sir Richard Owen, had interpreted the condition of things very differently, though the latter is careful to point out—firstly, that those posterior teeth of each side of each jaw which have no deciduous predecessors are, as a general rule, four in number instead of three, as in most placental mammals. Secondly, that 'an interesting field of observation still remains open in regard to the period and order of development of the deciduous and permanent teeth in the different carnivorous, omnivorous, insectivorous, and frugivorous marsupials.' Owen, however, had supposed that in the great Kangaroo, the front teeth (incisors), the canines, and two other teeth (molars) were deciduous, that is, were shed; moreover, that the former, that is, the front teeth, were shed before the young animal quits the pouch of its mother. Taking, as he fully acknowledges, the hint from his distinguished predecessor in the Hunterian Chair of Comparative Anatomy, Flower, in his usual accurate and methodical manner, and with a more complete series of young marsupials from the pouches, demonstrated that there were considerable differences in the various genera as to the relative period of the animal's life at which the fall of the temporary molar and the evolution of its successor takes place. In some, as in the Rat-Kangaroos, it is one of the latest, the temporary tooth retaining its place and its functions until the animal has nearly, if not quite, reached its full growth, and is not shed until all the other teeth are in position and use. On the other hand, in the Tasmanian wolf, the temporary tooth is very rudimentary in size and form, and is shed or absorbed before any other tooth cuts the gum. Anterior to the period of Sir William Flower's communication, mammals had been, in regard to the succession of their teeth, divided into two groups—the *Monophyodonts*, or those that generate a single set of teeth, and the *Diphyodonts*, or those that develop two sets of teeth; but, as he pointed out, even in the most typical Diphyodonts the successional process does not extend to the whole of the teeth, always stopping short of those situated most posteriorly in each series. The pouched animals (marsupials), he stated, occupied an intermediate position, presenting, as it were,

a rudimentary diphyodont condition, the successional process being confined to a single tooth on each side of each jaw. He cites the dugong and the existing elephants as somewhat analogous, in so far as the successional process is limited to the incisor teeth, and doubts whether the first premolar of many of those animals which have four teeth of this group, as the dog and hog (mandible), ever has a deciduous predecessor, or at all events a calcified one. The closest analogy is found amongst the rodents, in which the incisors appear to have no deciduous predecessors; and in the beaver, porcupine, and others, which have but four teeth of the molar series—*i.e.*, three molars and one premolar; the latter is the only tooth which succeeds a deciduous one. The analogy, however, does not hold in those, such as the hare and the rabbit, with more than one premolar, each having its deciduous predecessor. He ably shows, further, that the true molars in the marsupials are homologous with the true molars of diphyodonts, which belong to the permanent series, though they never have deciduous predecessors. Consequently, the anterior teeth (incisors, canines, premolars) are homologous with the permanent teeth. It may be objected, Flower observes, to this argument that the true molars of the diphyodonts, not being successional teeth, ought to be regarded as members of the first or milk teeth; but, in truth, the fact that they themselves have no predecessors does not make them serially homologous with the predecessors of the other teeth, while their morphological characters, as well as their habitual persistence throughout life, range them with the second or permanent series. It has been so long customary to regard the second set of teeth as an after-development or derivative of the first, that it may appear paradoxical to suggest that the milk teeth may rather be a set superadded to meet the temporary needs of mammals of more complex dental organization. But it should be remembered that, instead of there being any such relation between the permanent and milk teeth as expressed by the terms 'progeny' and 'parent,' they are formed side by side from independent portions of the primitive dental groove, and may rather be compared to twin-brothers, one of which, destined for early functional activity, proceeds rapidly in its development, while the

other makes little progress until the time approaches when it is called upon to take the place of its more precocious *locum tenens*. The milk teeth appear to be the less constant and important, and frequently are rudimentary and functionless. Thus the milk-premolars of the guinea-pig are shed before birth, and the simple structure and evanescent nature of the milk teeth of bats, insectivores, and seals, the diminutive first incisors of the dugong and elephant, are other cases in point. It is interesting that the most recent researches substantiate the view taken by Flower—viz., that the incisors and other teeth in front correspond with the permanent set, for rudiments of what are now regarded as milk teeth are found in the young marsupial.

In few of his communications were those qualities of patient inquiry and cautious deduction more conspicuously demonstrated than in his masterly handling of the skull of an extinct Australian marsupial (*Thylacoleo*),* about the size of a sheep, first described by his distinguished predecessor in the Hunterian Chair of Comparative Anatomy in the College of Surgeons, and in the Directorship of the British Museum. A mutilated skull of this animal had been discovered in a stratum of calcareous conglomerate eighty miles south-west of Melbourne, Victoria. Sir Richard Owen† had determined its marsupial character, and had named it the marsupial or pouched lion, as its title indicates, further concluding that its nearest affinities amongst existing marsupials was the Ursine Dasyure (Tasmanian devil), although there was a great interval between them. Moreover, from the size and form of the carnassial teeth, especially the upper one, he thought it was one of the fellest and most destructive of predatory beasts. In a subsequent note Owen somewhat modified his views as to the affinities of the animal, though not as to the diet and habits. He now placed it in relationship with the Koalas, Phalangers, and Kangaroos, yet he asserted that it possessed the simplest and most effective dental machinery for predatory life and carnivorous diet known in the mammalian class.

* *Geol. Jour.*, 24 ; p. 307 ; Woodcuts, 1868.

† *Philos. Trans.*, 1859 ; p. 359.

Fresh from his labours amidst the fine collections in the Museum of the College of Surgeons, and his special inquiry into the dental characters of the marsupials, Sir William Flower first carefully compared this remarkable skull with that of existing forms, showing that the single huge compressed trenchant premolar tooth furnished the key to the question at issue. He pointed out that its resemblance to the carnassial tooth of carnivores is merely superficial, and instead of the anterior root (for it has two) being the larger, as in the carnivores, it is the smaller. In short, there is no tooth in any of the carnivorous marsupials that can be compared with it. Its homologue has to be looked for in the Rat-Kangaroos, in which the great cutting premolar presents a miniature of that of *Thylacoleo*. The whole form of the tooth, the absence of accessory cusps or tubercles, and the relative proportions of the anterior and posterior fangs precisely correspond. Further, the number and arrangement of the incisor teeth, agree with the modern families of the Kangaroo and Phalangers, and differ wholly from those in the carnivorous marsupials. He pointed out, again, that one of the most remarkable features is the reduction in number and size of the premolars, of which but one is present in the upper and two in the lower jaw, and this reduction is in relation with the excessive development of the great trenchant premolar.

In the structure of such portions of the cranium and mandible as are available there is confirmation of Sir William Flower's views. Thus while the brain-case is relatively smaller than in the Kangaroos, it is of similar size in the Phalangers. It differs, however in the conspicuous development of the post-orbital process, yet in some Rat-Kangaroos such is present. In the sharply defined anterior boundary of the fossa for the temporal muscle—in the mandible—it resembles the Kangaroos more than the Dasyures.

Of its supposed predatory habits, Sir William observes that it is well to glance in the first instance at the general question—as to whether the characters of an animal's teeth guide us to a knowledge of its food and habits. Broadly speaking certain kinds of dentition are associated with the function of seizing and

Sir William Henry Flower.

masticating certain kinds of food, yet there are so many instances of allied animals having different dietetic habits without a corresponding modification of dental structure (*e.g.* bears) that caution is necessary. However, if all the members of a large group with teeth formed on one peculiar type live inoffensively to their neighbours and feed on vegetable substance, the probabilities—in the case of any newly discovered species with the same type of teeth—are in favour of its having possessed similar habits. Now, all the Kangaroos and Phalangers feed in the main on grass, roots, fruits, buds, or leaves, and not one is exclusively carnivorous or destroys animals approaching to itself in size. The presumption is, therefore, that *Thylacoleo* is a vegetable feeder—a different conclusion from that of Sir Richard Owen, as already indicated. Briefly, he thought that the foremost teeth seized, pierced, lacerated, or killed, while the carnassials divided the nutritive fibres of the prey. Sir William Flower, on the other hand, observes that the occurrence of similar teeth in the Rat-Kangaroos has not been demonstrated to involve blood-thirsty inclinations. Moreover, every known true predaceous carnivore has powerful, pointed, canine teeth in both jaws, combined with comparatively small incisors. *Thylacoles* presents no approximation to the latter; its lower canines are absent, its upper rudimentary, while its central incisors are in both jaws large. Nor will the fact that there is one group of flesh-eating animals (Insectivores, *viz.*, Shrews and Moles), in which the type characteristic of true carnivores is departed from, alter the case. Their mode of snapping up small animals is wholly different from that of a cat or a ferret. In the same way, animals belonging to groups, usually Phytophagons, and with typical teeth, may, on occasion, be more or less carnivorous, as the rat. But how different is the ferocity and destructive power compared with the ferret!

The large trenchant premolars of *Thylacoleo* were probably well adapted for chopping up succulent roots, but the actual material on which it fed may have disappeared with the animal itself.

Sir William Flower also extended our knowledge of the development and succession of teeth in the Edentates by a careful

examination of the young forms of the nine-banded armadillo (*Tatusia peba*).* Previous to his observations it was generally supposed that these animals were monophyodont, or had a single set of teeth, the only author who had stated otherwise being Prof. Gervais of Paris. Flower found that the milk-teeth of the species above mentioned were five or seven in number according to the size and stage of development of the young Armadillo (the number of teeth in the adult being but one more, viz.; eight), and that calcification occurred as usual, the germs of the permanent teeth appearing beneath them, the temporary teeth having one important difference from the permanent, viz., the closure of the base of the fang, causing arrest of growth. In a subsequent paper † he dealt with the classification of this group, showing that the scaly ant-eater (*Manis*), if allied to *Myrmecophaga*, must have separated from the original common-stock before this had given off the Sloths, or, in other words, that the Sloths and Ant-eaters, with the Megatheroids intervening, are far more nearly allied to each other than either is to the Pangolins. The family of the Armadillos, again, are remarkably specialized, yet they have undoubtedly near affinities to the American Edentates, though not so nearly related to either of the other families as to each other. The Glyptodonts form an allied group, agreeing in most essential features, but also presenting some very singular special modifications. The Aard-Vark or ground-hog (*Orycteropus*) of South Africa, lastly, stands apart from all the others, both structurally and in the presence of milk-teeth, the normal condition of its vertebral column, and in other particulars. Indeed, it and the two old-world Pangolins are so essentially distinct from all the American families, that it may be considered doubtful whether they are derived from the same primary branch of mammals. Thus, Sir William agreed with Alphonse Milne Edwards that the Edentates should be separated into several distinct natural groups.

Another series of observations ‡ which had an important bearing on the classification of a group of mammals was that

* *Proceedings of Zoological Society*, 1868, p. 378.

† *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 358.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 4.

which he made on the Carnivores. These mammals had been ranged by Cuvier into two divisions, according to the position of the feet in walking—the Plantigrades, or those which place the entire sole of the foot on the ground, as the bears, and the Digitigrades, or those walking only on the toes. Sir William Flower, having been struck by the methods of a young, original, and accurate worker, Mr. H. N. Turner, who fell a victim to his zeal, as he died from a dissection-wound, took the posterior part of the base of the skull, and by an elaborate inquiry into the characters of the auditory-swelling (bullæ), and the structures immediately surrounding it, showed that a satisfactory classification of the existing terrestrial or fissipedal carnivores could be established, though it has to be mentioned that the arrangement does not hold good when fossil forms are included. The fossil dogs and bears are so intimately connected that satisfactory separation is difficult.

Basing his arrangement mainly on the structural features just alluded to, Sir William made three great groups of the Carnivores, viz., (1) the Cat-like Carnivores (*Æluroidæ*) including the cats, civets, hyenas, etc.; (2) the Dog-like Carnivores, comprising the dogs, wolves, jackals, and foxes; and (3) the Bears.

The cat-like carnivores have the auditory swelling (bullæ) large, rounded, smooth, and thin-walled, and, except in the hyenas, divided into two chambers by a partition.

The distinctions between the five families of the group is mainly founded on the teeth, and, besides, the cranial structure alone would distinguish them. Africa and Southern Asia are the head-quarters of the group, all the families being restricted absolutely or very nearly (two of the civet-family [*Viverridæ*] alone passing into Southern Europe) to these regions, except the cats, which are almost cosmopolitan.

The second group or section admits of no sub-division into families, one type (Family) alone being present, viz, the dogs. Though there is a considerable tendency to variation in external characters, they are remarkably true in cranial conformation. They hold an intermediate position between the foregoing section and the succeeding one, the author considering that they

retained many of the more generalised characters of the ancient representatives. They are, perhaps, the most universally diffused of any of the groups.

The auditory swelling is inflated and the partition rudimentary.

The third section (Arctoidea) comprises the bears, panda, raccoons, coatis, otters, skunks, badgers, weasels, and gluttons.

The auditory swelling is little inflated, and is devoid of a partition.

His accurate methods in dealing with the skulls of mammals are further shown in such papers as that 'On some Cranial and Dental Characters of the Existing Species of Rhinoceros.' In this he emphasises the well-known presence of fully developed and functional cutting teeth (incisors) in the Asiatic species, and their absence in the African. Of the Asiatic species he found three—viz., the one-horned, the Sondaic, and the Sumatran (*R. unicornis*, *R. sondaicus*, and *R. sumatrensis*). Of African forms two are readily differentiated—viz., *R. simus*, Burchell, and *R. bicornis* L.

While of his great labours amongst the whales or cetaceans it is impossible to give an adequate outline, reference may be made to his classic memoir on the sperm-whale,* which must long remain a model for its accuracy and completeness. The fine skeleton of a young male which he procured for the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons formed the basis of this important paper, and enabled him to add to and correct much that had been written on the subject. The description of its huge cranium as a large, pointed slipper, with a high heel-piece and the front trodden down, the hollow limited behind by the occipital crest, continued laterally into the elevated edges of the broadly expanded maxillæ, which rose from the median line towards the edge of the skull instead of falling away as in most cetaceans, must be familiar to all students of the group. In this vast cavity lies the head-matter, composed of almost pure spermaceti.

He conclusively demonstrates that instead of two species

* *Trans. Zool. Soc.*, vol. 6, 1863-68, p. 309, Ph. 55-61.

(*P. australis* and *P. macrocephalus*), there is but one of large size, though, since small adult jaws seven feet long occur, these may belong to another species, if not those of a female.

Such is a brief and fragmentary outline of some of the memoirs published by this able comparative anatomist. His long continued labours brought him honours from every country in which science was appreciated.

In private life he was no less esteemed than in his public duties. In every relation he bore himself with good taste and dignity, and he passed away honoured and esteemed by all for his high bearing, his prudence, and his great talents.

WILLIAM C. M'INTOSH.

ART. VI.—JULIAN AND JERUSALEM, A.D. 363.

WHAT the re-building of the Temple at Jerusalem, which was begun by the Emperor Julian in A.D. 363, was stopped by an outburst of fire from the foundations, Gibbon, on the authority of the contemporary and most trustworthy Latin historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, was not inclined to deny. The cause of the outburst Gibbon did not attempt to explain.* When in Jerusalem in 1800, Dr. Clarke, the traveller,† identified certain reticulated, and therefore Roman, masonry at the sides of the area of the Mosque of Omar, with the foundations of the Julian Temple, progress in which was abandoned on account of the bursting forth of flames. Clarke leaves it for others to decide whether the balls of fire that burst from the ground were natural or supernatural. Dean Milman ‡ accepts the facts of an outburst of fire from the hill: of the flight of the workmen: and of the stoppage of the work. He explains the outburst of fire by vapours fermenting in the caves of the hill. To Milman's explanation the objec-

* *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxiii.

† *Travels*, Vol. IV., p. 387.

‡ *History of the Jews*, Vol. II. pp. 18-21.

tion seems fatal : (1) that on no other occasion are cave-vapours known to have fermented and burst forth in fire at Jerusalem, and (2) that on this occasion the outbreak was too timely to be accidental.

With this outburst of flames on the site of the Temple at Jerusalem in A.D. 363, may be compared the outburst of flames in B.C. 288 which drove Brennus the Gaul empty-handed from Delphi. The outburst of flame at Delphi, which was accompanied by an explosion and fall of rock, Bishop Warburton * explains by the priests collecting vapours in one of the caves and setting them alight. Were there, in A.D. 363, in Jerusalem any means similar to those employed by the priests of Delphi, to frustrate Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple? That the Christians had no such means, or if they had the means that they had not the opportunity of using them, may be admitted. It is less clear that in A.D. 363 the Jewish priests had not under their control an appliance more trustworthy than chance cave vapours to produce explosions and flames.

The writer of the second book of the Maccabees (chapter i., verses 19-26), perhaps about B.C. 100, tells how, in B.C. 440, when the repairs to the city walls had been completed, Nehemiah determined to hold a formal purification and rededication of the altar and temple, which had been completed by Zerubbabel about eighty years before (B.C. 520). Nehemiah ordered the descendants of the priests to produce the sacred fire, which, before the Babylonian Captivity (B.C. 588), had been taken from the altar and hid privily in the hollow of a waterless well or pit, and therein made sure so that the place was unknown to all men. Under Nehemiah's orders the priests examined the pit. They found thick water. Nehemiah said, 'Draw the water and sprinkle the sacrifices.' The sun shone on the sprinkled sacrifices and a great fire was kindled. When the Persian king heard that certain temple water had turned into flame he considered it sacred. When he wished to shew favour to any one he gave him some of the

* *Julian*, pp. 296-297.

water. Nehemiah called the water Nephthar, that is, cleansing; most men called it Nephthal, that is, Naphtha.*

Neither the date nor the author of the second Maccabees is certain. Still it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion † that the tradition is correct that Nehemiah brought naphtha out of a pit near the temple; that this naphtha was known to the priests as sacred fire; and that from an indefinite time naphtha had been burned on the temple altar as sacred fire. It is, therefore, probable that down to the time of Julian's disaster (A.D. 363) a store of naphtha remained in a pit close to the temple, and that at that time the existence of the store was known to the descendants of the priests. How far had any of the priests the desire to put a stop to Julian's operations by a timely explosion?

In support of the view that the outburst of fire which put a stop to Julian's undertaking was the intentional explosion by certain Jews of naphtha vapour in a cave or pit under the temple, it is necessary to shew:—

1. That certain of the Jews were anxious to stop Julian's work.
2. That in the neighbourhood of the Temple were caves, pits, or wells in which an explosion might be arranged.
3. That a secret store of naphtha, sufficient to cause a serious explosion, was in the charge of certain of the Jews.

Those who do not regard the outrush of fire on Julian's workmen as a miracle have contended that the outbreak was either natural, or was the work of the Christians. In his account of the explosion Warburton seems to have disposed of both of these explanations. Against the explanation that the explosion was natural Warburton contends that with so few recorded outbursts at Jerusalem, and with the freedom from outburst which marked the building of Solomon's (B.C. 1000), Zerubbabel's (B.C. 520), and Herod's (B.C. 7) temples, the

* Compare Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II. p. 176.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. V., pp. 465, 487.

chance that a natural explosion should happen immediately on the beginning of Julian's work is a no-chance.* Its timeliness seems conclusive against Dean Milman's view that the explosion was natural. Warburton's reply to those who would trace the explosion to the Christians seems equally complete. In the excited state both of Jewish and of Greek feeling against them, the Christians, during the progress of Julian's work, would not have been allowed access to the temple foundations.†

The third alternative, namely, that the explosion was the work of a Jew, seems hardly to have been considered. The reason why this explanation has not been suggested is probably that the work of repairing the temple was popular with the Jews,‡ who were helping with labour as well as with money and materials. According to the Christians the Jews were as much elated with Julian's favour as if they had found a prophet of their own.§ In this propitious moment, says Gibbon, || the men forgot their avarice, and the women their delicacy: spades and pickaxes of silver were provided by the vanity of the rich, and the rubbish was transported in mantles of silk and purple. Every purse was open in liberal contributions, every hand claimed a share in the pious labour, and the commands of a great monarch were executed by the enthusiasm of a whole people.'

In spite of the enthusiasm of the mass of the Jews, to the stricter prophets and priests Julian's attempt could not fail to be hateful. The elaborate purification and rededication by Nehemiah (B.C. 440), described in Second Maccabees, marked the change from a royal chapel to a priestly temple. Zerubbabel (B.C. 520), a descendant of David, was the last person not a High Priest who shared the management of the temple. ¶ How jealously the priests guarded their control over the temple was shewn in the time of Herod the Great (B.C. 16-7), when, though a Jew by religion, Herod had to

* Warburton's *Julian*, p. 305. † *Ibid.*, p. 260. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 91.
 § *Ibid.*, pp. 68, note, and 70. || *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxiii.
 ¶ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article 'Temple.'

leave the building of the Temple to the High Priest, and content himself with building its Courts.* Similarly when, in A.D. 117, the Emperor Hadrian offered to rebuild the temple, his offer was refused by the priests.† Later in Hadrian's reign (A.D. 133), the Jews revolted, and tried to rebuild the Temple. For this revolt they were punished by being forbidden to approach the Holy City. Once more, under Constantine (A.D. 334), the Jews attempted to revolt; this attempt was crushed, and Hadrian's law against Jews coming to Jerusalem was strictly enforced. The zealous Jews were not less anxious than the mass of the people that the temple should be rebuilt. But they were jealous that the honour of re-building the temple should belong solely to the Jews. To the stricter Jews, Julian, not less of a warrior and much less of a Jew than Herod, could not be acceptable. Their objection to him would be increased by Julian, in his recent letter to the Community of the Jews, assuming to decide that the time for re-building the temple laid down in the Hebrew Scriptures had arrived.‡ That the leaders of the Jews opposed Julian's project is stated by the Christian writers, who, to their astonishment, found that the Jew leaders explained the miraculous outburst of fire, not as a proof that Christ was a true Prophet and God, but as a proof of the wrath of Jehovah against the profanity of accepting the help of one who was no Jew in rebuilding Jehovah's House. It follows that the zealous Jews approved the outburst of fire. These Jews would have ready access to the neighbourhood of the works: some of them, like Nehemiah, would be acquainted with the store of naphtha or sacred fire, which, in the ruin of the Temple (A.D. 70), had remained unused for nearly three hundred years, but still fresh in its rock-hewn pit. Under these conditions they would be

* Williams, *The Holy City*, Vol. I., pp. 109, 119. Warren, *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 62. So unbending were the priests that, according to Captain, now General Sir Charles Warren (*Underground Jerusalem*, p. 73), Herod was not allowed to enter the Temple or any of the Courts.

† Kuenen's *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 333.

‡ Warburton's *Julian*, pp. 133, 225.

ready to kindle its vapour and cause an explosion which all, Greeks, Christians, and Jews alike, would accept as a miracle.

Did Alypius, Julian's Master of the Works, suspect that certain of the zealous or leading Jews had caused the explosion? Was it this suspicion that led Julian to abandon the undertaking? It is to be noted that Ammianus' account of the explosion, 'terrible balls of fire bursting from the ground at the place where the people were at work and burning them,' describes what would be the effect of an explosion of naphtha vapour.* The absence of reference to the accompanying winds, earthquakes, and fiery crosses on which certain Christian writers lay stress is explained by Warburton, 'as the bashfulness of a backward witness.' But the character of Ammianus and his position as a friend of Julian, make it probable that his description of the outburst is taken from the report submitted on the occasion by Alypius to the Emperor. The details are in agreement with those given by St. Chrysostom, who wrote at the time—'They began the work, but made no progress, for a fire bursting from the foundations drove away and dispersed all concerned in the undertaking.'† Both Ammianus and St. Chrysostom describe what might have been the effect of a planned explosion.‡ That Julian did not imagine the outburst to be due to the Christians may be judged by his silence contrasted with the expression of his suspicion of Christian foul play in the recent burning of the temple of Apollo at Daphne. Did Julian suspect that the leaders of the Jews had a hand in the explosion? In his letter 'On the

* *Julian*, p. 113.

† Warburton's *Julian*, p. 122. The writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* limits his description to St. Chrysostom's details. He says: In the pagan reaction under Julian an attempt to rebuild the temple was frustrated by an outburst of fire from the foundations.

‡ That Ammianus considered the outburst planned may receive support from his applying to the fire the word *designatius*—that is, designedly. This, according to Warburton (*Julian*, p. 585), elegantly implies the direction of an intelligent agent. Still *designatius* means stubbornly as well as designedly, and this rendering ('obstinately and resolutely bent') has the support of Gibbon, Chapter xxiii.

Reformation of Classic Worship,' which was written after the outburst of fire at Jerusalem, Julian draws a line between the mass of the Jews, 'the Temple of whose great and mighty God I would have restored,' and their Prophets and Leaders, whom he describes as 'evil, shut-eyed, mist-enwrapped interpreters, who, mistaking the great Light of Heaven for an impure earthy fire, roar with frantic vehemence—'Fear and tremble ye inhabitants of the world, Fire, lightning, the sword, darts, death, and all the frightful words which express that one destructive property of Fire.*' Then he adds, checking himself, 'but the subject is better suited for a private audience.†' Warburton suggests that in making this attack Julian had in his mind not the Prophets or Leaders of the Jews, but the Christians. But, since the rejoicings of the Christians over the miraculous outbreak of fire at the Temple were public, and since they claimed the outburst as a miracle sent in their favour, it does not appear why Julian should have checked his attack on the Christians for worshipping the demon side of fire. On the other hand, if, as Julian states, it was the Jew leaders who had brought the demon form of fire to help them, his reason for silence is evident. After his advances to the Jewish community it was impolitic for Julian to admit that the leaders of that community were as hostile to him as were the Christians. This suspicion that the outburst was the work of the Jews, supported by the action of the Jew leaders in persuading the people that the miracle was a punishment to them for accepting non-Jew help, seems to explain why during the three or four months before he started on his Persian war, Julian made no attempt to repair the disaster.

The remarks of Julian in his letter on the Reformation of the Classic Religion suggest that he was specially grieved at the outburst of fire at the Temple in Jerusalem, and at the moral which the leaders of the Jews drew from the outburst. With his knowledge of the strong element of fire worship among the Jews, their pillar of fire, their burning bush, their

* Compare Warburton's *Julian*, pp. 72, 73.

† *Ibid.*, p. 81.

sacred temple fire, their fire-form angels and God,* Julian, himself a keen sun and fire worshipper, may have hoped to find in a common reverence for fire the basis of an agreement in worship between himself and the Jews corresponding to the common reverence for the sun which had proved so useful a bond between Constantine and the Christians. This hope faded when by the planning, or at least by the explanation, of the ruinous outburst at the Temple Julian was convinced that the Jew leaders worshipped the patriotic demon or destructive aspect of fire, and not the philosophic divine or cleansing view of fire, Plato's *phos katharon* (the pure light), Nehemiah's Nephthar, the cleanser.†

On the second point, namely, that there were caves or hollows close to the temple, where naphtha vapours might be collected or exploded, the evidence seems sufficient. How great was the provision of underground reservoirs and cisterns in Jerusalem, hewn chiefly by Solomon (B.C. 1000), Hezekiah (B.C. 725), and Simon the Just (B.C. 300), is shewn by the unailing supply of water in the city even during its longest siege. Apparently the great cisterns, cut or enlarged by Simon the Just in B.C. 300, extended beneath almost the whole Haram area, so that they passed under the Temple, whether, as is probable, its site and the scene of Julian's operations was near the Aksa Mosque, at the south-west corner of the Haram enclosure, or what is less likely, at

* Exodus, xxiv. 17; Leviticus, vi. 13, ix. 24; Numbers, xi. 1-3; Deuteronomy, iv. 15, 24, 36. Compare Ezekiel (B.C. 594), chapter i.—Living creatures that came out of fire, and were like coals of fire; and (chapter v. 27, 28), The likeness of the glory of the Lord was the appearance of fire. Again, of the Lord God he says (chapter viii. 2)—Lo a likeness as the appearance of fire; from the appearance of his loins even downward, fire; from his loins even upward as the appearance of brightness as the colour of amber.

The importance which the Jews attached to the proper house-worship of Fire is shown by the rule that one of the three breaches of ceremonial duty for which alone a Jewish woman's life was forfeit was the failure to light the Friday evening lamp.—Schwab's *Talmud de Jerusalem*, vol. i., p. 351.

† Compare Warburton's *Julian*, p. 76, Note 1.

Omar's Mosque or the Dome of the Rock at the centre of the enclosure.* According to Tacitus at the time of Titus' siege (A.D. 70), the rock under the Temple was scooped into caverns.† According to the Mishna or Repetition of the Law (A.D. 219), the buildings of Jerusalem were founded on the rock with caves beneath them.‡

Williams notices§ that Julian's workmen are said to have cut into a pit or well. Among modern writers Lewin|| says the neighbourhood of the Temple is honeycombed into secret underground avenues.

The third point is how far is there support for the account in the Second Maccabees of the use, by the Jews, of a colourless water like *naphtha*. What the ancients understood by *naphtha* was the purest, that is, the least oxidised form of earth oil. Before it is thickened by exposure to the air, or stiffened by mixture with earth, *naphtha* is a clear, limpid, colourless

* Williams (*The Holy City*, II., 464), notices that Josephus makes no reference to Simon's excavations under the temple. He would explain Josephus' silence by the fact of their existence being a secret known to the officiating priests only. Fergusson's opinion (*Holy Sepulchre and Temple*, p. 103), that the site of the Temple is at the Aksa Mosque is supported by one of the latest authorities, the writer of the article on the Temple in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. xiii., p. 642). Mr. Fergusson gives (woodcut No. 28), what he believes to be the remains of Julian's work in a doorway under the Aksa Mosque.

† Warren's *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 66. According to Josephus (Besant and Palmer's *History of Jerusalem*, p. 46), during the siege of Titus the leaders of the Jews hid in the underground chambers with which the city was honeycombed. Also (*ibid.* 58), during the revolt of Bar-Cocheba against Hadrian (A.D. 133) the Jews hid in the caves, underground passages, and secret corners with which the city was honeycombed. Felix Fabri, in the fourteenth century, speaks of large caverns hollowed in the rocks by which one might enter into the very midst of the city (Williams' *The Holy City*, I., Supplement, pp. 47-48). General Warren (1876, *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 50), speaks of the rock being honeycombed with caves dug in the soft limestone or malachite with so small an opening that only by an accident could the entrance be found.

‡ *Survey of Western Palestine, Jerusalem.*

§ *The Holy City*, II., p. 466.

|| *A Sketch of Jerusalem*, p. 231.

THE DEAD SEA

The Dead Sea is a salt lake situated in the Jordan Valley, between the Great and Little Rift Valleys. It is one of the lowest points on the Earth's surface, lying about 1,312 feet below sea level. The sea is bounded to the north by the Golan Heights, to the east by the Judean Desert, and to the south by the Negev Desert. It is a remnant of a larger body of water that once extended from the Taurus mountains in the north to the Gulf of Aden in the south. The sea is so named because it has no outlet to the ocean and its water evaporates so rapidly that it leaves behind a thick crust of salt. The water is extremely bitter and contains a high percentage of minerals, including sodium chloride, magnesium sulfate, and potassium chloride. It is used for medicinal purposes and is a source of salt for the surrounding region.

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drew the sacred fire,* may be a trace of an old outlet of naphtha. Ritter† notes in the limestone mountains, a short day south of Jerusalem, caverns with large mouths decreasing as they receded, probably owing to the former emission of pent-up gas. Besides the supply of naphtha drawn by Nehemiah from the old storepit of sacred fire, mention is made in Jerusalem history of the supply of water drawn from a pit or well in the city by Narcissus, Christian Bishop of Alia or Jerusalem, at the close of the third century, which, by his divine power, he so enriched with the fatness of oil that it lighted lamps.‡ These details seem to support the correctness of the account of Nehemiah's use of naphtha in Second Maccabees, and uphold the view that the fire which prevented Julian's rebuilding the Temple was the work of Jews expending vapour of naphtha in a cave or pit under the Temple.

If naphtha was the sacred fire of the Jews it seems to follow :—

1. That the use of naphtha as sacred fire may explain several of the more difficult passages in the early history of the Jews; and
2. That the use of naphtha as sacred fire may have passed from the Jews to the Christians of Jerusalem, and may explain the famous miracle of the birth of the sacred Easter Fire at the Holy Sepulchre.

(1.) If, as it seems reasonable to believe, Nehemiah cleansed the altar and the great stone near the altar with naphtha, and also that this use of naphtha was not an importation by Nehemiah from Persia, but was, as is stated in the Maccabees, the continued use of what was known to the Jews

* Williams' *The Holy City*, Vol. II., 490, and Note 3; Warren's *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 51.

† *Geography of Palestine*, Vol. III., p. 12.

‡ Williams' *The Holy City*, Vol. I., p. 226. Another proof of stores of bitumen in Jerusalem is given by Josephus (*Besant and Palmer*, p. 36). During the siege of Titus (A.D. 70), the Jews undermined the ground on which the Roman battering rams stood, and then brought into the mine materials daubed with pitch and bitumen, and set them on fire.

as sacred fire, it seems fair to suppose that in earlier passages, where sacred fire, or fire of the Lord plays a part, the agent was naphtha.* As regards the sacred altar fire it would seem that the writer of Second Maccabees held that the fire of the Lord which consumed the sacrifice of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple (II. Chron., chap. vii.), and of Aaron's first offerings (Leviticus, ix. 24), was the same as Nehemiah's sacred fire which turned the thick water of the pit into flame. Besides these examples there is the case of the water poured over the altar at Carmel by Elijah being kindled by fire from the Lord; and of the smoking furnace and burning lamp (Genesis xv. 17) which passed between the pieces of Abraham's sacrifice.† To make the naphtha become sacred fire from heaven some special means of lighting was required. That Elijah did not pour on the water till the sun was low, and that Nehemiah's naphtha did not kindle till the sun shone upon it, suggest the use of a lens, a means of kindling sacred fire known to many of the early priesthoods.‡

* That the account of the discovery of the old sacred fire given in the Maccabees was not accepted by all Jews appears from the saying that the second temple was inferior to the first temple in five respects, one of which was the want of sacred altar fire. Compare *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Fourth Edit. Articles 'Fire' and 'Temple.' It is also to be noted that according to Second Maccabees, x. 3, when (B.C. 163) Judas Maccabæus cleansed the sanctuary, he kindled fire for the altar by striking stones.

† The case of Elijah (I. Kings, chap. xviii.) is carefully worked by Mr. Woodgate (*A Modern Layman's Faith*, p. 352 and pp. 412-414). In another passage (p. 380) he says: 'The evidence of the use of naphtha by Elijah is almost conclusive.' Other examples of the appearance of sacred fire are (I. Chron., xxi.) at the staying of the plague when the Lord answered David from heaven by fire upon the altar of burnt offering; and the fire from the rock that consumed Gideon's offering (Judges, vi. 21).

‡ Compare *A Modern Layman's Faith*, p. 210. The Greeks and Romans re-kindled the sacred fire by a lens formed of concave vessels of brass: Plutarch's *Numa*, Langhorne's Translation, I., 183. In Peru the fire of the sun was kindled by a concave cup set in a bracelet (Woodgate, 411). The use of the burning glass is common in China (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, article 'Fire'). It was common in Greece during the time of Aristophanes (B.C. 430). Compare *Nubes*, line 744.

(2). As regards the second point, namely, the connection between the Jewish and the Christian sacred fires in Jerusalem, their early fire worship seems to have been one of the elements brought by the Jewish converts into the religion of Christ, the Light of the World. At the close of the second century Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem (A.D. 180-222), on the vigils of the feast of Easter, lighted the lamps in the church by pouring in water taken from a well which, by a miraculous and divine power, he turned into the fatness of oil.* During the ninth century (A.D. 870), Bernard the Monk, and, at the close of that century, an unnamed Greek writer, bear witness to the miracle of the Easter Fire at the Holy Sepulchre.† Two hundred years later the practice of drawing fire from heaven into the Sepulchre by rubbing the chain of the chandelier with balsam oil (balsam being apparently used in its general sense of mild oil, and so including naphtha), was one of the causes of the destruction of the Sepulchre by Biamz-allah, the Fatemite ruler of Egypt. The Sepulchre was soon restored, the fire-birth again celebrated, and the miracle established to the satisfaction of one of Biamz-allah's successors, the iron wicks of whose test-lamps the strength of the new-born fire melted.‡ At the close of the eleventh century, the time of the First Crusade, the birth of the Sacred Easter Fire at the Sepulchre was one of the chief wonders of Jerusalem. The keen disappointment caused by the failure of the miracle for three days at the beginning of the first Easter of Baldwin's reign (A.D. 1096) was removed by a barefoot procession. On the arrival of the procession at the Sepulchre a flame flew from lamp to lamp, and afterwards a flame miraculously lighted the lamps at Baldwin's table.§ During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (until, apparently, 1291, when Latin rule came to an end) the Latin priests shared with Greeks, Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians, the glory of kindling the Easter Fire. Since the withdrawal of the Latins,

* Williams' *Holy City*, Vol. I., p. 226.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. I., 348 ; II., 533, note 3. ‡ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 847.

§ Besant and Palmer, *The History of Jerusalem*, pp. 339-340.

Greeks, Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians still join in collecting and distributing the new-born fire.*

Accounts vary regarding the means employed to use the creature of naphtha for the honour of the Light of the World. Different means seem to have been employed at different times. Since the time of the Crusades the use of a naphtha-smearred wire or chain to bring the fire from above seems to have been discontinued. In the early years of the present century, in answer to prayer, the Patriarch was believed to receive tongues of fire in a Veronica napkin. In 1833, Thomson† describes how a procession passed thrice round the tomb. An aged bishop, the last of the procession, went alone inside of the sepulchre. After a few moments a light shone in an aperture in the wall, and a bundle of tapers were thrust in and drawn back ablaze. The fire was thought to be a divine light which did not burn. About 1850, Kinglake‡ describes how on Easter Saturday the Chief Priest of the Greeks, accompanied by the Turkish Governor, entered the tomb. After a long pause, from out the small apertures on either side of the sepulchre issued long shining flames. The pilgrims rushed forward madly striving to light their tapers. The present practice is thus described by Sir Charles Warren in 1876.§ The Holy Easter Fire does not descend from heaven; it appears or emanates from the stone couch in the inner chamber of the Sepulchre. The Patriarch is shut into the inner chamber and prays that the fire may appear. As the Patriarch prays the fire springs up in a soft flame about half an inch high. He collects the flames with both hands and drops them into a goblet till the goblet is filled to the brim with flame. The Patriarch hands the flaming goblet out of the Sepulchre into the vestibule. A Greek, an Armenian, and a Syrian receive a share of the flame into their goblets, and hand the fire through the holes to the assembled people. These details Sir Charles Warren obtained himself from the

* *The Land and the Book*, pp. 480-482.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 480-482.

‡ Kinglake's *Eothen*, p. 196.

§ Warren's *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 437.

Patriarch who collected the fire. The description of the birth of the flames suggests that they were produced by dropping naphtha on the stone couch which had been prepared by heat. The process recalls the description of Nehemiah's use of naphtha to cleanse a great stone near the Temple Altar.* The passage in Second Maccabees (Chap. i., 31-32) is said to be corrupt, and is difficult. After, by pouring naphtha over it, a great fire had been kindled on the altar, and the sacrifice was consumed, Nehemiah commanded to pour on great stones the water that was left. When this was done a flame was kindled (on the stone); but when the light from the altar shone over against it, all was consumed.' The sense seems to be that the altar flame was so intensely bright that the flames from the stone paled before it. In this case, as perhaps by previous heating in the case of the stone couch of the Sepulchre, the great stone being close to the blazing altar fire, had become so baked that when poured over its hot surface the naphtha burst into flame.†

After his account of the birth of the Easter Fire, Sir C. Warren says ‡—'In Sion, the holy place of David, in the

* This great stone is apparently the stone which the Jews believed to be Jacob's pillow, and which in the second or Zerubbabel Temple (B.C. 520-515) took the place of the lost Ark. It seems also to be the stone which the Bordeaux pilgrims in A.D. 333, thirty years before Julian's disaster, described as the bored stone which the Jews were allowed to visit once a year, and which they oiled and bewailed (compare Fergusson, *The Holy Sepulchre*, pp. 117-119). The weight of authority is fairly balanced in the long-fought fight whether the bored stone was at the Domed Rock (or Mosque of Omar) in the centre of, or near the Aksa Mosque in the south-west corner of the sacred enclosure. On the whole the opinion of the writer of the Article on the Temple in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, namely, that the bored stone was in the Mosque Aksa, and has been either broken or buried, is most in accord with the evidence.

† Compare Woodgate, *A Modern Layman's Faith*, p. 409. That the use of heated stones to kindle fire was familiar to the Jewish priests is shown by the Temple practice of kindling incense by dropping it on heated stones on the Altar of Incense. Compare Isaiah, vi. 6, where 'live coal' should be 'hot stone.' See Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, I. 55, and I. 339.

‡ *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 82 and 435.

church of the Resurrection, fire is worshipped after the example of the Magi. On Easter Day Russians put the new fire in their mouths, under their arms, and about their legs, to cure rheumatism. In their excitement they forget Christ and like the Magi of old, adore the Holy Fire.'

Thus, from the Emperor Julian's disaster, through 4000 years, back to fire-worshipping Chaldea and on to the present day, has been traced the sacred mystery of Naphtha the cleanser. It is the history of the secret knowledge of a special substance, the gift of their God to his chosen people, and therefore, as they not unreasonably supposed, free to be used by his people in any way which might make for the glory and dignity of their Guardian.*

J. M. CAMPBELL.

ART. VII.—THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH PRECEDED
THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Parliamentary Blue-Books on South Africa from June to October, 1899. C. 9404. C. 9415. C. 9507. C. 9518. C. 9521. C. 9530.

IT is surely impossible to over-rate the importance of ascertaining the exact cause and origin of the present war in South Africa—a war which has assumed such gigantic proportions that a terrible responsibility rests on those who

* The renewal of Fire, whether from oil as at the Sepulchre at Jerusalem, or from flint and steel as at St. Peter's at Rome, fits well with a death rite which passes into resurrection. But the need of a fresh fire, either at regular intervals or on special occasions, is a widespread belief apart from any question of resurrection. The Guardian Fire exposed to evil influences, taking Guardian-like evil into itself, becomes tarnished and loses its guardian virtue. Till lately over Northern Europe, to scare pestilence among man or beast, new, or need, fire had to be produced from friction. In the Chinese Spring Festival of the Tombs (*Emerson's Masks, Heads, and Faces*, p. 68), all fires are put out, and new fire is kindled from a burning glass.

initiated it. It is no doubt true that the war having been begun must be finished, even if we were not absolutely right in commencing it. But that patriotic duty does not cancel our other duty of considering and determining whether we were justified in entering upon, and in our conduct of, the negotiations which culminated in war. It is not sufficient to say that we were bound to take up arms in our own defence, after the invasion of our territory, and as soon as the Boers issued their highly insulting ultimatum, for the ultimatum was merely the end of the negotiations, and showed that the Boers rightly or wrongly had come to the conclusion that no settlement satisfactory to them could ever be arrived at by peaceful means, and if that was their opinion, they were probably justified in entering upon warlike operations before we had time to bring our troops from this country. Nor is it relevant to say that subsequent events have proved that war was inevitable, and that the enormous warlike preparations of the Boers coupled with their alliance with the Free State and the issue of the ultimatum, show that they had from the beginning determined certainly to assert their own complete independence, and possibly to expel the British entirely from South Africa. All this may or may not be wholly or partially true, and of course, if it be true, it is certain that the Boers were merely playing with us all through the negotiations, but we are not entitled to make that assumption without proof, and definite proof we are not likely to obtain. Moreover, the Boers are as much entitled to reply that the disastrous crime of the Jameson raid, and our treatment of those responsible for it, show that from the beginning we had determined to seize the Transvaal for our own purposes. We know of course that this accusation is utterly false, but unfortunately circumstances have given a certain amount of colour to it. In any case, neither side is entitled to impute evil motives and sinister designs to the other in the negotiations which preceded the war. The simple and all-important question in allocating responsibility for the war is (1.) Were we right in entering upon the discussion of the matters in dispute with the Boers,

and (2.) Were we to blame in the negotiations which terminated in the issue of the ultimatum ?

It seems to us that the first of these questions is more to argument than the second, yet curiously enough regards the second that the Government are chiefly at even Mr. John Morley, for instance, admitting that we were bound to do what we could to have the grievances of the Uitlanders redressed, and that we could not turn a deaf ear to their petitions. But if that be admitted, the Government win their whole case, for it is impossible in studying the books on the long correspondence and negotiations which took place after Sir Alfred Milner had 'put his hand to the plough,' to resist the conclusion that the Government were last placed in this position—that they must either retire from the contest which they had begun for redress of the grievances of the Uitlanders, having obtained no concession of value, and having made the position of British subjects in the Transvaal much worse than before by the public exhibition of the Government's impotence to help them, or they must face the alternative of war. We despatched Sir Alfred Milner as High Commissioner to South Africa—and his appointment was hailed with acclamation on all sides—with the difficulties in the Transvaal expressly in view. Our Commissioner reported in strong terms as to the unjust treatment of the Uitlanders and more especially of British subjects, and he was authorised to enter on a Conference with President Kruger as to how these grievances might be removed. Were the Government to blame up to this point ? We are not aware that even the most violent opponent has said so, though in the light of the wisdom which comes after the event, it is perhaps a question whether, if we had known the terrible struggle before us, we would have considered that 'the game was altogether worth the candle.' But assuming that we were justified in authorising Sir Alfred Milner's interference on behalf of the Uitlanders, could we possibly have meekly acquiesced in President Kruger's refusal to give us any concession worth having ? The fifth day of the Conference terminated on June 5th, 1899, Sir Alfred Milner declaring that

‘His Honour (*i.e.* President Kruger) and I are unable to agree on the subject which has formed the principal topic of discussion between us. . . . According to my view of the case, the effect of what has happened is, that we are in the *status quo ante* this meeting. . . . This conference is absolutely at an end, and there is no obligation, on either side, arising out of it.’

It is evident from the Blue-book on the Conference (C. 9404) that the High Commissioner was of opinion that an attempt was being made to entice him into acceptance of proposals which were worthless to attain the object in view, and accordingly he was careful to state that, the conference having failed, both sides returned to the *status quo*. Up to this point no blame can attach to Her Majesty’s Government, except in the technical sense that they are responsible for the action of the High Commissioner. But from that point Mr. Chamberlain took up the thread of the negotiations.

The next step in the proceedings was that the Government of the Transvaal introduced into the Volksraad, without consultation with Her Majesty’s Government, certain proposals for alteration in the franchise. Mr. Chamberlain accordingly telegraphed to Sir Alfred Milner on 11th July, 1899, as follows (Blue-book C. 9415, p. 43):—

‘You are authorised, having regard to the uncertainty which still exists as to the exact nature of the latest proposals, to inform the Government of the South African Republic, through Greene, as follows—

‘If they desire that their proposals shall form any element in settlement of differences between the two Governments, Her Majesty’s Government request that full particulars of the new scheme may be furnished to them officially, and hope that, until they have had an opportunity of considering it and communicating their views, the Transvaal Government will not proceed further with it.’

To this a reply was sent, through the British Agent in the Transvaal, dated 13th July, (C. 9415, p. 45). It declares that, at the Bloemfontein conference, ‘Sir Alfred Milner, while not discouraging President Kruger from laying his franchise proposals before the Volksraad, had declared that he must do it of his own accord, and not as part of an undertaking with Her Majesty’s Government, and the conference

was entirely ended. 'The Transvaal Government were, therefore, obliged to treat the franchise question of their own accord, and not as part of an understanding with Her Majesty's Government.'

The reply goes on to state that they have endeavoured to assimilate their proposals so far as possible with those of H.M.'s Government, and that the new draft law indicates the farthest limit at which people and Volksraad could arrive. As this draft had now been taken over by a Commission of the Volksraad, the whole matter had passed out of the hands of the Transvaal Government, and it was no longer possible to meet Mr. Chamberlain's request.

The draft franchise law above referred to was passed, and came into force on the 26th of July, 1899. Of this measure it is sufficient to say that, although it conferred the franchise after seven years' residence, that privilege was alleged by the Uitlanders and those interested to be so surrounded with difficulties and qualifications as to be absolutely worthless. Accordingly, Mr. Chamberlain made the following very reasonable request, conveyed to Sir Alfred Milner by telegram on 31st July (C. 9518, p. 29):—

'I now authorise you to invite President Kruger to appoint delegates to discuss with ours question whether reforms, which Volksraad has passed will give immediate and substantial representation to the Uitlanders, and if not, what additions and alterations will be necessary in order to secure this result. If invitation is accepted, our delegates would not be precluded from raising any point calculated to improve measure.'

This was followed by a supplementary telegram, dated August 1st (C. 9518, p. 29), as follows:—

'We must confine proposed joint inquiry in the manner suggested in telegram of 31st July, to question of political representation of Uitlanders. You should, however, let President Kruger know, through Greene, that you will be ready, after conclusion of enquiry, to discuss with him not only the report of the inquiry and the franchise question, but other matters as well, including arbitration without introduction of foreign element.'

The substance of these telegrams was delivered by Sir A. Milner to the Transvaal Government.

The Negotiations which preceded the War.

The following important reply, dated 19th August (C. 4 p. 46), was received, and it may be said to have been turning-point of the negotiations. It is addressed to British Agent at Pretoria, and is as follows:—

‘ Sir,—With reference to your proposal for a joint enquiry contained in your despatches of 2nd and 3rd August, Government of South African Republic have the honour to suggest the following alternative proposal for consideration of Her Majesty’s Government, which this Government trusts may lead to a final settlement. (1) The Government are willing to recommend to the Volksraad and the people a five years’ retrospective franchise as proposed by His Excellency, the High Commissioner, on 1st June, 1899. (2) The Government are further willing to recommend to the Volksraad that eight new seats in the first Volksraad, and, if necessary, also in the second Volksraad, be given to the population of the Witwaterstrand, thus with the two sitting members for the Goldfields, giving to the population thereof ten representatives in a Board of thirty-six, and in future the representation of the Goldfields of this Republic will not fall below the proportion of one-fourth of the total. (3) The new Burghers shall, equally with the old Burghers, be entitled to vote at the election for State President and Commandant-General. (4) This Government will always be prepared to take into consideration such friendly suggestions regarding the details of the Franchise Law as Her Majesty’s Government through the British Agent may wish to convey to it. (5) In putting forward the above proposals the Government of South African Republic assumes (a) That Her Majesty’s Government will agree that the present intervention shall not form a precedent for future similar action, and that in future no interference in the internal affairs of the Republic will take place. (b) That Her Majesty’s Government will not further insist on the assertion of the suzerainty, the controversy on the subject being allowed tacitly to drop. (c) That arbitration (from which foreign element other than Orange Free State is to be excluded) will be conceded as soon as the franchise scheme has become law. (6) Immediately on Her Majesty’s Government accepting this proposal for a settlement, the Government will ask the Volksraad to adjourn for the purpose of consulting the people about it, and the whole scheme might become law say within a few weeks. In the meantime the form and scope of the proposed tribunal are also to be discussed and provisionally agreed upon, while the franchise scheme is being referred to the people, so that no time may be lost in putting an end to the present state of affairs. The Government trust that Her Majesty’s Government will clearly understand that in the opinion of this Government the existing Franchise Law of this Republic is both fair and liberal to the new population, and that the consideration that induces them to go further, as they do in the above proposal, is their strong desire to get the controversies between the two Governments settled ;

and, further, to put an end to present strained relations between the two Governments, and the incalculable harm and loss it has already occasioned in South Africa, and to prevent a racial war from the effects of which South Africa may not recover for many generations, perhaps never at all; and, therefore, this Government, having regard to all these circumstances, would highly appreciate it if Her Majesty's Government, seeing the necessity of preventing the present crisis from developing still further, and the urgency of an early termination of the present state of affairs, would expedite the acceptance or refusal of the settlement here offered.'

Two days later the following further despatch from the Transvaal Government, dated 21st August, was received:—

'In continuation of my despatch of the 19th instant, and with reference to the communication to you of the State Attorney this morning, I wish to forward to you the following in explanation thereof, with the request that the same may be telegraphed to His Excellency the High Commissioner for South Africa, as forming part of the proposals of this Government embodied in the above-named despatch. (1) The proposals of this Government regarding question of franchise and representation contained in that despatch must be regarded as especially conditional on Her Majesty's Government consenting to the points set forth in paragraph 5 of the despatch, viz. : (a) In future not to interfere in internal affairs of the South African Republic; (b) Not to insist further on its assertion of existence of suzerainty; (c) To agree to arbitration. (2) Referring to paragraph 6 of the despatch, this Government trusts that it is clear to Her Majesty's Government that this Government has not consulted the Volksraad as to this question, and will only do so when an affirmative reply to its proposals has been received from Her Majesty's Government.'

Mr. Chamberlain's reply to these two despatches is contained in a telegram to Sir Alfred Milner, dated 28th August (C. 9521, p. 49), and communicated in a despatch to the Transvaal Government, dated 30th August. It is as follows:—

'Her Majesty's Government have considered the proposals which the South African Republic Government in their notes to the British agent of 19th and 21st August have put forward, as an alternative to those contained in my telegram of 31st July. Her Majesty's Government assume that the adoption in principle, of the franchise proposals made by you at Bloemfontein, will not be hampered by any conditions which would impair their effect, and that by proposed increase of seats for the goldfields, and by other provisions, the South African Republic intend to grant immediate and substantial representation of the Uitlanders. That being so, Her Majesty's Government are unable to appreciate the objections entertained by the Government of the South African Republic to a Joint Commission of Inquiry, into the complicated details and technical questions

upon which the practical effect of the proposals depends. Her Majesty's Government, however, will be ready to agree that the British agent, assisted by such other persons as you may appoint, shall make the investigation necessary to satisfy them that the result desired will be achieved, and failing this, to enable them to make those suggestions which the Government of the South African Republican state that they will be prepared to take into consideration. Her Majesty's Government assume that every facility will be given to the British agent by the Government of the South African Republic, and they would point out that the inquiry would be both easier and shorter if the Government of the South African Republic will in any future law omit the complicated conditions of registration, qualification, and behaviour, which accompanied previous proposals, and would have entirely nullified their beneficial effect.

'Her Majesty's Government hope that the Government of the South African Republic will wait to receive their suggestions founded on the report of the British Agents' investigations before submitting a new franchise law to the Volksraad and to the Burghers. With regard to the conditions of the Government of the South African Republic: First, as regards intervention, Her Majesty's Government hope that the fulfilment of the promises made and the just treatment of the Uitlanders in future will render unnecessary any further intervention on their behalf, but Her Majesty's Government cannot of course debar themselves from their rights under the Conventions nor divest themselves of the ordinary obligations of a civilized power to protect its subjects in a foreign country from injustice. Secondly, with regard to suzerainty Her Majesty's Government would refer the Government of the South African Republic to the second paragraph of my despatch of 13th July. Thirdly, Her Majesty's Government agree to a discussion of the form and scope of a Tribunal of Arbitration from which foreigners and foreign influence are excluded. Such a discussion, which will be of the highest importance to the future relations of the two countries, should be carried on between the President and yourself, and for this purpose it appears to be necessary that a further conference, which Her Majesty's Government suggest should be held at Cape Town, should be at once arranged.

'Her Majesty's Government also desire to remind the Government of the South African Republic that there are other matters of difference between the two Governments which will not be settled by the grant of political representation to the Uitlanders, and which are not proper subjects for reference to arbitration. It is necessary that these should be settled concurrently with the questions now under discussion, and they will form, with the question of arbitration, proper subjects for consideration at the proposed conference.'

The above communications are of so much importance that we have given them *verbatim*, and the question whether or not

the war was justifiable may be said to depend on whether the terms offered by the Boers on 19th and 21st July were sufficient and should have been accepted, for as soon as Mr. Chamberlain suggested any qualification of these proposals, the Transvaal Government promptly withdrew them altogether and war became inevitable. A good deal has been made of the fact that the Transvaal Government in this proposal conceded a five instead of a seven years' franchise. But the real point at issue was not whether the franchise should be obtainable in five years or in seven years, but whether in the new law which had been passed by the Volksraad, it was so hampered and restricted by conditions alleged to be impossible of fulfilment as to be practically valueless. If this allegation was true—and it was made on good authority—it was of little consequence whether the franchise was to be obtainable in five years or in fifty years, and it was for this reason that our Government had asked for a joint inquiry as to the practical working of the new law. To agree, therefore, to accept this offer of a five years' franchise without any provision to make it effective, would have been to give up the whole point of our negotiations. In addition to this, two conditions to be accepted by us are annexed to the proposal which are of the utmost importance, and these conditions having been put forward in a very equivocal form in the first despatch, are in the one or two days' later enunciated in language which leaves no mistake as to their meaning. It almost looks as if the Government of the Transvaal had been seized with a sudden fear that their proposals of 19th August might be accepted, and had hastened to make such a catastrophe impossible. In the despatch of 19th August, the Transvaal Government merely 'assume (a) that Her Majesty's Government will agree that the present intervention shall not form a precedent for future similar action, and that in future no interference in the internal affairs of the Republic will take place, and (b) that Her Majesty's Government will not further insist on the assertion of the suzerainty, the controversy on the subject being tacitly allowed to drop.' But in the despatch of 21st August, the proposals of the Transvaal Government are 'to be regarded

expressly conditional on her Majesty's Government consenting (a) in future not to interfere in internal affairs of South African Republic, and (b) not to insist further on its assertion of existence of suzerainty.'

To agree that intervention at present is not to form a precedent for interfering again is not the same thing as 'expressly consenting not to interfere in the future,' and still more 'to allow the controversy on the subject of suzerainty tacitly to drop' is an entirely different thing from 'expressly consenting not to insist further on the assertion of the existence of suzerainty.' The former would simply mean that nothing more was to be said upon the subject, both parties maintaining their respective claims as before, while the latter appears to mean that if the proposals of the Transvaal Government were accepted, renunciation of the suzerainty was to be an express condition.

It is difficult to see how Mr. Chamberlain could have made any other reply than that which he did make. He points out that any future franchise law should omit 'the complicated conditions of registration, qualification, and behaviour which accompanied previous proposals, and would have entirely nullified their beneficial effect,' but as the Transvaal Government object to a Joint Commission of inquiry on the subject, he suggests that 'the British Agent, assisted by such other persons as you may appoint, shall make the investigation necessary to satisfy them that the result desired will be achieved.' As regards the conditions, he hopes 'that the fulfilment of the promises made, and the just treatment of the Uitlanders in future will render unnecessary any further intervention on their behalf, but Her Majesty's Government cannot, of course, debar themselves from their rights under the Conventions, nor divest themselves of the ordinary obligations of a civilized power, to protect its subjects in a foreign country from injustice.' On the question of suzerainty he refers the Transvaal Government to the second paragraph of his despatch of 13th July. That despatch is addressed to Sir Alfred Milner, and is printed in Blue-book C. 9507. The second paragraph is as follows :—

'Her Majesty's Government concur generally in the views expressed in your despatch, and have no intention of continuing to discuss this question with the Government of the Republic, whose contention that the South African Republic is a sovereign international state is not, in their opinion, warranted either by law or history, and is wholly inadmissible.'

If the Transvaal Government had meant only that 'the controversy on the suzerainty should be tacitly allowed to drop,' Mr. Chamberlain's reply would have been an acceptance of that condition, for he says that Her Majesty's Government 'have no intention of continuing to discuss the question,' and they had not demanded any admission on the subject from the Transvaal Government. For this reason Mr. Chamberlain, speaking in the House of Commons on October 19th, 1899, declared that he considered that he had accepted the condition as to suzerainty proposed by the Transvaal Government. But from the reply of the Transvaal (see *infra*), it is evident that what was demanded was not a mere agreement not to discuss the subject further, but an admission by us that the suzerainty was 'non-existent.'

To agree to debar ourselves in the future from any right of interference in the affairs of the Transvaal which we may at present possess, and to renounce any right of suzerainty which may at present belong to us under the Conventions, would have been to put us in a worse position than before, and if the effect of the franchise was to be nullified by conditions, the result of all the negotiations would have been, not that we should have obtained any concessions from the Boers, but that they would have obtained very material concessions from us, the Uitlanders being left in no better position than before, and we having formally renounced all claim to suzerainty and all right to interfere again on their behalf!

In the debate in the House of Commons in October, 1899 Mr. Chamberlain was severely criticised by Sir Edward Clark and Mr. John Morley for having said that he had accepted the conditions proposed by the Transvaal Government in their despatch of 19th August, and the question was not un-naturally put to him, 'if you intended to accept the condition and your despatch was not understood to do so, why did yo

not explain the mistake?' But the explanation is obvious. What the Colonial Secretary accepted and intended to accept was the proposal that the controversy regarding the suzerainty should not be further discussed. What the Transvaal Government intended him to accept was an admission that the suzerainty was non-existent, and as soon as they saw that he was not prepared to make that admission, they declared that their conditions had not been accepted, and that accordingly the proposal had lapsed. Mr. Chamberlain has also been criticised for saying that he had accepted 'nine-tenths' of the proposals contained in the despatch of 19th August. If these proposals were to be read in the most favourable light, this was true. If it was not proposed that we should renounce all claim to the suzerainty, and all right to interfere on behalf of British subjects in the Transvaal in the future, and if the gift of a five years' franchise was not to be hampered by conditions and difficulties which would make it valueless, then Mr. Chamberlain accepted not merely nine-tenths, but the whole of the proposals. But how can he be blamed for clearly defining what he considered himself to be accepting? The result of that definition was to show that the Boers had no intention of proposing the minimum which he was prepared to accept.

It is impossible to suppose that the Transvaal Government seriously expected their conditions to be accepted, though in their reply they make the non-acceptance a ground for withdrawing their proposals.

It is to be observed that Mr. Chamberlain agrees to the proposal for arbitration, though the Transvaal Government had stipulated that the exclusion of foreigners should not exclude the Orange Free State. This desire on the part of the Boers to submit their differences with us to the arbitration of their present comrades in the war, is highly amusing. The last paragraph only of Mr. Chamberlain's reply is perhaps open to some criticism, for Sir Alfred Milner's policy had rather indicated that if genuine political representation could have been obtained for the Uitlanders, other questions might be left over. It is true that in a despatch dated 23rd August,

this Government has neither asked nor intended that Her Majesty's Government should abandon any right which it really might have on the ground either of the Convention of London, 1884, or of international law to intervene for the protection of British subjects in this country. (b) That as regards the assertion of suzerainty its non-existence has, as this Government venture to think, already been so clearly stated in its despatch of 16th April, 1898, that it would be superfluous to repeat here the facts, arguments, and deductions stated therein; it simply wishes to remark here that it abides by its views expressed in that despatch.'

(10) ' . . . This Government having regard to the difference that in their opinion exists between the invitation as put forward in the telegraphic despatch of 2nd August, and that conveyed in the despatch of 27th July from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and further, to the fact that in the last-named it is stated that the most suitable way of dealing with points involving complicated details and questions of a technical nature would be to discuss them in the first place by delegates appointed by both Governments, who should report the result of their deliberations and submit their recommendations to the two Governments respectively, and assuming that it is not intended thereby to interfere in the internal affairs of this Republic or to establish precedent, but simply to gain information and elucidations whether the measures already taken are effectual or not; and, if not, to show this Government where such is the case, this Government would be glad to learn from Her Majesty's Government how they propose that the Commission should be constituted, and what place and time for meeting is suggested.'

The gist of the above despatch is that the Transvaal Government unconditionally withdraw their offer of 19th August, because they consider that Her Majesty's Government have not agreed to their conditions. Yet as regards the question of future intervention, they declare in paragraph 4 that they 'neither ask nor intend that Her Majesty's Government should abandon any right' which they already have, and that is all that Mr. Chamberlain demanded! As regards suzerainty, however, it is clear that what they required was an express renunciation of any such claim.

One would have expected, if there had been any genuine desire to come to an agreement with Her Majesty's Government, that an attempt would have been made to discuss further the points at issue in the hope of arriving at some understanding; but, so far from doing so, the Transvaal Government hasten to declare that their proposals of 19th August have now lapsed, thereby absolutely debarring our Government

suzerainty is not acceptable. Her Majesty's Government have absolutely repudiated the view of the political status of the South African Republic taken by the Government of the South African Republic in their note of 16th April, 1898, and also in their note of 9th May, 1899, in which they claim the status of a Sovereign international State, and they are therefore unable to consider any proposal which is made conditional on the acceptance by Her Majesty's Government of these views. It is on this ground that Her Majesty's Government have been compelled to regard the last proposal by the Government of the South African Republic as unacceptable in the form in which it has been presented. Her Majesty's Government cannot now consent to go back to the proposals for which those in the note of 19th August are intended as a substitute, especially as they are satisfied that the law of 1899, in which these proposals were finally embodied, is insufficient to secure the immediate and substantial representation which Her Majesty's Government have always had in view, and which they gather from the reply of the Government of the South African Republic that the latter admit to be reasonable. Moreover, the presentation of the proposals of the note of the 19th August indicates that the Government of the South African Republic have themselves recognised that their previous offer might be with advantage enlarged, and that the independence of the South African Republic would be thereby in no way impaired. Her Majesty's Government are still prepared to accept the offer made in paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of the note of 19th August, taken by themselves, provided that the inquiry which Her Majesty's Government have proposed, whether joint—as Her Majesty's Government originally suggested—or unilateral, shows that the new scheme of representation will not be encumbered by conditions which will nullify the intention to give substantial and immediate representation to the Uitlanders. In this connection Her Majesty's Government assume that, as stated to the British Agent, the new members of the Raad will be permitted to use their own language. The acceptance of these terms by the Government of the South African Republic would at once remove the tension between the two Governments, and would in all probability render unnecessary any further intervention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to secure the redress of grievances, which the Uitlanders would themselves be able to bring to the notice of the Executive and the Raad. Her Majesty's Government are increasingly impressed with the danger of further delay in relieving the strain which has already caused so much injury to the interests of South Africa, and they earnestly press for an immediate and definite reply to their present proposal. If it is acceded to, they will be ready to make immediate arrangements for a further conference between the President of the South African Republic and the High Commissioner to settle all the details of the proposed tribunal of arbitration, and the questions referred to in the note of the 30th August, which are neither Uitlander grievances nor questions of interpretation, but which might

be easily settled by friendly communications between the representatives of the two Governments. If, however, as they most earnestly hope will not be the case, the reply of the South African Republic is negative or inconclusive, Her Majesty's Government must reserve to themselves the right to reconsider the situation *de novo*, and to formulate their own proposals for a settlement.'

It is hardly necessary to consider the despatches that followed this one, for it may be said to have ended the negotiations so far as any chance of peace was concerned. The Transvaal Government replied on 16th September (C. 9530, p. 11), expressing regret that Her Majesty's Government declined to revert to the first proposal for an inquiry, and declaring that their proposal of 19th August was only made subject to the acceptance of the conditions annexed, and it is to be noted that both here and in their reply of 2nd September, they are careful to state that the proposal has 'now lapsed,' thereby closing the door against any possible agreement on the question.

On 22nd September Mr. Chamberlain replied, expressing 'profound regret' that the proposals of Her Majesty's Government had not been accepted, and concluding thus:—

'The refusal of the Government of the South African Republic to entertain the offer thus made, coming as it does at the end of nearly four months of protracted negotiations, themselves the climax of an agitation extending over a period of more than five years, makes it useless to further pursue a discussion on the lines hitherto followed, and Her Majesty's Government are now compelled to consider the situation afresh, and to formulate their own proposals for a final settlement of the issues which have been created in South Africa by the policy constantly followed for many years by the Government of the South African Republic. They will communicate to you the result of their deliberations in a later despatch.'

On 30th September, the British agent at Pretoria telegraphed that 'the State Secretary would be much obliged if he might be informed by Monday what decision, if any, the British Cabinet have taken.' Mr. Chamberlain replied on 1st October, 'The despatch of Her Majesty's Government is being prepared: it will be some days before it is ready.'

On the 9th of October, the Transvaal Government issued their celebrated ultimatum in which they demanded that all

British troops on the border of the Republic should be withdrawn, that all reinforcements of troops which had arrived in South Africa since June 1899, should be removed from South Africa, and that any troops then on the high seas should not be landed in South Africa. To such a demand, there could of course, be but one reply.

As regards the conduct of the negotiations, therefore, it seems to us that Mr. Chamberlain was not to blame, and that the reason they came to no satisfactory result was because the Transvaal Government were determined from the beginning to make no concession of the smallest value. If there had been the faintest intention on the part of the Boers to meet the demands of our Government, it is impossible to suppose that an agreement would not have been arrived at. The question remains—granted that we were not to blame in the negotiations—were we entitled to interfere at all on behalf of British subjects in the Transvaal? It is said that we were not, because we undertook by the Conventions of 1881 and 1884, not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Transvaal. But it is evident that the only reason why equal treatment of British subjects was not made an express article of the Convention was because it was assumed to be unnecessary. As Mr. Chamberlain points out to Sir Alfred Milner in his despatch of July 27th, 1899 (C. 9518), ‘The Conventions were granted by Her Majesty of her own grace, and they were granted in the full expectation that, according to the categorical assurances conveyed by the Boer leaders to the Royal Commission in the negotiations preliminary to the Convention of 1881, equality of treatment would be strictly maintained among the white inhabitants of the Transvaal. These assurances as detailed in the Blue-book of May, 1882, were as follows, according to the report of the Conference held at Newcastle on 10th May, 1881:—

“ 239 (President) Before annexation, had British subjects complete freedom of trade throughout the Transvaal; were they on the same footing as citizens of the Transvaal?

“ 240 (Mr. Kruger) They were on the same footing as the Burghers; there was not the slightest difference in accordance with the Sand River Convention.

“ 241 (President) I presume that you will not object to that con

“ 242 (Mr. Kruger) No ; there will be equal protection for ev

“ 243 (Sir E. Wood)—And equal privileges ?

“ 244 (Mr. Kruger)—We make no difference so far as burgh
are concerned. There might perhaps be some slight difference in
of a young person who has just come into the country.

‘ “ It was afterwards explained that what Mr. Kruger intended t
by the last remark was that ‘ according to our law a newcomer ha
burgher rights immediately. The words ‘ young person ’ do not
age, but to the time of residence in the Republic. According t
Grondwet (constitution) you had to reside a year in the country.’

It is unfortunate that these express assurances we
made a condition of the retrocession of the Transva
inserted in the Convention. But it is obvious that the
this was not done was because the assurances of th
leaders as to their laws and practice were considered su
So far, therefore, as the formal and solemn declarations
Boers go, we had every right to interfere on the groun
the promise of equal treatment to British subjects ha
broken.

To shew how cruelly unequal was the treatment of
subjects in the Transvaal, we cannot do better than
from a petition to the Queen, dated July, 1899, and
be it observed, not by Uitlanders, but by 6336 adu
colonists of Natal (C. 9518, p. 33). The petition refe
fellow-subjects in the Transvaal says ‘ that men of
origin, engaged in an industry of vital concern to the pr
of all South Africa, should labour on sufferance under
laws partially administered ; that they should con
nearly the whole of the revenue of the State, and h
voice in its disposal ; that while themselves disarme
should have to watch the fruits of their labour being
to swell the military strength of the class which hold
liberties and even their lives at its disposal ; this is a p
repugnant to our sentiments. Moreover, it is a sou
unrest, insecurity and injury to business throughou
Majesty’s South African possessions. In all these pose
the rule is absolutely equal rights for the Dutch-speaki
English-speaking populations ; in the Transvaal Republi

are the latter denied not only equal rights, but political rights altogether. From this contrast springs an intense race-feeling which tends increasingly to divide and embitter all South Africa.'

J. EDWARD GRAHAM.

ART. VIII.—COLOURS IN DANTE.

THE peculiar characteristic of Dante in the Divine Comedy is minuteness of description. At every step down in the Inferno, at every circle we mount in the Purgatoria he tells us exactly what everything is like by comparing it to something on this earth, which he takes for granted his reader knows. This being the case, we may expect to find him exact and particular in his use of terms applying to colour.

In the *Juventus Mundi* Mr. Gladstone has pointed out that Homer's 'perceptions of light not decomposed, light and dark, black and white, are most vivid and effective,' but 'his perceptions of colour considered as light decomposed, though highly poetical, are also very indeterminate,' and as he says later 'range themselves in scale of degrees, rather than of kinds of light.' This is only natural. The development of the colour sense is the result of education, and that not only in the individual but in the race. Even at the present time if an uneducated Londoner were taken into a field of flowers, he would be unable to describe many of them in any but most general terms, if at all, and this despite the fact that he must have been accustomed to look at artificial colours from infancy. In nature for the most part colours are particularly hard to define—so many delicate nuances combine to make up the idea of a single flower—that to describe them accurately would require the trained eye of a worker in mosaic, where the shades which differentiate one tessella from another are so subtle that none without special study can distinguish them.

type. In the eleventh Canto of the *Purgatorio* he alludes to miniature painters 'whose art in Paris is called illuminating.' He mentions particularly Oderigi D'Agobbio, of whom Vasari says 'he was an excellent miniature painter of those times, with whom Giotto lived on terms of close friendship, and consequently was presumably in like manner a friend of Dante.' Of the knowledge of painters' colours thus acquired we have proof in the passage, where the poet would describe the flowers in the sheltered glade in the Ante-Purgatorio (*Purg.* vii. 73), where he says—'Pure gold, refined silver, cochineal and ceruse white, Indian wood (Indigo) bright and clear, fresh emerald at the moment of its being split, would be surpassed by the flowers and herbage growing in that vale.*

Having thus touched on the sources from which Dante drew his ideas of colour, we may now turn to the actual terms he employs, beginning with those in the *Inferno*. Here his aim throughout is to impress upon us the feeling of darkness and gloom, and therefore he uses in a general way, *oscuro*, *fosco*, *tinto*, † and *nero*. But since it would be impossible to depict a landscape with a uniform absence of light, he makes use of definitive words to give us gradations. The lightest of these is *livido*, an epithet Milton applies to the flames of Hell in *Paradise Lost*. Dante applies it to a rock and to the fen over which Charon presides (*Inferno*, iii. 98, xix. 14), and once more to describe a snake, which he says 'was livid and black like a grain of pepper (*Inferno*, xxv. 84), where he is evidently thinking of the Italian adder.

The atmosphere when he describes it accurately is *perso*, of

* I have followed Vernon and Longfellow in the rendering of *Indigo* *legno lucido e sereno*. Scartazzini would put a comma at Indigo, and translate *legno lucido e seneno* as a clear brown, but this is immaterial. Smeraldo in *L'ora che si fiacca*, as Ruskin remarks, must refer to a cake of green paint, and not to the stone, 'for a fresh emerald is no brighter than one that is not fresh.'

† *Tinto*, lit. dyed, is used to express an absence of any pleasing tone, often merely as an equivalent for absence of colour altogether (*i.e.*, black). — *Inferno* iii. 29, vi. 0, xvi. 104, xvi. 30.

which Tommaseo says, that it is 'a colour mixed of purple* and black, but the black predominates, and thence it takes its name; that is to say the deep violet at the end of the spectrum, with which the invisible rays are beginning to blend. He tells us that the waters of Styx were much darker than *perse* (*Inferno* vii. 103, *brua molto più che perse*), and describes the second step at the door of Purgatory in similar terms (*Purg.* ix. 97). He uses the word once in the *Paradiso* of waters, 'crystalline and undisturbed, but not so deep that their bed should be *perse*,' where the colours would seem to correspond with that which painters call 'lake,' the same colour Schiller would have us think of in his poem of the 'Diver,' when he speaks of the *purpure Finisternis* in the depths of the sea.

There is one more word he uses to describe a dark shade, *bruno*—and a careful consideration of the passages in which it occurs will show that it has two rather different meanings. Tommaseo's definition is, 'Bruno tends to black, obscure is the opposite of clear, and a body can be obscure without being bruno'—a definition about as clear as the colour itself. Ruskin (*Modern Painters*, iii., 240) says:—'In describing a simple twilight—not a Hades twilight but an ordinary fair evening—(*Inf.* ii. 1) he says, the "brown air" took the animals away from their fatigues—the waves under Charon's boat are "brown" (*Inf.* iii. 117)—and Lethe, which is perfectly clear yet dark, as with oblivion, is *bruna bruna*, "brown, exceedingly brown" (*Purg.* xxvii. 31). Now clearly in all these cases no warmth is meant to be mingled in the colour.' Further on Ruskin says, 'the colour signified by Dante is a grave, clear gray.' This in two of the passages which he quotes we may take to be the meaning. The ordinary word in Italian for the coming on of twilight is *Imbrunire*,† to get dark, and Dante

* Tommaseo is using purple in the ordinary sense of the present day, and not in the Dantesque sense. *Porpora* only occurs in *Purg.*, xxix. 131, and is the equivalent of the *purpur roth*, the royal purple, i.e., the Tyrian dye, *πορφύρα*, crimson.

† *Imbrunire*: c.f. French *la brune*. Also *Purg.* xix. 6. The Italian for to be in mourning, either black or grey, is *vestito di bruno*.

uses the word in this sense (*Purg.* iv. 21) of a grape getting ripe, and this will be its meaning in the passage in which he speaks of the greater volume (*Par.* xv. 50), *U' non si muta mai bianco nè bruno*, (where no jot or tittle is to be added or taken away from the writing which would alter relative qualities of the dark print and the white margin), as it will be in *Par.* ii. 73, where *bruno* is applied to the dark part of the moon. In none of these passages need we read into the word any yellow, any more than into the English word 'dun' when Milton applies it to the air on the outskirts of Hell. It is used very much as the equivalent of *bigio*,* which he applies to the waters of one of the Infernal rivers (*Inf.* vii. 103). We must not, however, forget that in ordinary parlance *bruno* means brown, nor can there be any doubt that Dante meant it to be used in that sense when he describes white paper burning (*Inf.* xxv. 64):—

' E'en as proceedeth on before the flame
Upward along the paper a brown colour,
Which is not black as yet, and the white dies.'

for half burnt paper is not gray, but brown. So, too, he must have meant it when he applied it to a brown swarm of ants (*Purg.* xxvi. 34). Keeping these two passages in mind we may now turn to the last passage quoted by Ruskin, and if we read the context we shall see that the poet was not looking down into the clear depths of Lethe, but gazing at the surface, which would reflect the colours above it, 'where it runs under the shade perpetual' (*Purg.* xxvii. 32), and this suggests Milton's description of a grove in Earthly Paradise,

' Where the unpierced shade
Imbrownd the noontide bowers.'

Unless we take '*legno lucido e sereno*' (*Purg.* xii. 74) to mean brown, the only other illusion he makes to the colour is in his description of the third face of Satan (*Inf.* xxxiv. 44), and here he does not make use of a single word to express it, but tells us 'it was such to look on as those who came from where the Nile falls into the valley' the colour of the Aethiops, a brown so dark that we generally speak of it as black.

* *Bigio*, gray, probably of a darker hue than *grigio* (*Inf.* vii. 108).
xxxv. 22

We have now done with the dark tints and may turn to his treatment of red, the only other colour which he uses, except incidentally in describing the Inferno. The ordinary word in Italian without defining shade, is *rosso*, and this occurs frequently, but is in every instance limited by being applied to blood or flame. Thus the waters of Phlegethon, the river of boiling blood, are spoken of as *rosso* (*Inf.* xiv. 78, 134), and when he is alluding to the great defeat of the Florentines by the Siennese at Monte Aperto (*Inf.* x. 85), he says, *Che fece l'Arbia colorata in rosso*; but the word has not enough human interest in it to move our pity at the fate of Francesca and her lover, whose murder did the world incarnadine and there he uses *sanguigno* (*Inf.* v. 90). In applying *rosso* to fire he means the deepest tint of red to be seen in a flame, that colour (*Giotto* chose to paint the fire in which the magicians' books are being burnt before the Soldan, in his fresco in Sta. Croce. Such was the colour of the damsel on the borders of Lethe, who was so red that she would hardly have been noticed in the fire (*Purg.* xxix. 122). Hereby he would have us think of a deeper tint than the robe in which Beatrice was clad, *color di fiamma viva* (*Purg.* xxx. 33), to which he alludes later as *colorata come fuoco* (*Purg.* xxxiii. 9). The green mantle which in part covers it, shows that he meant her to be clad in the colour in which many of the early masters clothed the Virgin, and this fixes the colour as a brilliant saffron red, which he describes in the *Paradiso* by the one word *robbo* (*Par.* xiv. 27). This does not in any way exhaust the various shades that come from fire; he has studied the phenomena carefully, and wishes to be very exact in his description of it. Matter, he tells us, in the highest state of combustion, emits a white light, for in a simile in the *Paradiso* he speaks of a coal that sends forth flame, and by its vivid whiteness (*vivo candor*, *Par.* xiv. 51), so overpowers it that the distinct shape of the coal remains visible to the eye. So too the molten metal as it flows from the furnace (*Par.* i. 60), would be white hot, and distinguishable from the fiery vapours that issue from it; but gradually as it cools on the surface a more opaque substance comes between the incandescent core within and the eye, and

the colour it assumes is a lurid red. This in Dante is either *roggio* or *rovente*, both of which terms he applies to the glowing city of Dis (*Inf.* ix. 36, xi. 73). So, too, when at the foot of the mount of Purgatory the sun, but lately risen from the sea, and not clear of mists, behind his back *fiammeggiava roggio* (*Purg.* iii. 16). He is of opinion that if a shadow be cast from without on flames, it will have the same effect, as if some opaque substance intervened between them and the person regarding them, for when he stood between the sun and the fire in which the spirits guilty of lust were purified, the flames seem to him to be made thereby *piu rovente*. Both words are used to imply a dusky lurid red, but *roggio* is also applied to clear red light, for when the poet rises into the sphere of Mars (*Par.* xiv. 87), the planet seemed to him 'more ruddy than its wont.' He is speaking of Mars in all its ethereal splendour as seen in heaven, and not the planet as seen from earth, as it sets in mist before the dawn of day (*Purg.* ii. 14), so there can be no idea of murkiness, but a kindly red glow is meant, such as was shed by the sparks that rose from the mysterious river (*Par.* xxx. 66), 'like rubies set in gold.' The commonest word in the *Commedia* for red is *vermiglio*, a mixture of scarlet and crimson. There can be no doubt about the colour, for when he would define the time of year as early summer, he says, 'what time the mulberry became vermilion' (*Purg.* xxix. 148). Vermillion mingled with white is the tint of healthy flesh (*Purg.* xxix. 114), especially of the cheeks. These in England are so often connected with the idea of apple blossoms that one might have expected Dante to have chosen this same combination of colours to describe the blossoms on the mystic apple tree (*Purg.* xxxii. 58), but he says that they 'disclosed a hue less than of the rose but more than violet's.' This at first is puzzling, but he is not thinking of the rich-scented deep-coloured flower that grows in such profusion in the gardens of the Villa Borghesi, but of the delicate gray violet, which with the anemone and cyclamen, stud the coppices on the uplands round San Geminano, and a blending of this with rose gives him, 'as closely as language can carry him,' an exact descrip-

tion of the blossom of the apple.* Unmixed vermilion find frequently used in the earlier Italian paintings as a suitable colour for demons, and as such Dante selects it for one of the faces of the 'Great Worm' (*Inf.* xxxiv. 39), and it suggests itself to him as fitly representing the bloodshot glare of the eyes of Cerberus (*Inf.* vi. 16).

When yellow is mixed with red two tones of colour produced, the one pleasing and the other not. If the yellow be ochrous, *ferrigno*, a dull rusty red is the result. This applied to the rocks of Malebolge (*Inf.* xviii. 2) an idea of colouring, as Ruskin † points out, taken from the lovely ashen grey rocks of the Apennines 'more or less stained with the brown of iron ochre.' If it be a bright clear yellow that mingles with the red, the product is *rancio*, orange of sulphur, the colour is the gold on the outside of the leaden 'cloaks of the hypocrites' (*Purg.* xxxiii. 100). The pure gold of St. Peter's Key, however, is *giallo*, a term he applies merely to gold or yellow flowers (*Par.* vi. 100. *Purg.* xxviii. 55, etc.).

As is natural, *verde* occurs frequently in an undefined sense, of leaves, pastures, hills, and of the smalto or enamel, the poor substitute for grass, over which the great spirits of Heathendom move in the Limbo of the Inferno, but in some passages it is more accurately defined. Often in his wanderings through Italy must Dante have surprised the common grass snake, which in the South of Europe assumes a much brighter hue than its cousin in England, and so, in speaking of the snakes with which the furies were girt, he tells us they were *verdissime*, brilliant green (*Inf.* ix. 40), and in the lengthened simile, in which he compares reputation to the grass that perisheth, he speaks of it as *acerba* (*Purg.* xi. 117) when fire is risen from the ground—a crude green, the equivalent of Shakespeare's 'green sour' which in 'The Tempest' ‡ he applies to the tendrils which the elves make to grow at night. But of all the shades of green there is none which in delicacy approaches the 'sky-tinctured grain' in the garment of th

* Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, iii., 226.

† *Ibid.*, iii. 237.

‡ 'Tempest,' v. 1.

angels who guarded the calm retreat in the Ante-Purgatorio (*Purg.* viii. 28). Longfellow renders the lines thus:—

‘ Green as the little leaflets now just born
Their garments were, which by their verdant pinions
Beaten and blown abroad, they trailed behind.’

The other opaque colours need not detain us long. Blue is *azzurro*, and occurs in the description of the purses with crests upon them (*Inferno*, xvii. 59). White is rendered by *candido* and *bianco*, both of which are mostly employed in the sense of Chinese white; and as such are applied to marble, paper, linen, and a rose. Only once does he define the colour more exactly, and then he speaks of a goose that is ‘whiter than butter’ (*Inferno* xvii. 63), a simile which, if drawn from our English experience, might leave us in doubt as to whether he meant to imply any of the gosling colour, but having regard to the creamy butter of Italy can only mean exceeding white. He uses *bianco* twice of silver (*Purg.* ix. 119, Par. v. 57), and reciprocally the metal is used to suggest brilliant white, the obverse of *scialbo*, a deadly hue used but once to describe the flesh tints in his vision of the stammering woman (*Purg.* xix. 9), whereby we may understand that unpleasing tint which Rembrandt used to paint the corpse in his picture of a lesson in anatomy at the Hague. It is somewhat of the same unhealthy complexion that we find in Satan’s second face, *tra bianco e gialla* (*Inferno* xxxiv. 43).

We must now say a few words on light not decomposed. It was said above that Homer’s perceptions of light as such were vivid and effective. This is true; but the scope of his work was not of a kind to bring it into such prominence as in Dante. Descriptions of light and dark in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are only accidental, in the *Divine Comedy* they are essential. The sacred poems ‘to which Heaven and earth have set their hand’ must of necessity deal with the phenomena of light in a way impossible in the Greek Epic. And Dante revelled in light, ‘no poet that we know has shown such a singular sensibility to its various appearances, has shown that he felt it in itself the cause of a distinct and peculiar pleasure, delighting the eye apart from form, as music delights the ear

apart from words, and capable, like music, of definite character, of endless variety and infinite meanings.'* The whole poem is written by one who sat in darkness, and had seen a great light. And if we read it through from the moment that we are free from the 'dead air which saddened both eye and breast' when the first note of hope is struck by the pure light of early dawn at the beginning of the *Purgatorio*, till we fall dazed before the beatific vision in the highest heaven, we feel it to describe one great crescendo of light throbbing through sphere on sphere, that works upon our feelings in the same way as the motive with which Haydn introduces the creation of the first day in his oratorio.

This is the general effect, but when we try to deal with his conception of light in the *Paradiso*, we find it very hard. Dante has become transcendental. The literal becomes more and more lost in the allegorical. The Beatrice of the *Vita Nuova* and of the earlier part of the *Commedia*—the Beatrice of his earthly love—changes into the impersonation of Divine Philosophy, who leads him on to the light of true religion as embodied in St. John and in Christ. Thus as we mount from heaven to heaven, the light that is shed around us is no more to be measured by the waves of science—Dante no longer attempts to give us his scientific explanations of it—but treats it in an allegorical and anagogic sense.† He tells us (*Par.* xxx. 37) 'we have issued from the greatest body—the circle of the *Primum Mobile*—into the heaven that is pure light, light intellectual replete with love.'

But yet throughout the *Paradiso* the literal does not entirely die away, and we may try and trace the method by which he would impress upon us the idea of that ever-increasing light. In the first canto he is in the heaven of the moon, the heaven 'that most receives its light' (*Par.* i. 4), as being furthest away from the empyrean, and already he finds that words fail him to tell of the light that his imagination saw. But Beatrice is his guide, and by looking on her face he may become accustomed to the light reflected in it, and so be able to endure the

* Dean Church *Dante*, p. 152.

† Ep. ad-kan Grand, pp. 6-7.

very light itself, even as the men from Plato's cave were to practise their eyes by looking at reflections before they ventured to gaze on the ideal light. Even the glory of Beatrice's face is at times more than he can endure, and when they rise into the heaven of Saturn, Beatrice dare not smile (*Par.* xxi. 7) as she says—

‘ Because my beauty that along the stairs
Of the eternal palace more enkindles,
As thou hast seen the further we ascend,
If it were tempered not, is so resplendent
That all thy mortal power in its effulgence
Would seem a leaflet that the thunder crushes.’

Many a time Dante professes himself too dazzled to behold the light (ii. 127, xxx. 49, etc), but as he rises from sphere to sphere he goes from strength to strength, and when he reaches the Empyrean can gaze upon the effulgence of St. John (xxv. 135), which is so great that Beatrice, who is standing close to him, is as invisible as the flame of a candle held up to the sun. Once more he acquires new power of vision, so that no light was so pure but that his eyes were fortified against it; and with these fresh powers he leads us on to gaze at the vision beatific, wherein the mystery of the Trinity is revealed to him in terms of light (xxxiii. 115).

‘ Within the deep and luminous existence
Of the high light appeared to me three circles
Of threefold colour, and of one dimension,
And by the second seemed the first reflected
As Iris is by Iris, and the third
Seemed fire that equally from both was breathed.’

Here we may withdraw our dazzled eyes and let them rest for a while on light more sober, for we cannot turn from Dante, without pausing for a moment on those liquid hues of coloured light he so loves to describe. For these he mostly appeals to the rainbow or to the precious stones. Sapphire and emerald, topaz, ruby, and orient pearl, present to us the colours of the sky or of those bright effulgences he met in the realms above. With his ardent love of nature he could not fail to describe to us the phenomena of the sky, and he paints them in the clear calm hues of Pinturicchio and of Perugino,

nor in his whole work is there to be found any reference to the troubled effects of cloud that Turner painted, except in one brief allusion to the fiery clouds of August when the sun sets (*Purg.* v. 39). This, too, is the only passage which touches on the natural phenomena of sunset. His mind is too occupied with its human interest—rest coming upon all—the inexplicable yearning, and the strange sadness of the dying day (*Inf.* ii. 1, *Purg.* viii. 1, 6),—to paint it for us in colours. When night has come this feeling has departed, and he describes the cold ‘aurora of the moon, with her brow set with gems shimmering white upon the terrace of Purgatory’ (*Purg.* ix. 1), he notes, too, a halo round the moon (*Purg.* xxix. 77), but it is the breaking of day that calls forth his powers of description. First the *dolce color d’oriental zaffiro*, the pale blue untouched as yet by the rays of the sun (*Purg.* i. 13), then the dawn comes and the East is rosy red (*rosata*, *Purg.* xxx. 22), while all the rest of the sky is *di bel sereno adorno*; then the sun touches the horizon, so that the ‘white and vermillion cheeks of dawn through too much age take an orange tint’ (*Purg.* ii. 9), and the flowers bowed down and shut by the chill of night are whitened by the sun and lift up their heads (*Inf.* ii. 127); and lastly, when the sun is fully risen, all the West is turned from (*cilestro*), blue into white (*Purg.* xxvi. 6), the glorious calm of coming day, which she, who had oftimes watched it over the Italian hills, describes as breaking over Aurora Leight and her blind cousin Romney.

‘ He turned instinctively where, faint and far
 Along the tingling desert of the sky,
 Beyond the circle of the conscious hills,
 Where laid in jasper-stone as clear as glass
 The first foundations of that new, near day
 Which should be builded out of heaven to God,
 He stood a moment with erected brows—
 In silence as a creature might who gaze—
 Stood calm, and fed his blind majestic eye
 Upon the thought of perfect noon : and when
 I saw his soul saw—Jasper first, I said
 The second sapphire ; third, chalcedony ;
 The rest in order—last, an amethyst.’

J. L. BEVIS.

ART. IX.—THE SONS OF DOM JOHN.

Os Filhos de D. João I. Por J. P. OLIVEIRA MARTINS.
Lisboa. MDCCXCXL

THE philosophical historian of Portugal, Senhor Oliveira Martins, tells us in his preface to the above book that the periods of history essential to be dwelt upon are those of transition. 'It is my idea,' he says, 'that the art of writing history is to compass a period of transformation.' He also warns us against two errors, considering the accessory as the essential, and measuring all periods with the same standard, without regard to the spirit of the age.

A native historian of the Peninsula is right in insisting upon the avoidance of the last error. No country has lost so much by it as his own, because its deeds of the past have been written in the light of the present, and no country has so much to gain by being presented to us in the light of past centuries; and for this reason a native historian, who is most likely to understand the notions that then prevailed, because most likely to have inherited them traditionally, may be heard although he present that country's events in a light different from that in which they have been described by alien writers.

In 1387, John I. of Portugal, the Master of Aviz, who had made good by the sword his claim to the throne, and to the independence of his country from Castille, married Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt, as the result of an alliance with that prince, by which on the one side the help of John of Gaunt and his fellow adventurers, Cobham, Cressynham, Blyth, Grantham, Dale, and others, was to be given to the Portuguese claimant; and on the other side the help of the Master of Aviz was to be given, if necessary, to John of Gaunt, in case the latter wanted to assert his claims to the throne of Castille.

Up to that time the Portuguese Court had been in a semi-barbarous state, disordered by the violence alternately of war and of low animal pleasures. 'A positive orgy of that which

is unclean, so unbounded that it offended even the limited modesty of the times;’ and it was to this condition of things that Philippa, decorous and straight-laced herself, though brought up in the scandalous dwelling of her father, put a stop by introducing the ordinary practices of morality.

She made over a hundred ladies of the Court get married. She held her husband upon thorns: only once after marriage did he commit himself, and that was by kissing a maid of honour, in which his wife caught him in the act. He made the hurried excuse, ‘it was for good’—*foi por bem*. The affair got wind, and the courtiers chattered a good deal, so the king had the ceiling of one of the rooms of the palace painted all over with magpies, each holding in its beak a label with the device *por bem*, which the visitor can still see in the Magpie’s Hall in the quaint old palace at Cintra. The King moreover, got quite devout, and employed his leisure hours in translating the *Horas Mariannas*.

‘The first two years were barren, but in 1390 the Queen began, with English punctuality, to produce her annual child as our author puts it. Four of these were sons, and lived to manhood. Duarte, born in 1391, Peter in 1392, Henry in 1394, and Ferdinand in 1402.

The King took for his motto *Il me plait*, the Queen *Pour bien*, from the magpies; Peter, *Acuit ut penetret*, with a sword brandished by a hand from the clouds; and Henry, *Talent et bien faire*; and all these mottoes came true: the King he done pretty well as he liked, and it had resulted in the independence of his country; his marriage with Philippa turned out all for the best; Peter’s sword was sharp for the Moors at Ceuta; and Henry’s talent for well-doing laid the foundation for an immense system of geographical discovery and foreign conquest.

The three eldest boys were knighted by John at an international tournament, held in 1411, to celebrate the peace made with Castille. The boys, though, were not satisfied with earning their livelihood at a mere pageant, and longed for something more real wherein to show their skill in the fray, to what enterprise was it to be?

The most natural enemies of the Christian inhabitants of the Peninsula were the Moors of Granada, but they were considered the legitimate prize of Castille, and were soon to be so, so that Portugal could not well meddle with them. The next Moorish kingdom was on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar, and the first place to be attacked was Ceuta, the capture of which possessed a particular charm for the Peninsular crusader. It had been the place which in 711 afforded the opportunity for the first of the series of the Arab and Berber invaders, usually but not very correctly massed together under the name *Moors*, to pass over to Europe. It was then a Byzantine possession, and its Governor, Count Julian, was at feud with the Visigoth King of Spain, Roderic, on account of injury done by the latter to the daughter of the former; and accordingly Julian opened the gates of the town to the Mahomedans to help them to cross the Straits. Ceuta was thus the place fixed upon for attack.

Henry was foremost in urging the conquest. His mind was an energetic, imaginative, and enterprising one. He had vowed never to marry: he was full of wild enterprise and passionate longing for foreign conquest and exploration. His imagination pictured Ceuta as we might picture New York, in so far as its possibilities of wealth and commerce were concerned. It was for him the key of the East: it opened up the Mediterranean and the North of Africa, and was in consequence a stage on the high road to the strange land in the East where dwelt the Christian emperor, Prester John, who so much excited the imagination of the age.

The place had, though, to be reconnoitred. In those times they did not do things by halves between Moor and Christian; they did it somehow or other: they settled their 'Eastern' (or rather Western) 'question.' The 'bag and baggage' policy they carried out. They bundled *their* Turk out of Europe; but whether for good or for evil, they did things as if they meant them; and the reconnoitring of Ceuta was one way in which they went about them.

An excuse was wanted for a competent man to examine the approaches to the town, and a direct expedition would be sure

to attract the attention and hostility of the Moors, so the device was adopted of sending the Prior of the Knights Hospitallers on a pretended mission to Sicily to negotiate a marriage between the widow of King Martin I. and the Infante Peter and on the voyage out and home the Prior was to stop at Ceuta and examine it as well as possible. This was accordingly carried out, and one day the King and the Infante assembled in a room of the palace at Cintra to hear the result. The author has his reasons for believing that it must have been in the little room with the tiled bench all round, where nearly two centuries afterwards King Sebastian held the Council in which it was resolved to enter upon the disastrous expedition that ended in his tragic fate at Alcacerquibir, and with it the ruin of his country; so that in this little room were decided the beginning and the end of the magic naval enterprise of the nation. Be that as it may, the King and his sons were all eyes and ears for the report of the crafty Prior.

The Prior dwelt much on the marvellous, and excited the imaginations by the prophetic legends he had picked up and the fate of Ceuta, dreams and prophecies current among the Moors themselves; but when it came to serious business, he said to the King:—

‘Sir, of what I saw and discovered I can give you no report till you get somebody to bring me two bags of sand, a peck of beans, a skein of ribbon, and a porringer.’

‘Here’s a captain for us with his prophecies,’ said the King laughing; but the Prior answered seriously—

‘It is not my custom to play the fool with your majesty, but I tell you again that I cannot give you any answer without what I said.’

The King turned to his sons and said, apologetically, in the same tone—

‘See how the answer is got up! I am asking him about things I sent him about, and he talks to me about astronomy and something like magic. Mind what such men are about these errands.’

But the materials were brought, and the Prior went into another room and stopped there some little while, asking the

King and Infante not to come in till they were admitted, with which request they complied. When all was ready they entered, and very soon saw the meaning of the Prior's strange request:—

He had extemporised a chart upon the floor. The sand was laid over it, and a map of the neighbouring coast was traced upon it. There were the Straits of Gibraltar, the bay of Algeciras, the promontory of Ceuta. The beans indicated the houses in the town, and the ribbon was arranged so as to show the lines of the Moorish fortifications. What was wanting in delineation was supplied verbally, and the Prior duly commented on the beach, the excellent anchorage, and the easy landing that were offered.

Henry looked on with his arms folded, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the sand and beans of the Prior of the Hospitallers first put into his mind the ideas of geography and hydrography that he afterwards developed in his nautical school at Sagres.

The expedition to Ceuta having been resolved upon, preparations went on apace. In accordance with the remains of the feudal ideas of the time, the office of Lord High Admiral was hereditary in the family of the Pessanhas, reverting to the Crown on the failure of heirs. By the terms of their tenure of the office, the Pessanha, for the time being, had to provide twenty Genoese captains, each capable of taking charge of a ship. Forty days sufficed, and Ceuta proved an easy conquest.

The King, with Peter and Henry, accompanied it. Henry was no doubt just in his element, and, as he is the most prominent of all the sons, it will be well to describe him first, though he was not the eldest.

‘He was tall and stout, with large and powerful limbs, with the skin bronzed by sun and wind, thick, black, bristly hair, black and bushy beard. This prince was not handsome, but quite the contrary. The charm of goodness was missing in his physiognomy, and the harshness of his looks was anti-pathetic. He was just the son of his father, in whom might be seen a perfect specimen of the tenacious and energetic,

but with no poetry in it, which understands how to place command upon its passion when the object in view requires in order to be attained; the pure temperament of the tuguese of the province of Beira, with traces of the energy of the bull. In this kind of man the will is everything; contemplation nothing. When their plan or life is sketched energy is bent on carrying it out, and the man himself becomes the instrument to further his own design. If John I. had preference for one like himself, it must be concluded that it was to this son that it would fall.'

Henry's appellation of the 'Navigator' may give a wrong impression of him, by leading to a supposition that he was himself one of the maritime discoverers of his age, and, so far as this goes, it is incorrect. His actual experience was only extended to some four expeditions to Morocco, more mercantile than naval affairs. What he did do, and in doing was probably for the best, was to encourage navigation and discovery by assembling together at his model dockyard Sagres, on Cape St. Vincent, all the knowledge that was then afforded in the arts of shipbuilding, geography, and astronomical subjects; and in sending out expeditions judiciously conceived as the most probable of success. Whether native or foreign Jew or Gentile, anybody that could tell him anything wanted was welcome, even the Jew on account of his monopoly of the practice of medicine, which Henry saw much to be enlisted in the cause.

His idea, after the capture of Ceuta, was to push on the conquest of the kingdom of Morocco towards the southern land, while the coast was explored in the same direction towards the sea. The first expedition he sent out came across the island of Porto Santo, adjacent to Madeira. This discovery was unexpected, his plans had lain further east; but the island to the west afforded more food for thought.

At Ceuta it was probable that he had heard of the wanderings of Shereef Edrisi, when persecuted by a Fatimite. These lasted fifteen years, at the end of which time Edrisi sheltered by King Roger of Sicily, who caused him to publish all the notes he had taken, which were published.

likely Henry had seen a translation of his book, or of those of Masudi and Ibn Said, who said that the world ended in the shadows of a cloudy sea, which was decomposed into vapours and liquid slime on the further side of Nigricia, whither the Arabs went in caravans, taking with them the architects of Granada, who were going on a building errand to Timbuctoo, on the Niger. More recently the Arab geographers of the fourteenth century, Abulfeda and Albyruny, had described the navigation along the West Coast of Africa as far as Bakui in 1403, and Ibn Fatima had described the same coast as far as Arguin. But how did this African continent end? Did it point downwards like a wedge or a fan; was there a passage round its point, or was it a promontory of the lands of the South?

Edrisi related how the Moors of Lisbon had sailed southwards, and got on to the coast of Morocco some three hundred miles north of the Canary Islands, which had been several times visited by ships from the Peninsula in the fourteenth century, and were comparatively well known; these also had seen the Cloudy Sea.

After the return of the expedition to Porto Santo, another was fitted out under Gonçaves Zarco. On reaching Porto Santo they observed on the horizon a thick fog, the apparent result of the presence of land; but some put it down as bordering the island of Cipango, which was mysteriously kept hidden by the favour of God as a retreat for the Christians from the persecution of the Saracens, though to us in the present day it would be difficult to see how, if the Christians could find it through the fog, the Saracens could not do the same. Or perhaps these were the vapours of the Cloudy Sea seen by the Moors of Lisbon. Zarco paid no attention to these superstitions, but sailed straight into the fog: as they entered it they heard a noise as though of breakers upon the shore. The situation was melancholy, and drew forth the fears of the sailors, when all at once a lake of light green water was seen before them, backed by an amphitheatre of sunlit mountains: there was a beach and a bay, and they were on the coast of the island of Madeira.

When in 1428 Peter came back from his travels, he brought Henry the book of Marco Polo, along with maps, on one which was marked the 'Frontier of Africa' on the south, which contradicted the Arab notions on the subject, and affirmed the existence of a passage eastward; also the works of Geo Purbach of Vienna; also maps of one Mestre Jaime of Mallorca, a maker of maps and rude astronomical instruments; Mestre Pedro was hydrographer to Henry, and painted maps with symbols of flora, fauna, and other natural peculiarities, along with pious legendary indications not so strictly practical.

It was in the dockyard at Cape St. Vincent that the caravel was constructed, recommended to Henry by the Venetian Cadamosto, as the best of vessels; and the discovery of Madeira, with its abundant and excellent wood, which by the way is the name of the island itself (*Madeira wood*), rendered assistance to the shipbuilding plans by furnishing the build with supplies of the proper material.

The caravels were sixty to a hundred feet long, with a beam of between a third and fourth of their length. They were three masted, and lateen rigged, and easy to work. The nearest modern approach to them is probably to be seen in the handsome fishing vessels at the bank of the Tagus, unloaded near the fish market.

The *Tercena*, or *Villa do Infante*, his dockyard, arsenal whatever it may be called, lasted some forty years, and fell into neglect after his death in 1460. It was on a lonely spot near where the crows had guarded the body of St. Vincent which was being carried by a vessel that was shipwrecked there. The dockyard soon became desolate and fell into ruins, but its ideas lived and gave birth to an immense maritime discovery.

Duarte—perhaps it might have been better to say Duarte—became king on the death of John. He was about totally different from Henry as two people can possibly be. His was not the department of war or exploration; he was a toiling, patient bureaucrat, one of these well-meaning individuals who, when highly placed, think they can do everything.

with the pen, one of those who reached their highest attainment of perfection—with the additional aid of the maxims of Macchiavelli and the Inquisition—in the person of Philip II. of Spain.

Duarte was, moreover, an author. Letters have not gained much from royal professors of them, from Alfred the Great down to James VI., except the honour of the association; but there was something very perfect, albeit simple and credulous, about the ideas of Duarte that redeem them from the charges of pedantry that can be brought home to the ‘most learned fool in Christendom.’

Duarte wrote the *Leal Conselheiro* or *Loyal Counsellor*, a sort of synopsis of things in general and government in particular. Oliveira Martins says of them that he wrote ‘as he wrote everything, punctually and methodically. This came from his mother, the Englishwoman. He wrote everything, because his mind, without depth or energy, yet possessed the diffuseness proper to those who are unable to make up their minds. His treatises are a compendium of the thoughts of the age, and may be considered as a diary of his life. One day he drew up rules for governing, re-compiling what he had read in the *De regimine principum*, which was then the political gospel of the age. Another day he would write a dissertation on the rules of horsemanship, re-editing what his father had laid down in an essay upon the subject; now it would be upon domestic economy; now upon what is due to servants; now upon political economy, as to the relative values of bread and corn; then sermons and mysticism; then mineralogical, astronomical, and biological observations, in which was unfolded the curtain of mystery in which science was then hidden; then moral dissertations; then State papers about questions at issue; then demonology, an old terror which was not yet dissipated, but was about to assume in those more modern times a tragic and transcendent character by invading the law through the gate of religion, in proportion as the Church became one with the State in defining the absolute power of princes profoundly Christian.’

The prince was an encyclopædist that ran through all the

notions of the time without possessing any original ones of own ; but when the amount of his acquisitions is gone through our author justly says that if he had no originality, it must at least admitted that he had the power to understand.

'This is the impression resulting from an examination of *Loyal Counsellor*, which, if it were provided with dates, would be a complete diary of the sympathetic and melancholy existence of Duarte, a king full of virtues but destitute of qualities capable of understanding the value and arrangement of things, but incapable of commanding through lack of will and intelligence. Men like Duarte would be perfect if their lot in life and sometimes their vanity and the consciousness of their own rectitude, did not impose upon them burdens beyond their strength.'

Against melancholy, Duarte thinks that matrimony is the best antidote ; and in harmony with this idea the book is dedicated to his wife.

The *Counsellor* was written entirely by the royal hand. Readers are cautioned to read it slowly and little at a time and with proper dispositions. 'It would please me,' says Duarte, 'if readers of this treatise had the manner of the bee which, passing through the leaves and branches, rests most all on the flowers, and there draws part of his nourishment.' Duarte had a modest assurance, the result of the consciousness of virtue, that did not lead him into the weakness of shrinking from observation, or hiding his light under a bushel ; he rightly assigned a high value to intelligence, 'because intelligence is our principal virtue.' In his time science and study were indulged in by the nobility ; the pursuit of knowledge seemed to have been rather aristocratic than plebeian, and Duarte evidently preferred that it should remain so, and that it were inadvisable to cast pearls before swine ; he therefore recommends that his essays should 'principally belong to men about the court who desire to live virtuously, because to others who do not think it will give much pleasure to read it or hear it.'

The psychology of the *Counsellor* may be considered as superseded by that of Locke and Bacon : but its theology is more remarkable, and throws a light on a now much-veiled

question, the study of the Bible in purely Catholic times. It recommends that the Gospels be read slowly like other books in order to understand them well. 'Do not read much at a time, but much less than you could; so that if you could read twenty-four pages read only six . . . when there is something you do not understand do not let it detain you long because there is no mind that understands theology quite perfectly . . . and even on things you do not understand do not question much, because I certainly know that there are things that few know.' This was well before the Reformation, and the Catholic authorities had not become so timid in placing the Bible in the hands of the public as they afterwards became when they perceived what they considered the ill effects of it.

The social ideas of the *Counsellor* are worthy of note. Society is not based upon individual rights as absolute or ultimate property; but on a collective right under the guidance of Christianity, a sort of greatest happiness of the greatest number, only to be found in the Christian religion—in fact, a theocracy, which attained its most repulsive perfection under Philip II. of Spain, and its feeblest, according to Senhor Oliveira Martins, under John IV. of Portugal about the middle of the seventeenth century, in 'a people extinguished for the sake of carrying out a religious mission.' The social body rests on the farmers and fishermen who form the base of it, so that the whole commonwealth may rest on a good foundation; then there rise up the instruments side by side; on one side the officers, judges, counsellors, scribes, etc.; on another side those who carry on approved arts and professions, physicians, surgeons, musicians, goldsmiths, etc.; then above these those that defend the country, the military forces with their officers; while at the very top as the head or crown are those who pray to God for all the others, who teach by word and example and administer the sacraments—to wit, the clergy.

The real value of the *Leal Conselheiro* is a philological one. Senhor Oliveira Martins considers it invaluable as a standard one in the history of the Portuguese language. There is certainly traceable in it a confirmation of that which may have

already been suspected—namely, that besides being a separate Romance dialect that had grown up side by side with the Castilian but was not derived from it, it had been undoubtedly subjected at one time or other to some French influence. If it there are unmistakeable Gallicisms. May it not have been that they were introduced into the language by the Burgundian or Frankish Henry, to whom three centuries before the country of Portugal was given by the King of Leon; and to speculate still further in the same direction, may not he and his court have introduced into Portuguese those nasal and Frenchified sounds that are so observable by the foreigner?

The principal legislation of Duarte on attaining the throne consisted in a number of alterations in the rules applicable to the Jews. Our author calls them 'reforms,' and viewed from the standpoint of the age, they very likely were so, though to our own eyes they cannot be entitled to so liberal an appellation. They consisted in endeavours to perfect the isolation of the Jew. The fundamental notion of the times with regard to him was one of keeping him apart from the Christian by allowing him to contract as few relations as possible. Let us see what position the Jew held in Portugal about the year 1400.

The importance of the Jewish communities had been always great in the Peninsula; great also was the prejudice against them; they had been the instigators of the murder of the Founder of Christianity; they had opened the gates of the country to the Arab and Berber invaders (in order to liberate themselves from the persecutions of the Visigoth Kings); they were also rich. In Portugal their influence was extremely important; and the number of their *communes* or *Jewries* very great.

The early Burgundian dynasty of Kings had encouraged the immigration of Jews for the purpose of cultivating the lands obtained by the successive advances of the Christians into Mahommedan territory; and, as each successive colony was acquired, fresh levies of Jews rolled into Portugal from Spain, where they were subject to persecution and massacre at the hands of a benighted and prejudiced people. They attained high position at the court of the Kings. Guedal

Aben-Juda, chief rabbi under King Denis, was also treasurer to that monarch. Mosseh, a fugitive from the massacre of Navare in 1328, was ennobled by Peter I., and took the name of his province, and became the ancestor of the line of the Navarros. Mosseh Navarro was treasurer to Peter, and his son Juda Aben-Mosseh fulfilled the same office under the King's son.

The establishment of the house of Aviz on the throne of Portugal was not unfavourable to the Jews; persecuted in Castille, they naturally found in Portugal a decided welcome on the part of the new government whose side they had taken. Perhaps in recompense for this John I. gave them official sanction, giving force in the civil law to the two bulls of Clement VI. (1347) and Boniface IX. (1389), in which these popes ordered princes to respect the beliefs and immunities of the Jews and not to force baptism on them, because 'it is not to be presumed,' said the first, 'that he has the true faith of a Christian who has the faith of Christians against his will.'

The numerous Jewish communes were governed by the chief rabbi or *arraby-môr* at Lisbon, who was attached to the court of the King and also possessed his own Keeper of the seal, who might or might not be a Jew. He had under him eight *ouvidores* or Jewish magistrates, one learned in the law (attached to his own person at Lisbon), and the other seven in the other chief towns with territorial jurisdictions very nearly coincident with the provinces of the kingdom. There were also communal courts for the trial of all cases between Jew and Jew; and to appeal in such cases to the civil law of the land was a serious offence punishable with a heavy fine and with imprisonment at the discretion of the *arraby-môr*.

This was the principal feature in the long-established organisation of the Jewish community that was confirmed by John I. in practical ratification of the Bull of 1389, to which he gave effect.

The Jews had various taxes to pay according to age, property, and transactions. No profession was forbidden to them save one—namely, traffic in the precious metals. Filing and

debasement of coin appear to have been offences of frequent probable occurrence. 'If we consider the passion of the time, the confusion of the monetary systems of the time, the general ignorance, the imperfection of the coinages, and lastly the coolness with which governments, when the occasion came to require it, had recourse to the same expedient of debasing or even falsifying the money,' says the author, 'the clipping and clipping, and perhaps coining bad money, have been frequent.'

Peter formed an entire contrast to each of his two brothers, and yet partook of the character of both. He was the scholar and traveller of the family, the courtly, polished knight-errant, in search of adventure, equally at home with the sword and the pen. He did not possess the heavy, dark, scowling, determined character of Henry, but yet was like him in his bravery in the field; and he had not the laborious, bureaucratic ways of Duarte, but yet was like him in his love of learning. 'Peter was a contemplative, chivalrous, benignant, prudent, wise. He was fair-haired and had in his veins the blood of his mother, and the preponderance of it was exhibited in his countenance.' To be chivalrous and to be fair seem, by the way, to be parts of the regular stock-in-trade of an ideal hero or heroine in Portuguese Chivalry, the Round Table, etc., meet you at every turn in its books; the heroine of a modern novel is fair. Peter travelled with twelve companions; the chronicler who writes of the travels says they were in imitation of the number of the apostles of Christ; but this we are told in the book under review, was a regular institution in chivalry from the time of Charlemagne; and no better authorities upon the subject can be found than in the Peninsula, where it has not even been quite shattered by Cervantes.

The first visit of Peter was to Sigismund, King of Hungary. Hungary was no doubt then a most attractive place for a Christian who had drawn his sword against the Mahomedan. It was the outpost against the Mohammedan of Eastern Europe, and its era was critical, Sigismund having ascended the throne in 1412, the year of the Turkish victory of Semendria, w

opened the way for fresh expansion of the Mahomedan power. Sigismund, who was also at war with the Hussites, received Peter with open arms and took him along with him in his campaigns, in which though, the contests were usually only on an insignificant scale.

From Hungary Peter set out on a journey to the Holy Land. On the way he called at Cyprus, and at Nicosia met the queen in distress, because her husband was a captive in Egypt. He was of course a Lusignan, Cyprus having been given by Richard the Lion-heart to the Lusignans, when he captured it from the Arabs. 'Friend, of what descent do you come?' asked the sorrowing queen. When the Infante said who he was and whence he came, the sad lady gave utterance to the melancholy sentiment—'Would to God that the provinces of Spain were closer to our domain and that we could help one another, and then the enemies of the faith would be less powerful.' It was true! If the races of the Peninsula had been there, the 'enemies of the faith' would have had very little to say for themselves. It is the greatest historical pity that they were not in the east instead of the west of Europe, that they were not placed so as to drive out of it the destructive Turk instead of the constructive Arab; we may therefore excuse Senhor Oliveira Martins' observation on the campaign of Sigismund and Peter against the Hussites—'The war against the Hussites finally ended in 1433, long after the departure of the Infante. That against the Turks is going on still, and will go on till there is extirpated the last trace of its barbarous history from out of the civilised world.'

From Cyprus Peter went to the court of Sultan Amurath II., then at Patras. He was probably provided at Venice with a safe conduct and letters of introduction, allowing him to go into the interior of the Sultan's dominions. The travellers did not immediately penetrate into the Sultan's territory, but went to Constantinople. That city was then in the last stage of decline; it had not long to live as the capital of Eastern Christendom; its then territory was most insignificant in comparison to what it had been. Constantinople, however, lived in a fool's paradise; it never was merrier

or enjoyed itself so much as in its last decay. It : secure within the triple lines of fortification, that de against—whom, the Turks? No, not against the T against the Christian Knights of St. John of Jert Rhodæa. These were the ones it most apprehended—common enemies of civilisation, but those who to themselves to oppose them. ‘ Save us from our friend have been the motto of the later of the Byzantine e ‘ In Rhodes, as in Cyprus, as in Syria, the movemen Crusades left little nuclei of nations formed by the ne the North, which would have grown up out of the fr of the Byzantine Empire if the Turks had not come place and successively destroyed these ephemeral ne states.’

We have no time to follow Peter over the rest of h derings—to the Holy Land, the monastery of Mount Sir to Egypt. After leaving Egypt, he went on a visit to friend and comrade in arms, whom he had met at the C Sigismund, Eric I., who had succeeded to the shor Scandinavian empire, consisting of Denmark, Norwa, Sweden, united in the person of his predecessor Margar

He then came to England, then under Henry VI., wt and one of his companions, Alvaro Vaz, received the O the Garter.

Even less time than to follow him in his wandering we to follow the book in its account of the events lead to Peter’s tragic death, which he met in his own cour the field of Alfarrobeira during a civil contest between l as regent and his ward, Alfonso V.

Nor have we time to go over the misfortunes of po dinand. Successive expeditions to Tangier were unde with ultimate success, but the first one turned out a dis failure. The Portuguese were completely surrounded Moors, and many were taken prisoners. Hostages w mandated for the cession of Ceuta, and Ferdinand died tivity and hardship. After his death his body was e feet upwards, and was then enclosed in lead, and faste the wall at the spot where it had been exposed; but

years afterwards, after the capture of Arzilla by Alfonso V., the bones of Ferdinand were taken away to rest in their native land.

In this family of brothers we cannot help feeling that we are in good company; they certainly mark a period of advance, and the author's able description of them goes far to justify his theory that history essentially consists in the description of periods of transition. Henry will, of course, remain the central figure, not only among his own brothers, but among a far wider circle. His countrymen are justly proud of him; his is almost the first figure one sees on landing at the 'Black Horse Square' at Lisbon. If one stands behind the equestrian statue, and looks to the archway forming the entrance to the Rua Augusta, one sees above and to the left a relief of the portly figure of Henry, and to the right one of the Marquess of Pombal, the reconstructor of Lisbon after the earthquake three centuries later. Above them both is an inscription written in the time of the latter, with reference to that of the former:

VIRTUTIBUS MAJORUM
UT SIT OMNIBUS DOCUMENTO.

C. J. WILLDEY.

ART X.—THE SECOND CHAPTER OF THE WAR.

THE writer who at quarterly intervals reviews the progress of a contemporaneous war, cannot, like the contributor to a daily paper, travel unperceived from pole to pole of opinion. War is too full of surprises to permit a chasm of thirteen eventful weeks to be bridged by a few euphonious sentences; hence it may easily happen that the self-appointed oracle must needs either persist in obvious error, or abandon the pretence of consistency, and confess himself a fallible mortal after all. Such being the case, I am glad to find that I am not called upon to apologise for any of my statements of fact or theory, in the last

number of this *Review*; all having been borne out by reports and by the course of events in South Africa.*

Since the middle of January much light has been thrown upon the first phase of the war, and upon the period immediately preceding it, and several perplexing matters have been cleared up to the credit of our generals in South Africa. We have seen the truth about Ladysmith and Glencoe, and have been able to vindicate Sir George White, though given *an absolute discretion* by Lord Balfour has said, was threatened with *grave political consequences* if he abandoned Dundee, and, *a fortiori*, by graver consequences if he retired south of the Tugela, which, however, he never thought of doing. We have not been as completely informed that Sir Redvers Buller was likewise advised to exercise his discretionary powers, but it is abundantly clear that he was not alone responsible for the break up of the attempt to relieve Kimberley and Ladysmith simultaneously.

The exact reasons for the choice of Ladysmith, in this instance, as a military centre, have not as yet been made public, but we know this much, that the selection was made in 1897, in which year three field batteries were sent from Natal as the nucleus of the future garrison. A survey was made of the neighbourhood, and the camp was deliberately decided upon for a *point d'appui* of the forces in Natal. This step was, of course, approved by the *military advisers* of the Government, that is to say, the Commander-in-Chief in Natal, assisted by the Colonial Defence Committee, the Intelligence Branch, and many other military departments, which collectively form the aggregate known to the public as the War Office, or, vaguely, the War Department. Now Ladysmith, as a reason to remember, though situated in fairly open ground, is within a few miles of a number of hills from which it can be effectively shelled by long range guns of modern type; therefore, free to assume that in making it the main

* There is a small typographic error in the Table on p. 156, the total strength of the Boer forces should read 60,000, not 50,000, as seen by addition of the details.

position in Natal, this contingency was well considered and dismissed as out of the question.

An attempt has been made, in certain quarters, to lay the blame of incorrect information and insufficient preparation upon the General Officers commanding in Natal and at the Cape, prior to the war, but no one acquainted with our military system could possibly make this mistake. The General of a district abroad is responsible for the state of his command, both men and material of war, but he may by no means question its sufficiency in numbers or armaments. It is his duty annually to revise the Local Defence Scheme and send it to England for approval, but in so doing he must strictly conform to the fundamental decisions of the year before, and when it has been returned to him, must obediently accept the amendments introduced, no matter how untoward he may happen to think them. No officer in the Colonies, whatever may be his rank, is allowed to stray into mixed questions of state policy and military preparations. As to setting up a secret intelligence bureau of his own, in view of hypothetical hostilities, the bare suggestion would be so serious an indiscretion, that his recall would be the inevitable consequence. It is to be regretted, perhaps, that these matters were thought worthy of debate in Parliament, but, having been so, it is a pity they were not dealt with more frankly. The nation is, in the main, broad-minded, and would have readily accepted a simple explanation on the lines of Lord Salisbury's speech in the House of Lords on the 31st January. As it is, the laboured apologies in the other House provoked criticism, because in the attempt to shield high placed officials in London, they suffered a shadow to rest on the reputation of deserving officers elsewhere. I pass on to more important matters.

Lord Roberts on his arrival at Cape Town, at once set about the business of creating an army suitable for South Africa. His first step in this direction was to amalgamate the various volunteer contingents, home and colonial, with the larger units of the regular army, so that all might be working parts of one effective machine, and, in so doing, he took care to study the peculiar aptitudes of each, and to give to every one some distinctive and honourable task. In particular, the most strenuous efforts were

made to increase the strength and efficiency of infantry, regular and irregular. Of the latter, were formed out of local materials, and named Roberts and Kitchener respectively. A number of volunteers in the Eastern Province were at once brigaded, and placed under the command of a Colonel of English birth, named Brabant, former officer.

By these and similar means a field force was having mobile elements sufficient to arrest the movement of Boer horsemen, and a solid backbone of fighting strength. The loosely knit commandoes could scarcely withstand

But no army, however composed, can be truly mobile if its supplies can follow it in any direction desirable for tactical reasons; it became, therefore, imperative to establish a system of land transport to supplement the railroads and thus give a certain freedom to the lines of march. This was a herculean task; probably no two other men in the world could have completed it as Roberts and Kitchener could have completed it as they did in a single month, and its accomplishment took the Boers and utterly confounded their projects.

While the army was being built up, and its transportation, a heavy responsibility had to be borne by the High Commissioner as well as by the High Commissioner. An incipient rebellion was spreading among all classes of Dutch in Cape Province. In the northern districts rebellion was daily increasing. The siege of Kimberley had reached a serious stage, provisions becoming scarce. At Ladysmith the sands were running out, and at Mafeking the end might be expected at any moment. From every quarter came pathetic appeals for relief, but every appeal had to be rejected in the stern resolve to maintain the British forces at all costs.

The Field-Marshal had fortunately a really fine and wonderful reputation which restrained the impatience of the public when day after day went by without a word of communication in the cable messages.

Among the many anxieties of the period, not the least was the maintenance of a judicious attitude toward

living under British rule. At the beginning of the war there was a tacit understanding that none but white men were to fight. It was a limitation peculiarly favourable to the Boers, who had no natives of their own, and everything to fear from the tribes upon their borders; yet hostilities had scarcely commenced before they set themselves to evade the stipulation, first by an active propaganda among the Basutos, urging them to rise against the British authority, then by a series of exasperating raids upon Zululand, Rhodesia and Khama's country, attended by wholesale robbery and violence. If the natives attempted to resist, as they did in the west, they were shot down; if, like the Zulus, they suffered in sullen silence, they were taunted by the inquiry—what was to become of them, when their masters had been driven into the sea. The crisis was acute. These warlike nations were hard to curb; for they naturally asked, why, if the Queen's soldiers were unable to protect them, should they be forbidden to arm in their own defence. With native races, war is so entirely a joy and a pastime, that if not allowed to fight on their side they favour, it is not unlikely they may take service on the other, rather than not fight at all. Many persons therefore recommended the employment of a limited number of disciplined natives within the districts over-run by the Boers, and possibly elsewhere.

From a purely military standpoint, the opportunity which the enemy then gave us should have been turned to account. A strong diversion by Zulus on the Boer communications in Natal would have raised the siege of Ladysmith in December; an attack upon the Free State by Basutos would have quickly drawn away the invaders of Cape Colony. Nothing could have been easier to bring about; for the paramount Chiefs were urgent in their offers of assistance, hoping thereby for recognition as military vassals of the Crown.

There were, however, two insuperable objections to the employment of armed natives. One was the danger of their getting out of hand, and committing the atrocities of barbarous warfare; the other, more serious still, was a knowledge of the shock which would have been given to every section of South African society

by the sight of uncivilized blacks and English seek to shoulder, in war against a white race.

To understand the importance of this feeling, it is necessary to have some knowledge of what is called the *native*.

There are two aspects of the subject, the sentimental and the economic. As to the first, there is the unalterable prejudice of the white man never to admit equality with the black man, no product of passing prejudice, but the passionate expression of a deep seated repugnance to contact with a lower species. As to the second, the stirring of a primary instinct, the means perhaps of the survival of fittest. Nature preserves the continuity of the higher races by the constant influx of men fresh from home do not as a rule share this antipathy. It is a living principle wherever the European is in the proximity to the African; as for example in America the faintest shade of colour is recognised as a barrier, impeded except for opposite reasons, by the most exalted and debased of the community.

The economic side of the question is, on the other hand, purely local. It is the outcome of the industrial conditions of South Africa, which are peculiar, in that, although the colour of the country is permanent, and there is no physical barrier to the labour, there is not, and never will be, a labouring class of the European settlers. English loafers and Dutch idlers may now and then do *Kaffir work*, but the bona-fide labourer in South Africa is either Asiatic or native.

The Asiatic is industrious and intelligent, but unfortunately too reluctant to go away when his period of indenture expires. If let alone, he sets up as a trader, ousts his rival, grows rich, and at last claims a Parliamentary vote. This thing is an abomination to the Dutch and the English. Asiatic labour is therefore hedged about by Colonial customs, and employers are referred to the African for their hewers of wood and drawers of water. But the native has no stomach for regular work—he will take as much time as a labourer, but will stay only as long as it suits him or that of his chief; hence a labour difficulty from the Cape to Cape point.

Now the Dutch and the English settlers, though they have the same objects in view, differ somewhat as to methods.

The older Dutch honestly believed the blacks to be the descendants of Cain, and thought it very right to utterly destroy the heathen whenever land was needed ; reserving a remnant of the people as bond-servants under the discipline of the *sjambok*. Of late years, however, the influence of Scotch and American Presbyterians, with whom the Dutch Church is in sympathy, has modified current opinion, and slavery is no longer defended, but a system of compulsory labour, and of social subjection enforced by law, is freely advocated by the vast majority of those who speak the *Taal*.

The Anglo-Colonial ideas on the subject are less pronounced and more strictly utilitarian. The average colonial is sceptical of the success of missionary enterprise, and dislikes the Aborigenes Protection Society, but, in theory at any rate, he is opposed to any injustice to natives. All he insists upon is a continuous supply of land and labour, and good openings for business. Rarely a deep thinker, he is disposed to support without much enquiry the local politicians, whose cry is 'Freedom of Contract' and 'No restrictions upon Trade.'

But free contract between white and black can have but one ending, viz., the break-up of the tribal system, and the acquisition by disreputable adventurers of every rood of land worth having.

Again 'No restriction upon Trade,' simply means the rapid degradation, and ultimate extermination, of the African races by the contamination of European vices ; especially *drink*, which is to the native more deadly than either war or pestilence.

Fortunately for the aborigenes, there is a third view of the question ; that taken by the Imperial Government in common with the best representatives of Colonial Society, who maintain that it is the duty of the State to protect the native 'in loco parentis' even against his own weaknesses. It is in accordance with this ideal that the majority of the native territories have been retained under the direct government of Crown Officials, who recognize no bogus concessions, give a cold shoulder to the itinerant prospector, and prohibit altogether the traffic in liquor. Thus administered, the paternal system gives security and

to whom he solemnly vowed unalterable fidelity. But he
 'Recollect we owe nothing to any Volksraad, nor to any
 Parliament, and desire to have no dealings with them
 may his wish be gratified.

I might say something about other native chiefs, such as
 the Pondo, and Linchwe, and Bathven, but they are
 less importance, and I must put a limit to digressions
 tempting.

Resuming the thread of the military operations, it
 while to consider the situation as we may reasonably
 was viewed from Pretoria, so as to get a better appre
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Going back a little upon the story of the war, it
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Simple as were these tactics, they answered admir
 culminated in a complete check to the British at Mag
 Stormberg, and Colenso; after which it was certain t

his hat on. Khama has no great love for the Boers, but is discreetly silent on the subject. He is a Christian and an excellent ruler, which ought to be in his favour, one would suppose; but he is a strict teetotaler, and will not allow a liquor bar within his dominions; consequently he is rather unpopular in South Africa.

Next comes Dinizula, the son of our old enemy the Zulu King Ketchwayo (my spelling of native words is phonetic). He and his two uncles, one of whom commanded at Isandluwana, have only recently returned to Zululand from exile at St. Helena, where, except for the monotony of it, they were pretty comfortable. Dinizula, who is hardly darker than a Levantine, adopted the dress and customs of the English as long as he was a state prisoner, and regularly attended the Governor's garden parties and other entertainments of the island society. His manners are always perfect, but he is somewhat reserved. All the same he understands a joke, and quite appreciated the humour of being invited, in all good faith, to the *nigger performances* of the soldiers and sailors at Jamestown.

Dinizulu is now growing fat, and since he has resumed the native dress, or shall we say *undress*, looks wonderfully like his father. He can scarcely be expected to be enthusiastically loyal, for his country was given over to Natal in 1893, but he and his Zulus may be quite depended upon, as long as the choice lies between Boer and Briton.

Last, but by no means least, is Lerothodi, the Basuto. A man of fine presence, and serious honest countenance, he is *par excellence* the friend of the English, for he has never forgotten how the Imperial Government stepped in between his countrymen and the filibustering Free Staters. But Lerothodi is discriminating in his friendship, and few who heard it will ever forget the significant speech he made a year or two back, when the guest of Government at Cape Town. Addressing a select assembly in the house of the acting High Commissioner, he first returned thanks for the kind reception he had met with, then turning to the chiefs who were with him, and in particular naming those whose loyalty was doubtful, he bade them in eloquent language remember that they were subjects of the Queen,

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Parliament, and desire to have no dealings with
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be no immediate renewal of their activity, on either side the theatre of war.

Putting aside early disappointments, everything was now satisfactory. Cronje lost no time in making a semi-circle of entrenchments, with ends resting on the Modder River, above and below the bridge held by Lord Methuen. On the Tugela, a judicious use of the spade gradually converted positions naturally strong, into an impregnable chain of fortifications, shutting off the river altogether from the great circle of investment at Ladysmith. As these labours approached completion, it became possible to reduce the numbers which were at first needed to neutralise—in military jargon, *contain*—the two relieving armies, so that before long there was a margin of strength at both places available for application elsewhere. The inter-communication between the forces, through the passes of Northern Natal, made it easy to transfer troops with secrecy from one command to another, and in this way even the heavy guns were shifted to and fro, between Ladysmith and Kimberley, whenever the balance of artillery power required re-adjustment. In point of fact, while the British had two independent armies separated by a sea voyage and a very unsafe journey by land, there was unity of command on the side of the Boers. Their commandoes appeared to be scattered at random, but in reality all were in perfect touch, and constituted one grand army. The headquarters and main base was at Pretoria, from which place the President issued his orders as military dictator. The centre rested on the Orange River; the right wing was at Kimberley; the left in Natal. A detachment invested Mafeking, and covered the Capital on the west, while various outposts watched the frontiers, and supplied the parties for cattle-lifting raids.

The Battle of Colenso, December 15th, marked a crisis in the affairs of the Boers, as well as of the English, for the remainder of the month was pregnant with opportunity. Lord Roberts could not arrive till the second week in January, and the whole course of the war depended upon what the interval should bring forth.

There is no doubt that a great prize was then within reach of

the Boers, and that they knew it, but with the extreme of their race they hesitated.

If fifteen thousand additional men had been sent across the Orange River at Norvall's Pont * on or about the 20th Dec a crushing blow might have fallen upon the British. Naauwpoort would probably have been taken, and the entire communication with Port Elizabeth and East London cut off. Cronje must then have retired to Queenstown, or even further to the French, if not cut off in the Colesberg district, could only have retreated upon De Aar, to which place Methuen would have been obliged to return by forced marches, harrassed by Ciskei horsemen for many a mile. De Aar would no doubt have been saved, but its only line of communications would soon have been crossed by the rebel Dutch of the Carnarvon district, who were then only waiting for a signal to rise. These successes would have been temporary only so far as De Aar was concerned. The capture of Naauwpoort, with Stormberg and Dordrecht ready occupied, would have given the Boers possession of a quadrilateral in the Stormbergen range, enveloping the connecting railway of the Eastern systems, and securing a line of retreat to the Orange River.

Nor would this have been all, for, Methuen having retreated, Lord Roberts, on his arrival, would have found no railway, and the Orange River open for operations towards either Kimberley or Bloemfontein.

I have ascribed the hesitation of the Boers at this juncture to their natural character, but something may have been due to the absence of General Piet Joubert, who had been withdrawn for a time from his command owing to illness, or some reason to be explained. Cronje, the next in seniority, was summoned to Kimberley for advice, but Cronje had neither the talent nor the influence of the great Commandant General. What opinion he may have given will probably never be known, but it is of sufficient length determined to wait for the fall of Ladysmith before carrying out the *coup* in Cape Colony, because it was :

* For most of the references to places in this article, Bacon's British Map of South Africa will be found sufficient.

no doubt, the surrender of Sir George White besides having far-reaching political consequences, would set free the investing force at Ladysmith, and make it of small consequence though Buller in the end were to compel the retreat of the army on the Tugela. These were all excellent reasons if only the premises had been sound; but we know they were not.

And now that so much depended on the success of the siege, every effort was made to expedite its conclusion; but, in spite of bombardment by day and by night, the garrison of Ladysmith still held out, and meanwhile the weeks slipped by remorselessly.

At Christmas there was merriment among the burghers, and plum puddings were fired into the British Camp by way of good-humoured hostilities. New Year's Day, however, came and went, and yet no surrender; then men looked graver, for Lord Roberts was expected directly, and Sir Charles Warren's Division was assembling south of the river, sure sign of new attempts at relief. At length, even the most phlegmatic of the Boers felt that no more time could be lost. A supreme effort was required—Ladysmith must be captured by assault. They were quite right; no time *was* to be lost. It was a desperate measure, but worth a trial. The English were enfeebled by hunger and decimated by sickness; the chain of defence spread over ten miles, and there were not above eight thousand available troops to hold it. Ten thousand resolute men might rush the place in the mist of the early morning; then a brief carnage, and all would be over.

But the Boers were not the men for the occasion. The Boer is stolidly brave when face to face with death in a narrow path, but his prosaic soul can never rise to the fierce exaltation of those who will run out to meet him with a triumphal shout.

So the storming of Ladysmith was duly attempted, January 6th, but instead of being the concentrated assault it should have been, it was carried out on the lines of a general action. There was stubborn fighting, now here, now there; positions were taken, and retaken; individuals did wonders. It was a Homeric battle, and lasted all through a summer day; but at length the Boers retired under cover of darkness. They had played their trump card, and they had lost. Next day they

took, could be easily seen plodding their way laboriously along the foot of the hills, followed by long strings of ox-waggons carrying their own stores, and those intended for the garrison they hoped to relieve. This gave the Boers, who had their horses always at hand, ample time to concentrate against the movement, so that every endeavour to turn their positions ended in what was practically a frontal attack.

There were two methods possible for the relief of Ladysmith. One was to take the entire position, and destroy the defending army. This was impossible with the numbers available. The other was to force a passage at some point, and keep it open while a convoy was pushed on, escorted by a force sufficient to break through the circle of investment. The latter course was what was attempted, but, out of an army of thirty thousand men, only twenty thousand could be employed, the rest being absolutely required to hold the railway, and keep open the roads in rear of the columns.

The first advance was made on the enemy's extreme right flank. The cavalry and mounted infantry under Lord Dundonald, which had seized Potgieter's Drift on January 10th, swept round towards Acton Homes; Clery's and Warren's infantry divisions crossed the Tugela at different points on the 16th and 17th, and, a bridge having been made, the artillery followed on the 18th. There was a continuous uphill battle for four days, the Boers losing ground by degrees. At last Warren's division worked its way to the foot of Spion Hill, and by a night attack the infantry managed to get possession of one corner of the kop, or summit, itself. Next day it was hoped that the entire hill would be taken, and a clear road thus opened to Ladysmith. But it was not to be done. Artillery could not be got up on the British side, which was precipitous; and when enough troops had been posted to hold the position below, there were not sufficient left on the top to overcome the counter attack of the enemy, assisted by heavy guns in earthworks upon higher ground. January 25th was a day of patient endurance; then, during the night, Spion Kop was abandoned, and the division deliberately retraced its steps.

Thus all that was done, except brave deeds, was to get a

North, both sides did their utmost to overturn the equilibrium, with not much result. In the west, however, roving bands upset the Colonial authority with impunity, annexed territory, pillaged the loyalists, and spread rebellion far and wide, from the Molopo to the Kurreebergen.

As already said, it was a time full of promise for the Boers, but yet one of peculiar perplexity, on account of the number of enterprises on hand, and the lack of means to carry them out. Cronje could not dispense with much more of his force on pain of releasing Lord Methuen. The Stormbergen commandoes were all at an irreducible minimum. Every man was where he ought to be, but every man was not enough. If only the Colonial Dutch would rise *en masse!*—but they would not. Some were absolutely loyal to the British; some gave the rebellion a tearful sympathy and nothing more; while others had no sooner crossed the rubicon of treason than their hearts misgave them. Extreme measures were adopted to obtain recruits. Boys were taken from school, foreigners were pressed, British subjects were freely commandeered; the crime was even committed of forcing Englishmen born to fight against their country. But all was unavailing. Lord Roberts was now ready to deliver a master stroke.

On the 28th January, General Kelly Kenny, in command of the Sixth Division, occupied Thebus (a railway station between Stormberg and Rosmead), thus menacing the Boers at Stormberg and Dordrecht. At Pretoria this was accepted as the preliminary step to invasion of the Free State through Springfontein *via* Norvals Pont or Bethulie, and reinforcements were quickly sent to the commandants on the border. Then followed a period of mystification, for it was found that General French's army before Colesberg was melting away, and that meantime all was quiet towards Burghersdorp. It was some time before the true state of affairs became apparent.

On the 4th February, by direct orders from Lord Roberts, wisely unexplained, General Hector Macdonald, who commanded the Highland Brigade at Modder Camp, was sent to occupy a position near Koodoes Drift, twenty miles down the river, and close to the right, or west flank, of Cronje's entrenchments. The

Boers endeavoured to intercept the movement, but after sharp fighting, retreated to their works.

About this time Cronje, who probably still believed *visation* *via* Springfontein, became aware of the passing across the Orange River on the Western Railway, and this with Macdonald's movement, concluded that Lord having been reinforced, would shortly attempt to cut the opposing cordon, and reach Kimberley on the west side upon he prepared for a stand up fight, but, being a clever man, he took the precaution of sending away any gun not move quickly, or afford to lose, and of strengthening reserves in the direction of Bloemfontein, in case it needful, after all, to retreat eastward, and unite with centre in defence of the Capital. But Cronje acted false hypothesis. The storm he expected from the about to burst upon him from the east—for Lord Roberts not divided his forces, nor was he travelling by the main Bloemfontein.

What was being done was this. The bulk of the army first assembled at De Aar, then moved rapidly to various points on the Western Railway, between the Modder and the Orange rivers, there to be joined by French with the cavalry, and the Sixth Division, which had been sent to Thebus only as a reserve.

On February 9th, Lord Roberts himself arrived at De Aar Camp, and next day withdrew the Highland Brigade to Koodoes Drift; then, on the 11th, began the famous march which resulted directly in the relief of Kimberley, the destruction of Cronje's army, and the occupation of Bloemfontein; indirectly, in the relief of Ladysmith, and the withdrawal of the Boers from Cape Colony.

The troops, numbering fully forty thousand independent of Lord Methuen's command, left the railway by separate columns, marching eastward on a curve roughly resembling a bow, whose string was the line from Eslin (Graspan) to Kimberley. The cavalry and mounted infantry led the way, seizing in advance the passages of the Riet and of the Upper Modder streams which unite just above Modder Bridge. The march swept across the whole of Cronje's communication.

though well out of reach of Cronje's army, and several camps full of ammunition and stores fell into the hands of the British with scarcely a blow. Pushing on and on, with the infantry continually in support, General French reached Kimberley on the 15th, and, forcing his way through the weak investment on the north-east of the town, completed its relief before either friend or foe had realised what had happened.

Cronje, who by this time, at any rate, had discovered his mistake, determined upon immediate retreat. His safest course was to go north-west, putting the Vaal between him and the British, for their infantry divisions were closing upon him, and he was already cut off to the south and south east. But this would have left the Free State completely open, and destroyed all hope of co-operation between him and the other commandants; therefore, good soldier that he was, he resolved to make for Bloemfontein at all risks, if only to delay the British long enough to cover the retreat of the Boer centre from the Orange River. The idea was well conceived, and though it ended in disaster, was splendidly carried out. Slipping away in the night between two British camps, the army covered thirty miles without a halt, maintaining a running fight the whole way; for the retreat was quickly discovered, and the pursuit was hot. At last the British cavalry got ahead of the exhausted Boers, and the infantry coming up by forced marches, they were brought to a standstill, and, after a well-fought battle, surrounded at Paardeberg on the 17th February.

Here was once more exhibited that remarkable skill in field fortification, and marvellous endurance under fire, which has all along characterised the Boers. Defeated but not dismayed, they immediately set to work to entrench, and did it so effectively that to quote one of the war correspondents, 'they seemingly sank into the ground.' There they remained motionless and silent under the bombardment at close range of sixty field guns, to which was presently added that of field howitzers firing lydite, and after a little, of 4.7 inch naval guns.

In so helpless a position, and under such terrific fire, the immediate surrender of any regular army would have been justified, yet these half-disciplined burghers actually held their

ground for ten days, and only yielded at last when it was seen that further sacrifice was unnecessary, the retreat of the central Boer army having by that time been virtually secured.

Some people have found fault with what they have been pleased to call 'the ovation' given to the defeated army on that occasion, and have urged in particular that Cronje did not deserve the honours of war. Surely they forgot that the Boers were belligerents, not rebels, and that the British Government had long ago condoned every ill deed connected with the war. Cronje was, it is true, a man deeply stained by crime, but he was a brave general, and as such Lord Roberts received him as a conqueror.

As to the rank and file, they had fought grandly, and the British soldiers befriended them with soldierly good feeling—let that be the object who will.

When the news of the capitulation reached England, there was a general feeling of surprise that only about four thousand men should have been found at Paardeberg out of a force which was recently estimated at fifteen thousand. On consideration, however, it is not difficult to account for the original army, thus:

Killed, wounded, or died of disease, during siege of Kimberley, - - - - -	1000
Reinforcements to armies in Natal and Orange River, - - - - -	5000
Small bodies escaped N. and N.E., - - - - -	500
Retreated W. and N.W., - - - - -	1200
Killed and missing during the retreat, - - - - -	1500
Killed at Paardsberg, - - - - -	1500
Surrendered, - - - - -	4300
Total, - - - - -	15,000

It was on Majuba Day, 27th February, that Cronje capitulated. Frantic endeavours had been made to save him; the commandoes, hurrying up from north, south, and east, were intercepted and defeated piecemeal, for Lord Roberts was strong enough to do this, and still find troops to surround the Boers at Paardeberg.

Strictly speaking the second chapter of the war ends with the decisive victory of that day, for the events which immediately followed were but corrolaries to the military problem which

Roberts had just solved. All the same, it would be pedantic, and historically incorrect, to treat the subsequent operations as purely incidental. When the stag has been brought to bay, the chase may be over in the hunter's eyes, but then is the time for the hounds to show their pluck and breeding. So in this war, the discipline and bravery of the army was never better shown, than when called upon to secure the prize, which good strategy had at last brought within their reach.

The following is a brief chronicle of concurrent successes. The connection of events will be easily seen :—

OPERATIONS IN NATAL.

- Feb. 15th *Relief of Kimberley.*
- 17th Sir Redvers Buller commences fourth, and last, advance upon Ladysmith. Boer army reduced by drafts sent to relief of Cronje.
- 18th Boers driven from South side of the Tugela.
- 19th Colenso re-occupied.
- 19th } Continuous Battle. Boers retreating slowly.
- to }
- 27th }
- 28th Ladysmith relieved. Boer army retired behind the Biggarsbergen.

OPERATIONS IN CAPE COLONY.

- Feb. 11th Clements attacked by Boers at Rensberg (second railway station south of Colesberg), to which point the British had retired before superior numbers.
- 12th Severe action at Rensburg. British retreat upon Arundel.
- 15th *Relief of Kimberley.*
- 18th Boers retiring at all points. Brabant re-occupies Dordrecht.
- 22nd British advance from Arundel. Boers retiring across the Orange River.
- 27th *Cronje surrendered.*
- Mar. 2nd British enter Colesberg.
- 5th Gatacre re-occupies Stormberg ; Brabant drives enemy before him.
- 9th Clements takes possession of Norvals Pont.
- 12th Gatacre pushes through Burgersdorp to Bethulie.
- 13th Boers have all retired beyond the Orange River. Rebels dispersing.
- 14th *British reach Bloemfontein.*

FURTHER OPERATIONS IN THE FREE STATE.

- Feb. 27th *Cronje capitulates.*
 Mar. 7th Battle of Poplar Grove. 15,000 Boers de-
 almost surrounded.
 10th Sixth Division advancing on Bloemfontein ; in
 Driefontein Kopjes.
 14th Cavalry and Seventh Division enter Bloemfonte-
 dent Steyn and Executive escape with the
 Winburg. Three Thousand Free Staters le-
 give up their arms and disperse.

Taking the course of the war as a whole, from Janu-
 when Lord Roberts landed, to March 14th, when he
 Bloemfontein, we have a good example of what can be
 a well-organised army, in the hands of a capable comman-
 has undivided authority.

As to the means employed, there was no novelty—on
 strings vibrating to a new tune. In the strategy t
 (1) Secrecy and surprise, (2) Exact preparation, (3)
 execution. In the tactics, (1) Attack at point of least r
 (2) Concentration of force for the decisive action.

These terms, expressive of the soundest princip
 always to be found in the official text books, but there
 gulf between theory and practice in this world. Gen
 poets, are, as of old, born, not made ; moreover, there
 ideas and sequences of thought productive of action,
 educational process can transfer from brain to brain.

The following are approximate statistics of the per

*British Casualties—officers and men—from the beginning of the
 taking of Bloemfontein.*

Killed,	2500	The killed and woun
Wounded,	9000	include 840 officer
Prisoners,	3500	

15,000

Half these casualties occurred during the second peri-
 war, that is to say, from after the first battle of
 thus :—

Buller's army at Spion Kop and Potgieters,	2100
Do. in the relief of Ladysmith, 14th to 27th	
February,	2200
Roberts' army, 11th February to 14th March,	2000
Other casualties,	1200
	<hr/>
	7500

and it is very interesting to notice the economy of loss effected by operating, as Lord Roberts did, with a great superiority in numbers.

The total of officers killed and wounded gives the ratio of one officer to thirteen men *hors-de-combat*. In the earlier battles the proportion was one to nine; so that a good deal has been gained by making the officers discard their swords, and otherwise appear exactly like their men; still, the remaining ratio, of *one* officer to every *seventeen* men, is seriously large, for there is rarely one officer to twice that number of rank and file. For the future, we must accept it proved that, in consequence of his duties in action, an officer's risk is twice that of the private soldier, and we shall consequently have to largely increase the proportion of regimental officers, and, what is more, take care to maintain a large and effective reserve of officers, such as our military authorities have hitherto never even thought of.

Boer Casualties (estimate) since the battle of Colenso—earlier losses having been replaced.

Killed and wounded,	5000
Died by accident or disease,*	1000
Prisoners,	4600
	<hr/>
	10,600

In any comparison of the recent casualties, it is to be remembered that those on the British side have been promptly met by drafts from home, so that they have had no effect upon the military operations; whereas the losses of the Boers have permanently diminished their forces; any gains by the enlistment of foreigners or further commandeering having been

*There was said to be much sickness in the Boer camps.

more than counterbalanced, by the many desertions of Staters and rebel colonials, which followed the defe Cronje.

OPPOSING FORCES.

In the lull which has followed the occupation of Bloemf the rival armies, which before faced each other on both sic theatre of war, continue to do so, but in greatly altered c stances. The Boers have been reduced by nearly 20 pe of their fighting strength, while the British have not only re casualties, but also very greatly augmented their numb volunteer enlistments in South Africa, and continuous a from other parts of the Empire. Lord Roberts has with least 50,000 men, to oppose to some 30,000 which Botha to have got together at Kronstadt, and Sir Redvers Bul a united army 40,000 strong, against which the enemy can bring 10,000 into the field. On the other hand, the Briti suffer the disadvantage of having two distinct armies, un co-operate tactically; whereas the Boers can move by i lines, and thus concentrate at will. Probably the earliest tion of the near future will be the opening up of land com cation between the main army under Lord Roberts, e satellite under Buller, and the closing of the Natal Passes enemy.

As regards the war generally, the second stage has be able for the wonderful promptitude of the British yeoman of the home and colonial volunteers, in giving their serv the country, unconditionally, and in many cases at their o pense. It is to be hoped that the public will sufficiently app the magnitude of the sacrifices thus made, and that the pr respond to the sentiment, by following up the career of the s corps, with as much attention as is bestowed upon the do our regular regiments. In many ways the volunteer sold active service deserve e more consideration than the r Thomas Atkins has, as a r b en a labourer; a soldier's prospects are to him ; coarse fare is only what had from childhood. T teen, on the contrary, has throw up his pro business prospects, with

slightest hope of a *quid pro quo*, and he has much to suffer in the roughness of his unaccustomed environment. Not only this, but if, as is often the case, he belongs to the upper class, he has to lay aside his social rank completely in taking service as a private, and must feel the contrast when he compares his lot with that of his brothers and cousins, who, as officers in the army, are earning pay and promotion by the war, besides laying up a goodly store of honours and decorations.

These remarks particularly apply to many of the *so called* Colonial Corps raised in South Africa. In these the troopers are mostly the social equals of their officers, and a very large proportion are young Englishmen from the public schools. Many of them have qualified for Woolwich or Sandhurst, and others have served their trainings in the militia. In the recent dearth of suitable candidates for commissions, the War Office might, one would have thought, have remembered some of these young men, but unluckily the War Office has no memory except for its own worst traditions.

I must not conclude this article without reference to the most important event of the war outside the immediate sphere of military operations.

On 27th March General Joubert died at Pretoria, regretted alike by the English and the Boers. President Kruger was perhaps secretly pleased at the removal of his political rival, but even he must now feel the loss of the only man capable of carrying on the war with the slightest hope of success.

The Boers, though they admitted his unblemished patriotism, generally failed to appreciate the greatness of Joubert, and were offended at his opposition to the extreme war party. His influence, however, would have been always considerable, and had he lived a little longer he might have saved his country, as did the great Confederate, Robert Lee, when, seeing that the end of the civil war was certain, he refused to shed another drop of blood.

As to the British, we recognised in Joubert the man whose presence was a guarantee that the struggle in South Africa should not degenerate into savagery, and we looked to him as a possible peacemaker in days to come. Moreover, we esteemed

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 2, 1900).—It is now fifty years since Dr. Dillman published his translation of the Book of Jubilees from the Ethiopic version, in Ewald's *Jahrbucher*. That was the first translation that had been given to the German public, and in view of that fact F. Bohn here offers an interesting review of what has since been done by scholars to make the Book of Jubilees better known and understood. In his article he contributes towards that end also. He discusses some of the more important questions literary and exegetic, which the work suggests. These questions are as to its original form, language, elements, date, and teaching. In its first form he thinks it belongs to the middle of the second century B.C., and was written in the Hebrew tongue by one who was thoroughly conversant with the thought and life of his people, and with their traditions and hopes. The work was added to and modified, however, by several hands afterwards.—Dr. Ebeling devotes a lengthy paper to the first article in Luther's *Smaller Catechism*, discussing the variations in its several texts from the Latin and Greek versions of the *Symbolicum*, Luther's comments on it, and the controversies which these matters have provoked since.—Julius Köhler furnishes a study on Johannes Falk, the man, and the character and significance of his work on the history of 'The Inner Mission.' It is not a biographical memoir of him that is here attempted. Herr Köhler endeavours rather to show the influence he exercised as a satirical and lyrical writer, and as a philanthropist.—Dr. Theodor Elsenhaus contributes a series of 'Beiträge zur Lehre vom Gewissen.' In a prefatory note he deals with the difficulty of finding an adequate scientific definition of conscience. He then in five sections proceeds to discuss conscience as an element of the spiritual life, and a factor in its operations and actions; and to point out how it might best be cultivated and disciplined so as to make it what deserves to be called, the Christian conscience. The other articles are—'Bemerkungen zum Briefwechsel der Reformatoren,' by Dr. Knaake; 'Einige Bemerkungen zur wahrhaft geschichtlichen Methode,' by Professor Paul Schwartzkopffand; a review of Doumergue's *Jean Calvin*; and of Gustav Wolf's *Deutsche Geschichte in Zeitalter der Gegenreformation*, Vol. I.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (Feb., March, April).—Her Siegfried's novel, 'Ein Wohlthäter,' is concluded in the February number, and the first instalment of another, 'Ein Kopf Hellen,' by Herr Adelbert Meinhardt complete the fiction in the March number.—M. von Brandt writes on the 'Crisis in South Africa.' In his article he gives a pretty fair summary of the incidents leading up to the issuing of the celebrated *ultimatum* by the Transvaal Government. The writer, however, regards British interference with the Transvaal in its treatment of those within its territory as unjustifiable, and so manages to place the British Government in the wrong. This is quite in keeping with the general sentiment of Germany, and the Continent as a whole. Great Britain is represented as having been harsh, unsympathetic, and impolitic throughout, and we are told that the Boers have good reason for their hatred of us. The 'religious Gefühl' of the Boers is pathetically dwelt upon, but the other side of their character is quietly left out of account. M. Von Brandt expressed, when he penned this paper, the hope that the United States Government would step in and mediate, and that mediation secure for the Republics, at least, their independence.—In the March number the same writer has a lengthy article on Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. It is based on Mr. Jayes' recent article on that Statesman in the series of 'The Public Men of the Nineteenth Century.' M. von Brandt's article is, however, merely a summary of the events and incidents of Mr. Chamberlain's career as a merchant, as a business, as a municipal leader, and as a statesman, with an appreciation of the many parts he has played. Our writer takes no sides as regards Mr. Chamberlain's share in the conduct of the South African war, wisely remarking that the time has not yet come for passing a definite judgment on a question of this kind; but he admits that there can be no reason for doubting the honourableness of Mr. Chamberlain's conviction as to the unavoidableness of war, in the light of his views as to the civilizing mission of England.—Paul Heyse continues in the February and March numbers his interesting 'Zugenderinnerungen,' and in the March number a tribute is paid to that writer on the occasion of his having attained his seventieth birth-day.—In the February and April numbers, Philipp Zorn continues and completes his account of the Peace Conference at the Hague, and its results. Anna von Helmholtz, whose death on December 1st created a feeling of wide regret and sympathy in many circles on the Continent, is the subject of a kindly and reverent notice which has been contributed by a writer who signs it with the initials 'W. D.'—J. Reinke discourses in the February number

development of the 'Natural Sciences,' with special reference to the Science of Biology in the 19th century.—Freiher von Beaulieu Marconnay furnishes a timely and informing article on the development of the German navy, and marine power generally.—Max Lenx continues in all the three numbers his series of articles on the Great Powers, 'Die grossen Mächte,' subtitled 'Ein Rückblick auf unser Jahrhundert.'—In the March number Baron v. d. Goltz writes on 'Seemacht und Landkrieg,' showing from history the great advantage which a large a well-equipped fleet gives to the Power possessing it over another Power possessing greater military strength and resources. The purpose of the article is to support the recent proposals to increase considerably the German Navy.—General von Goeben's 'Letzte Reise nach Spanien (1878)' is the subject of a short paper by Gebhard Zernin. Fiction is represented in this number by 'Ein Erlebnis,' by Ilse Frapan, in addition to A. Meinhardt's 'Ein Kopf von Hellen.'—(April)—The article in this number which is likely to first attract the attention of the English reader, is that by Herr Felix Salomon, 'Die Englische-Afrika Politik.' It is a historical summary and critical analysis of the events leading up to Great Britain's position in South Africa, and her interrelations with, and her interference in, the affairs of the Boer Republics. It presents the facts, however, from a severely German point of view; and the article reveals the spirit that seems to dominate not merely political, but even literary circles in the Fatherland towards this country. Great Britain is, consequently, in fault for all the ill-feelings cherished towards her by the Boers; and our author expresses the hope that Mr. Gladstone's wire, after Majuba, may yet again be repeated, 'We have done injustice to the Boers. Let us conclude peace with them.'—'Gestalten des dichters,' by F. Spielhagen, deals with the characters of poetic creation—the *Dramatis Personæ* of the poet's genius, and discusses their relations to his personal experiences and to his imaginative faculty.—An article specially interesting to Germans in relation to their recent Chinese acquisitions is furnished by Herr W. Grube, 'Der Confucianismies und das Chinesenthum.' Shantung is the province in which Confucius was born, and in which he is still very specially honoured. Its life to-day is permeated and coloured with his spirit and teaching, and can only be thoroughly understood and appreciated when looked at in their light. It is to help his fellow-countrymen, in their new relations with that province, towards such knowledge that Herr Grube has written this paper.—Herr Franz Xaver Krauss, in fulfilment of an old pro-

unise to the readers of this *Rundschau*, gives here the first series of monographs on the friends of his youth and years, the subject of this one being Antonio Stoppani, distinguished Lombard Naturalist.—The other articles in the number are 'Werther's Grab,' an 'Erzählung,' by Isold and 'Conrad Ferd, Meyer's Dichterleben'—a review of articles which have been appearing in these pages from the pen of Adolf Frey. The review is by Herman Grimm.—The *Rundschau*, political and literary, book reviews and occupies a considerable portion of each number.

R U S S I A .

THE RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW (*Voprosi, Philosophii i Psichologii*, No. 49), opens with a paper containing B. N. Tchichérin's 'Philosophy of Right,' Book III., on 'Moral Law and Freedom.' One question discussed is—Does morality exist apart from religion? To this the author replies it is impossible to answer otherwise affirmatively. In the second chapter is discussed, 'Instinctive Conscience;' while the third chapter begins by referring to the ancients as passing many judgments about Virtue—what it is and wherein it consists. The father of Moral Philosophy—Socrates—admitting in reason the source of moral concepts recognised that virtue consists in knowledge. He affirms that no one does evil voluntarily, knowing it to be evil. Every man seeks his own good and makes mistakes only in the estimate of his estimate. In order to make people virtuous it is only necessary to explain to them that which is their present good. But Aristotle objects that something more than knowledge is necessary; to have also a correct direction of the will to practice or usage is gained. In this way virtue is acquired by knowledge, but it does not consist in knowledge alone. The last view is correct. In the fourth chapter M. Tchichérin returns to that which he almost seems to despair of—the moral progress of Humanity!—On this article succeeds a paper by M. Comte on the views of Auguste Comte on the Philosophy of Mathematics. He tells us that Comte, from his earliest years to the last of his old age, held on to the one idea—the renewal of new power for that intellectual unity which bound humanity to the ages, when in Western Europe there was only one power—the power of the Catholic Church or the Pope. In the next paper one on Bacon and his historic importance, in which the author goes into a pretty extensive detail of the *Novum Organum* and its constitutional parts. I

that Bacon, from his previous life and training, had a large experience, of which he made use, as also from his subsequent engagements of an official kind. The Advancement of Learning is also referred to. The author of the paper, M. N. Ivantzoff postpones its conclusion.—The next paper is on the question as to the Real Unity of Consciousness. The author refers to papers previously issued on the substantiality of the Spirit and two-fold nature of man, and remarks that researches of this kind are not likely to be popular. He then proceeds to speak of the proscription of certain studies that do not fall in with the popular tendency, a weakness which we have more reason to deplore in British latitudes. He refers to the prejudice against views of a dualistic and spiritualistic character. The author, M. Lopatine—the Editor of the Journal—connects this with the monistic and other theories of an uncommon character, not always welcome. He refers to the authors of certain Phenomenist Studies. The Unity of Consciousness, he maintains, is grounded on experience generally, but the ground is only psychological!—This is followed by a lengthened paper on the great novelist, Turgenev, as a Psychopathologue. This is followed by the usual reviews of books and Bibliography.

ITALY.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA.—(January 1.)—The new year commences with verses by the well-known poet, Mario Rapisardi, 'Dopo la Vittoria,' further embellished by the portrait of the author, who looks Byronic and picturesque, with slouched hat, folded arms, and defiant mien.—A piece of modern history follows in 'Sulla via di Roma,' from unedited documents, the collector of which is not named.—Professor G. Mazzone writes of Leonardo da Vinci as a writer, pointing out the way in which, fragmentary as his writings are, they reveal the gigantic mind of the writer, and, in conclusion, Professor Mazzone alludes to Leonardo's great predecessor, Leon Battista Alberti, who was likewise a universal genius, but one of whom only a few elect spirits have recognised the greatness.—A review of the Duke of Abruzzi's expedition to Alaska in 1897 is contributed by Signora Gropallo under the title of 'L'Alpinismo e la spedizione al Monte Elia.'—U. Flores dedicates some pages to the memory of the late Albert Pasini; and the political situation is reviewed by A. Frassati in an article entitled 'Il momento di osare' (The moment to dare), dwelling on the danger into which the war in South Africa might plunge the British Empire. He incites his own country

to come forward as the active ally of England on this occasion, pointing out the identity of their interests.—Prof. Piccolomini treats of the new papyri acquired by the University of Strasburg.—Signor Ferraris pleads for agrarian reform, one of the most burning questions in the home politics of Italy.—E. Masi reviews in detail a new romance by Signorina Giacomelli, '*A Raccolta*,' wherein social theories and much polemics are interwoven with the purely artistic side of the novel.—(Jan. 16)—Opens with an essay on the New Year by E. de Amicis, a welcome to the opening century, in all its aspects, to the different members of society—a young man, an old man, a girl of fifteen, a lady of thirty, a lover, a husband, a bride, a mother, a member of Parliament, an artist, an expectant heir, an emigrant, a priest, a sentry, a father, a captain of the line, a landed proprietor, a writer, a speculator, till it culminates in De Amicis himself. The different personages are sketches drawn with the dramatic power so long associated with the author's name, and in their monologues are blended humour and pathos.—E. G. Lovatelli has a learned dissertation on the tombs of the Appian road; and G. Rovetti continues his romance *La Signorina*.—G. Narazini recounts an episode in his travels in Spain, the cremation of a prince, and describes in detail all the ceremonies thereto appertaining.—Of more practical interest is 'Our Future in America,' by O. Macchiore.—E. Pais treats the often noticed subject of the *Stela Arcuica* of the Roman Forum; and this paper is followed by a review of Lord Roberts' career in India, less as a historic than as a biographical study, introducing the personality of 'our Bobs' to the Italians.—C. de Lollis discourses of Ibsen's *When we Wake the Dead*, and General Dal Verme gives an account of the first three months of the war in South Africa.—(Feb. 1)—G. A. Cesare contributes a detailed critique on Professor Arthur Graf's poems, in three volumes, *Medusa*, *Dopo il Tramento*, and *Le Danaide*, and relates that the author was, from his very infancy, predisposed to be a pessimist. When he was only six years old, he happened to notice that the table, so smooth and shining of surface, was rough underneath, which fact gave him the sensation that everything is a lie, and the feeling never left him. He was sensitive in the highest degree, but this sensitiveness resulted rather in reflection than in action. When a young man he was offered a political candidature at Pinerolo, but refused to stand, and as a professor and rector he never made himself much talked about. He favoured socialism, but never wrote a line or made a speech on the subject. His intellect was keen, his ideas calm.

Signor Cesaeo enters into a full examination of the above-named poems, which he describes as written in a gloomy, impetuous, profound style; they 'howl, sob, curse, and menace; they come from night and plunge into night.' Graf is a poet who cannot please everyone, especially now-a-days, but none can deny that the 'hermit of art' has achieved for himself a special position in the history of modern Italian poetry.—Galton's work, *Hereditary Genius*, is the subject of an exhaustive essay by G. Sergi, who expresses his own conclusions as follows:—'A man of genius is he who has felt and known the desires of mankind, but has not been influenced by them in the ordinary way. He does not become pessimistic from the reading of books; nor a mystic unless he has a mystic tendency. He lives outside the crowd which is so easily suggestionised; he is solitary, and in open opposition to the social current. He is almost always eccentric in his greatness.'—G. Rovetta's romance, *La Signorina*, is continued.—G. Bressan discusses the question of the autonomy of the port of Genoa; and G. Finali contributes a biographical sketch of the patriot, Domenico Farini.—F. Di Palma speaks of the reform in the *personale* of State arsenals.—U. Flores dedicates an article to the memory of John Ruskin, giving an account of that great thinker's career, and ends his remarks in the words: 'In John Ruskin taste and reason melt into one sentiment—the passion for the beautiful; and his works, even in their analytical character and their tendency to social reform, are only the splendid manifestation of that one sentiment.'—D. Sciacca Della Scala and F. Giucciardini discuss the tax on native sugar.—E. Della Vida discourses on agrarian reform.—Nenii criticises recent publications.—(Feb. 16th)—Professor Villari here publishes, with additions, his lecture, given at Messina, on the society, 'Dante Alighieri,' which was instituted with the aim of maintaining alive the Italian sentiment and language in all Italian colonies. Professor Villari gives a very interesting account of his visits to the colonies of Italian workmen in Switzerland, Austria, etc., realising their manner of living, the wages they receive, and the obstacles they encounter in preserving their nationality. The paper, too long to summarize in detail here, is well worth careful perusal. It gives an idea of the vast field opened to the action of the 'Dante Alighieri' in Europe and America, and Professor Villari argues that it may and should be extended to Egypt, Tunis, Tripolis, and Malta. He remarks that he cannot understand why England should suddenly, and without any reason, forbid in the latter island the very ancient official use of the Italian language.

Professor Villari ends with an appeal to Italians of all parties and all religions to encourage the Italian language and sentiment. 'Our patron saint,' he exclaims, 'is Dante; our religion is our country; we fight with a high ideal which ought to unite us all—the moral and civil renaissance of Italy.'—E. Odescalchi narrates his late journey to the Argentine Republic.—Aventuri has an interesting paper on Dante and Giotto.—E. Arbib discusses the parliamentary question.—Professor De Amicis contributes a chapter on Giuseppe Garibaldi from his new book, *Hopes and Glories*.—C. Nava notices the unsuccess of the Catholic party, and affirms that the abstention from voting does serious harm to its organisation. As long as it lasts, the Catholics cannot hope to use that beneficent influence on the social struggle which alone can save Italy from ruin.—(March 16th)—General Dal Verme here contributes an article on the Transvaal, concluding as follows:—'If General Buller and his soldiers have given the world an admirable example of extreme military valour, and General Buller proof of firmness and pertinacity under adverse circumstances, what shall we say of the Boers, who, placed in very inferior numbers, between the besieged and their liberators, kept the former shut up for four months, and prevented the latter from helping them? These peasants, soldiers from fifteen to sixty years of age, and no artillerymen, maintained the siege of these garrisons; occupied, always fighting, extensive provinces of the enemy; met the solid English troops in battle, and made prisoners 130 officers and 3000 soldiers. And all this they did in spite of the reinforcements that reached the English in December and January. And it was only when the English Government had finished pouring into Africa a torrent of money collected from every part of the empire, and when they had appeared a general who knew how to carry the action in the open plains of the Orange State, and when the Boers could no longer take the positions which rendered them invincible, that these peasant-soldiers were conquered. If they were beaten when they were only one against four after having held their own against the entire British army for months, against forces four times superior to their own. The story of this heroic people will be written in indelible characters as that of a war of giants, with which the centurions of the past would have closed. The Boers may to-day disappear under an avalanche of soldiers, but is it impossible that they will not arise once more in better times?' Such is General Dal Verme's view

MINERVA (January 28).—This review of reviews has for some time added original articles to those translated from foreign magazines, and in the present number there is a pleasant paper by V. Pica, giving an account of the Italian painter, Mario de Maria, who often signed his pictures by the pseudonym of *Marius pictor*. Mario de Maria was born at Bologna in August, 1853. He was the ultimate scion of a family of artists. His grandfather was a well-known sculptor, his great-grandfather a wood-engraver, and his great-great-grandfather an esteemed music-master. Mario de Maria commenced working as an artist in his native town, but soon went to Paris, where he pursued his studies, influenced greatly by the works of Delacroix and Deschamps. He exhibited his first finished works at Bologna and Leghorn in 1874 and 1876, but they were almost unnoticed. He sent a more important painting to Turin in 1884, but it was refused. He was not discouraged; on the contrary, he overcame his natural indolence, and worked with great fervour, showing evermore a bold and genial originality. Finally he settled in Rome, where by and bye he determined to make a small exhibition of his own and several paintings of other young and almost unknown men, and it was in 1886 that their works, fifty-seven in number, were exhibited in a private apartment at No. 27 via S. Nicolo da Tolentino. The exhibition was entitled 'In arte Libertas,' and had a signal success. The following year another exhibition was held, in which was one of de Maria's pictures, which unconsciously bore a truly Whistler-like name—'A White Night on a Scale of Grey.' This exhibition was equally successful. Some rivalries and jealousies embittered the soul of Mario de Maria, who brusquely separated himself from his former companions, and for several years he exhibited no important picture in Italy. He sent all he produced to England, Germany, Austria, and America, where he obtained great success, gaining the gold medal at Munich in 1888 for a vast canvas—'The Plague at Rome in 600.' Mario de Maria was a great painter of moonlight effects, Venetian canals, Roman ruins, amatory wanderings of cats on roofs; innumerable subjects tempted him to symbolise human life by the melancholy tone of bright or clouded moonlight. But he did not neglect the sun, and his two paintings exhibited in the autumn of 1899 proved his mastery of brilliant sunshine effects. In the first, 'The Cypresses of Villa Massino,' a centaur is chasing a wild boar, while a purple sunset inflames a group of noble cypresses. In the other, 'The Close of a Summer Day,' a flock of sheep cross a plain bathed in golden light, while in

the foreground a large tree spreading its branches above an ancient sarcophagus, stands black against the flaming horizon. Though there is something Böcklinesque in this painting, it is neither an imitation of, nor a derivation from, the works of that great painter, but only shows a close affinity between two artistic natures. Mario de Maria's one hundred and sixty works hitherto produced give him a foremost place among Italian painters.—(February 4).—In this number there is an original paper by V. Pica in praise of the Sicilian sculptor, Domenico Trentacoste, who was born at Palermo in 1859, and as a child showed such talent in modelling in clay from the life that he was encouraged to become an artist; and, going to Paris in 1880, became at once, though previously unknown there, engaged in executing several portrait busts which, exhibited at the Salon, called great attention to him. While occupied with such portrait busts, the sculptor also created a whole series of people of small and large ideal busts, taking mythological and idyllic subjects. In 1887, he gained with his 'Pia dei Toloni' increased fame, and in 1889 his 'Cecilia' showed great delicacy of poetical inspiration. After remaining for fifty years in Paris, interrupted by frequent visits to London, Signor Trentacoste returned to his native country and settled in Florence. He exhibited his 'Derelitta' and 'Ophelia' at Venice, and gained the prize of 5000 francs. Hitherto he had been unknown in Italy, but now his name spread rapidly, and his success was repeated at the Turin exhibition, and at Florence and Milan, where he gained the gold medal. He produced numberless medallions in plaster and terra-cotta, and his greater work, the 'Daughter of Niobe,' all of which were refused at the Art Academy as excessive in chiaroscuro and deficient in design. Meanwhile political events induced Trentacoste to enlist in the army, and he went through a campaign against the Austrians. After the peace of Villafranca he again took up his profession and painted several military subjects, obtaining his first success. Later on he exhibited at Turin a scene from the ghetto at Venice, so violent in colour and design that it gained him the name of the 'blotcher,' this style of art represents a very interesting portion of Italian art in this second half of the century. The style introduced by Signorini, Tivoli, and others, and derived from the manner of Deschamps, consisted principally in an excessive use of light and shade. By and bye, Trentacoste grew tired of 'blotching,' and adopted a new manner more fitted to his own nature. In 1864 he exhibited at Florence, and gained a first prize for his 'L'Alzaia,' a large group of boatmen dragging a

against the current on the Arno. This, and a canvas representing agitated lunatics in the Florence asylum, were good examples of Trentacoste's new realism. The artist then painted many landscapes—some of the Tuscan fields, others of the Riviera and the Isle of Elba. But Trentacoste was most successful, and obtained a signal success at the third exhibition at Venice, which was purchased for the gallery of modern art in that city.—(February 25th)—The subject of this month's art-paper is Telemaco Signorini, who was born at Florence on the 18th of August, 1835, the son of the painter to the Grand-Duke of Tuscany. His father brought up his son to his own profession, though the boy had shown more aptitude for a literary career. After studying in Florence for some time, Telemaco Signorini went to Venice, where he became enthusiastic for the old Venetian school of painting. He then returned to Florence and executed several paintings; in his paintings of city scenes, among which those of Edinburgh were very characteristic, and his pictures of old Florence streets—now destroyed—have a historical interest. Telemaco Signorini, now an old man, still paints with youthful fire, has led an extremely industrious life, producing more than one hundred and fifty paintings. He has lived for art and not for making money, and has scarcely insured for himself a modest income in his old age.—(March 4)—Leaving for the present the description of Italian painters, this month's number gives an interesting account of the Belgian artist, Léon Frédéric, known in Paris by his exhibitions at the Salon.

RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (February 1).—In an article on the extension of the Italian Red Cross and its service in time of peace, Count G. Parravicino, after having alluded to the important services rendered by that institution in war-time, says that it has not received a preparation adequate to the case of an international war. While the Russian Red Cross Society can dispose of a patrimony of about thirty-two million francs, the Italian institution has little more than six millions. It is true that it did good work in Africa, but the troops active there were not more than 20,000 men, while the expenses of the Red Cross amounted to 1,500,000 francs! The Red Cross should be contributed to also in time of peace, so that the indispensable material would not have to be collected in haste in time of need. Unfortunately, in Italy the absolute necessity of this is not recognised. The Italian Red Cross is at present studying the question of its activity in time of peace, and opinions are much

divided, some arguing that activity should be carried into fields of beneficence, and that stations should be instituted as operative centres for the help of the workmen, like those which did such good service at the Carrara quarries; while others affirm that the Red Cross should strictly adhere to the old programme, in which opinion Count Parravicino agrees, except in times of real national calamities, such as great epidemics, earthquakes, inundations, etc. Count Parravicino gives an account of the network of stations planted in all the centres of Italy, proving that no other institution disposes of such a field or is so well organised.

EMPORIUM (January).—In completion of former studies in this magazine of the interesting figure of the painter, Segantini, there is here a paper by L. Benapiani describing the life and work of the artist at Maloja (where he had a villa), his family, his friends, etc. The paper is well illustrated with a portrait of the artist and views of Maloja, of the villa, and of the family. Segantini died last September, and all Eugadine followed him in his last repose, while flowers and condolences reached the artist from Germany, Austria, and other parts.—Next comes, under the rubric of 'Retrospective Art,' a description by P. M. of the beautiful villa Emo at Fanzolo, built by Palladio, and added to, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, by the patrician Mario Contarini, who died in March, 1689. In the few now rare books speak of this villa, and the article before us describes the paintings therein contained. G. Ferrara, in 'Great Capitals,' gives a full description of Munich, illustrated in his paper with numerous photographs.—Follows a long notice of 'The Great Telescope of 1900' for the Paris exhibition.—V. Pica gives an interesting account of the Neapolitan *presepe*, which rustic representations of the birth of Christ are now superseded by the Teutonic Christmas-tree.—Here is a notice of the death of John Ruskin, in words which show that Italians do not fail to justly appreciate him as a teacher and critic.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 6, 1900).—M. E. Doutté gives here the first section of a series of studies on 'sur l'Islam Maghribin.' The notes contained in this number are confined to the subject of the worship paid to the Maraboutic Islamic saints, and more especially to the cult paid to the saints of the Maghrib—viz., Algeria and Morocco. The fact that this worship is rendered to their reputed saints in spite of the

nounced monotheism of Mahomedanism is first discussed, and abundant evidence is furnished of the fact. The cause, or probable cause, of this departure from the distinctive doctrine of the Islamic Faith is dealt with, and then the forms this cult takes among the Berbers are described. It is a common spectacle in the streets of Algiers, when a marabout appears in them, for the populace to turn out to a man, and prostrate themselves before him as he passes, kiss the stirrup of his horse if he is riding, or the prints of his feet in the dust if he is walking. A notable feature of the marabout's authority, as of his power and influence, is that it is local, limited sometimes even to the village where he resides. In the Maghrib, if he fails to work the miracles expected of him, he at once falls in public estimation. The writer speaks from personal knowledge of his subject, but makes abundant use of the testimony of other travellers and writers. The sanctity that adheres to the marabout extends to everything around him, especially to his *mogaddem*, or personal servant. When the saint dies his *mogaddem* becomes the custodian of his tomb, and the recipient of the offerings made at it. It is consequently a lucrative post, is hereditary, and often leads to important civil appointments. It seems, however, that not all Mohammedans in the Maghrib are saint-worshippers, but the great majority of them are.—'Nebo, Hadaran, et Serapis dans l'Apologie du Pseudo-Meliton' is the title of a brief article from the pen of M. Isidore Levy. In the *Spicilegium*, Melito says that 'everybody knows that Nebo represents Orpheus and Hadaran represents Zoroaster.' Recently M. C. Ganneau has discussed these identifications. M. Levy does not regard his conclusions as justified, and gives here what he thinks to be the real solution of the confusion into which Melito fell. He had been misled. M. Levy thinks, by his confounding the word in the Avesta, *athravan* (pronounced *adhravan*); that is the usual word for priest in the Avesta, with Hadaran; and Nebo with *nabi*, prophet. From his euphemistic tendencies, he thus confounded Zoroaster with Hadaran, attributing to him priestly functions through regarding *athravan* as the same as *Hadaran*, and equating *nabi* with *Nebo*.—M. A. Reville gives a minute analysis of Professor Tiele's second series of the Gifford Lectures, making use of the Dutch edition. The summary (for this is merely a summary or outline of the contents of each lecture in order) covers thirty-nine pages in small type, and is to be followed by a critical review of the lectures from the same pen.—M. J. Reville gives a summary of the proceedings of the International

Conference of Orientalists held in Rome from the 3rd to 15th of October, 1899.—A large number of recent works, bearing on the province of Religious History, is reviewed, and *Chronique* gives a syllabus of the various subjects that are to be treated by the different lecturers in the coming sessions in *Faculte des Lettres*; in the *Collège de France*; and in the *M. Guimet*, and also in the *Ecole d'Anthropologie*. Shorter notices are given under this section of other recent publications issued in France, Germany, England, and elsewhere.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (February, March, April).—The February number opens with a highly technical article 'L'Energie Sociale et ces mensurations,' from the pen of M. Winiarski. His article is one of a series which he has been contributing for some years back to various continental journals with a view probably to their receiving the criticism of experts prior to their being issued together in a volume. He seeks here to show that all action or motion, be it of a biological or social character, is the product or result of material causes just as action or motion of a chemical or physiological character is, and may be measured and expressed by mathematical formulas. Energy in the scientific sense of that term to-day, latent or active, is subject to the laws of 'mechanique,' and is equally indestructible and capable of transformation.—M. M. Evellin & Z. continue their papers on 'L'Infini nouveau.' The previous article appeared in the pages of this *Revue* in 1898. They seem to have as their object to show that in mathematics there is such thing as a numerical infinite.—Dr. G. Tardieu continues here, too, his study, begun in the January number, on 'Energie.' Having illustrated in that number the difficulty of finding a definition of the phenomenon in question, he has proceeded to enumerate and discuss the physiological and psychological causes of the mental condition denoted by the term, and placed them under six categories and dealt then with two of them—*exhaustion of mental powers, and lack of variety in occupations*. In this case he has dealt with the latter, and with the other four—*fatigue, monotony, vanity of the intellect, and the vanity of the will*. The article is jointly contributed by Dr. Tardieu and M. Evellin, and the lucidity and vivacity of the treatment, and the keenness of the analysis, and the clearness of the conclusions, and the interest of the article is throughout maintained. In addition to the above, there is a study on *Energie* by M. Winiarski.

mensurations,' described above, we have here a paper by M. A. Lalande on 'Progrès et Destruction,' as witnessed in the evolution or development of life, of society, of all social and political programmes; a critical paper by M. G. Belot on 'La Religion comme principe sociologique,' the subject of the criticism being a series of articles which appeared in the *Année sociologique*, two especially, one by M. Durkheim ('Definition des phénomènes religieux') and one by MM. Hubert et Mauss ('Essai sur la nature et la fonction de sacrifice').—M. Daubresse contributes a paper, 'L'Audition colorée,' based on articles that have appeared in the *Monde musical* under that same title.—(April)—'La sociologie biologique et le régime des castes' (by M. C. Bougle) discusses the question 'Are societies organisms, and subject to the same or similar laws as these latter? Some answer yes, some no, and M. Bougle here places before the latter a series of problems which he desires them to consider.—M. C. Duncan deals with 'La première antinomie mathématique de Kant; and M. Emile Borel with 'L'Antinomie du Transfini.'—Under the heading 'Pour la sociologie et "pro domo,"' Professor Angelo Vaccaro, of the University at Rome, replies to a criticism of his recent work in this *Revue*, 'Les bases sociologiques du droit et de l'état,' by M. Gaston Richard. Among the reviews of books is one on Mr. Andrew Lang's *The Making of Religion*, by M. L. Marillier.

REVUE SEMITIQUE D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE (No. 1, 1900).—M. J. Halévy continues his examination of Deuteronomy in order to bring out its testimony to the traditional theory of the origin of the Pentateuch, and which M. Halévy continues, with some slight modifications, to defend. He adduced in the last number certain laws given in Deuteronomy which he thinks conclusively establishes the priority of P. to D., and the dependence of the latter on the former. Here he brings forward other passages in Deuteronomy which prove the same relationship between these documents. Deuteronomy xii. 15, he says, can have no meaning to a reader who does not know from Leviticus i. and ii., that the gazelle and the hart are not sacrificial animals. The prohibition of blood is based in Deuteronomy xii. 23, on the moral reason that the blood is the life, the soul, of the animal. This is, however, an advance on the idea expressed in Lev. xxii. 27-28, and Exodus xxiii. 19. The last clause of this last verse is the starting point of all the following regulations based on pity for the domestic animals. Lev. xxii. 27-28 shows the intermediary stage, and Deut. xii. 23 the climax of the progress. Deuter-

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article in the *Revue des Etudes Juives* (No. 1, 1899). The article before us here is largely critical of M. Reinach's views there given: but it subjects both the apochryphal work, Tobias, and the pseudo-epigraphical, Akhiakar, to a thoroughly critical examination.—His fourth article is a continuation of his series of papers on the Hebrew texts or fragments of Ecclesiasticus.—Another paper from the same prolific pen follows—'Un dernier mot sur la lettre de Simeon de Beit-Arscham.'

LE MUSEON ET LA REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 4, 1899).—M. E. Bauvois—'Echos des croyances chretiennes les Mexicains du moyen age et chez d'autres peuples voisins'—deals with the similarities in Mexican beliefs and religious rites, etc., which so perplexed the Spanish monks on their landing there, with those of the Christian Faith. Detailing them, he seeks to explain them as due to some early contact with the ancestors of those races with Christian missionaries. The similarities are certainly difficult otherwise to account for; while time and their earlier beliefs and customs might explain the differences found existing then between them. Their divine Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the Son being of a virgin mother, the birth being preceded by a solemn annunciation, and so on, are all referred to by M. Bauvois. The sources from which he here draws his facts are the writings of the Dominican monk, Diego Duran, and the Franciscan Fathers, B. de Sahagun, G. de Mendieta, and J. de Torquemada. Our author has more than once in the pages of this periodical discussed this same and kindred subjects. He does not here commit himself to any precise date for the contact of the Christian teachers with the early Mexicans, Mayas, Chiapanecs, etc., nor fix on any particular region for the supposed contact of the missionaries with them.—M. C. de Vaux continues his summary translation of Al-Gazali's work, his *El-Falasifah*, or Destruction of the Philosophers. In the earlier parts of his abbreviated translation, he gave us his author's refutation of the philosophers' doctrine of the eternity of the world; in this he gives us his refutation of the doctrine of the perpetuity of matter, time, and motion.—M. Aristide Marre continues his translation of the 'Sadjarah Marayon,' giving chapters xxvii. and xxviii. The rest of this number is taken up with reviews of books and the usual *Chronique*.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES—(No. 4, 1899).—M. Maurice Holleaux submits a passage in *Josephus* (*Antiquities*, Bk. xii. ch. 3, sect. 155) to a minute critical and historical study in

order to show that readers have hitherto misunderstood import. The passage has been read as stating the revenues of Coelo-Syria, after the marriage of Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus III., to Ptolemy V., were divided between Antiochus and Ptolemy. That statement in course perplexed students of the times. Until very recently however, it has been accepted as what Josephus had. M. Holleaux regards that reading as erroneous. Here is a brief summary of his argument in support of his theory of the immediately preceding clause of the passage in Josephus. It is stated that the provinces named were given by Antiochus to Ptolemy as the dowry of Cleopatra. One would suppose from that that these provinces were at the marriage ceded to Ptolemy, and then passed under his dominion. The argument supposed to be described by Josephus becomes consequently wholly inexplicable. It is also unsupported by other historical source. In the following chapter in Josephus too, there is not the very slightest indication of the existence of any such division of the tribute of Coelo-Syria. The revenues of these provinces are there mentioned, but no Antiochus appears as having any share in them, or any part in the raising or distribution of them, only Ptolemy and Cleopatra. M. Holleaux finds the key to the solution of the difficulty in the phrase, *ἡ ἀμφότεροι βασιλεῖς*, which, he thinks, has been persistently misread as the two *kings*, instead of the two *sovereigns*, viz., Ptolemy and Cleopatra. A little fastened down in Josephus's narrative this very term *basileis* is applied to Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Why not, he asks, apply it to both of them? If that is done everything is perfectly clear. The revenues were to be divided between the husband and wife, the royal consorts. But was such an arrangement made in Egypt? We have no evidence for or against such arrangements. But Antiochus may well have made independent provision for his daughter. There was no reason to hinder him if he so wished.—M. Israel Levi continues his examination of the recently-discovered fragments of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus. It will be remembered from his previous paper he indicated that further and more study of these fragments had convinced him that they do not represent the original text of the work, but are only a translation into Hebrew of a Syriac version. He was at first in opinion with Mr. Schechter and others that they represented the original, and wrote a volume in support of that contention. In these two papers he seeks now to show the opposite. He takes up here his series of proofs which

halted at the end of his last paper. But he first pauses to notice the more recently-discovered fragments, published by the Rev. G. Margoliouth in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1899). These furnish him, it seems, with fresh evidence for his present conviction. He proceeds then to examine more of the doublets occurring in these fragments, and maintains that these are inexplicable if the fragments represent the text of the original author, while they are perfectly consistent with the work of a translator, whose knowledge of Syriac was indifferent. He does not finish his argument here. It is to be continued.—M. L. Bank has a short paper on 'Les Gens subtils de Pumbeditha.' Pumbeditha was a celebrated rabbinical school, which received its name from its situation at the mouth (*pum*) of the Baditha, a canal connecting the Euphrates and Tigris, not far from the township of Kochi. The heads of the school were surnamed the *Schinnana*, or the sagacious. M. Bank sets himself here to solve a knotty question as to the identity of two leaders of the school, a puzzle arising from the fact of there being more than one rabbi bearing that name.—M. W. Bacher gives an account, under the title of 'Une vieille liste de livres,' of a MS. from the Genizah of Cairo containing a list of books similar to one he himself edited and published in this *Revue* in 1896.—M. O. d'Araujo describes the Great Synagogue of Segovia, and gives a photograph and plan of it. M. D. Kaufmann's collection of letters from Scheschet b. Isaac b. Joseph Benveniste of Saragossa to the princes Kalonymous and Levi de Narbonne is concluded in this number. The other articles are, 'Un recueil de Consultations inédites de rabbins de la France meridionale;' 'L'inventaire du mobilier et de la bibliothèque d'un medecin juif de Majorque;' 'Les Juifs de Tarascon au moyen age;' 'Notes exegetiques on Genesis and other biblical books or passages in them, by M. M. Lambert;' 'Traits apologetique dans la Agada de Samuel b. Nahman,' etc.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Janvier, 1900).—This number is full of attractive reading for those who are interested in the line of studies with which this scholarly *Revue* deals. M. Ferdinand Lot opens it with a paper entitled 'L'épreuve de l'épie et le couronnement d' Arthur par Dubrice a Kaer-Iudeu.' The article turns upon the 'Stori yr olew bendigedi,' preserved in the collection of Hengwrt MSS. at Peniarth, a selection from which was published some time ago under the editorship of Messrs. Williams and Hartwell Jones. The main object of M. Lot is to identify Dubrice and Kaer-Iudeu. Dubrice he identifies with the 'holy bishop that hight Brice' of a fourteenth

century translation of the story of Merlin and Kaer-I Bede's *urbs Giudi* situated on an island in the Firth which is generally taken to be the island of Inch number of other interesting points are evolved in the course of the article. M. Seymour de Ricci contributes an article under the title 'Le Calendrier celtique del Since his first article, which appeared in the course of the year, much attention has been directed to the Calendar, much has been written in connection with it. Hermonymour de Ricci passes in review all the opinions that Celtic scholars have expressed upon it, and then points out the results to which the discussion has led, one of which is that there is not necessity for denying the existence in certain number of different languages. This results from the fact that the Calendar is written in a language which is neither Celtic, Greek, nor Latin, but which seems to resemble the Ligures. But opinion in this point differs, some holding that the language of the Calendar is that of the Sea. Sec J. Loth provides the next article, which has for its title 'Remarques sur les vieux poemes historiques galls'. This article has been suggested to him while preparing the edition of the Black Book of Carmarthen, in which the text is accompanied with translation, notes, and glossary. Dottin continues his 'Studies of Irish Phonetics' with an article on 'Les groupes de consonnes.'—A charming paper on 'Les croisants d'or islandais.' The author is M. S. and is full of antiquarian information in connection with the relics of antiquity in which the Dublin Museum is rich.—The 'Bibliographie' notices but one book, which is M. d'Arbois de Jubainville's 'La civilisation celtique et celle del épopée homérique.' The notice is by Nestour. As usual, the Chronique is rich in information on matters connected with Celtic studies.

REVUE ARCHEOLOGIQUE (No. 1, 1900).—To this issue M. d'Arbois de Jubainville contributes a singularly interesting article on 'Les bas-reliefs Gallo-romains du Musée de Caen.' The article forms part of the lecture which its author delivered at the opening of a course of lectures on the Celtic art and literature at the College of France in the last December. One of the bas-reliefs is on one of the sides of a quadrangular altar. It is the figure of a bull, which is accompanied by three birds; the last of which is a *Trigaranos*. A bas-relief of Treves represents a bull and a bird—three birds accompanying a bull. The last has for its subject Cuchulainn cutting down a tree.

way along which the war chariots of his enemies are to force their way, and the name *kus* inscribed below it. Several others are mentioned, notably one with the inscription *Smer-tullos*. By an ingenious but thoroughly convincing description M. d'Arbois de Jubainville connects the whole of the bas-reliefs with the story of Cuchulainn as it occurs in the oldest MS. of the *Tain bo Cuailngi*, and concludes by saying that as close a parentage exists between the mythology of Ireland and of Gaul as between the druidism of the one country and the art of the other, and that here the archæology of Gaul is in accordance with Celtic literature.

LES NOMS DE LIEU DANS LE CARTULAIRE DE GELLONI is a note read before the Academy of Inscriptions by the same author. The chartulary in question is especially rich in charters of the eleventh century, and deserves to be regarded as one of the principal sources for the study of the historical geography not only of the department of Hérault in which Gellone—or, as it is now called, Saint Guillem-du-Desert, but also of the neighbouring departments. The district in which the department is situated was at one time, the author points out, inhabited by a mixed population of Ligures and Iberians. About the year 300 B.C., they were probably joined by the Celts, who remained masters of the country till the foundation of the colony of Narbonne in 118 B.C. Traces of the Roman domination M. d'Arbois de Jubainville finds in abundance in the place names furnished by the charters. Among these too are numerous traces of the influence of the language of the Celts and of the Ligures as well.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS.—(Feb.)—In a very able article Prof. H. Krabbe advocates the preservation of Constitutional Monarchy, considering it as a transition stage to sovereignty of the people. He sketches the process in England, and shows how it suffered shipwreck in France, and what is the German dogma of constitutional monarchy. Lastly, he treats of Holland, insisting on the political necessity of guaranteeing popular sovereignty while the crown is retained.—Prof. A. G. Van Hamel, under the title of 'Poet-Silhouettes,' treats of Maurice Maeterlinck and his creations.—'The Last Incarnation,' by Henri Borel, is a peculiarly vivid sketch of a Japanese Mousmé, very weird and strange.—'Through the Dead Cities of Flanders,' by Mr. S. Muller Fz, gives his impressions in a pleasant way of St. Bave, Yperen, Veurne, Bruges, and Damme.—In 'On the Threshold of the New Century,' Byvanck gives merely an introduction to a series of

articles, chiefly scientific and social, on the Nineteenth Ce
 —(March)—Begins with 'Grueten Broos,' by Cyriel Bu
 clever delineation of peasant life in which brutality and
 are equally mingled.—'The "Debt of Honour" in Parlia
 by C. T. van Deventer, refers to the financial relations be
 Holland and the Dutch Indies.—'Guiseppe Venanzio,' b
 G. van Nonhuys, treats especially of the Italian's G
 (youths), in the style of Ibsen's 'Peer Gynt,' with a litt
 much of Dionysaic fervour, yet a work of great promis
 genius. Copious translations are given.—'The Draft
 Sanitation Law,' by Dr. W. Jenny Weijerman, comes
 conclusion that it might have been worse, and with
 suggested alterations may even prove of use.—'New L
 Life in Greece,' by Dr. Hesselings, is a confession that th
 is still very weak, as is shown by the early decease of
 periodical, *Techni*.—'Silence is Golden,' by a Free Stat
 curious sort of fairy tale given in the language of the Afri
 Boers, and said to be current among them. The lang
 Dutch, with a dash of English and Kaffir—is, perhaps, m
 teresting than the tale.—(April)—'Orpheus in the De
 Augusta de Wit, the tale of a magic flute in a Japanese
 is prettily told and has been already translated into Ger
 'Novel Developments in Criminal Science,' by Prof. D. S
 is an able article on the subject, with special reference
 reform of criminal law in Holland, yet always based on
 principles of psychology which should everywhere determ
 treatment of criminals.—'An Ascent of Mont Blanc,'
 Vissering, is a long, minute account of a very common-p
 excursion, adventurous, no doubt, to Dutchmen, who
 famous as mountaineers.—'Rabelais' Laugh,' by Pr
 Hamel, is a most interesting paper on the grotesque, the
 and the humourous, from various points of view, and as ill
 by the great satirist.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—(March)—Dr. J. C. I
 writes a very interesting and, we may say, important p
 'Mourning and the worship of the dead in Israel.' Our
 will remember our reporting quite recently a paper by t
 scholar on the notion of purity in Israel, in which the vi
 maintained that 'impure' meant originally, disqualified
 service of Jehovah, and that this disqualification arose i
 cases, if not most, from contact with other worshi
 ally with the worship of the dead, which, whil
 pressed in Israel, yet survived in many a
 belief. The present paper is written to g

mourning in Israel, tearing one's clothes, putting ashes on one's head, abstinence from washing and anointing, are all in their origin religious usages, and point back to an early worship of the dead as gods. A further paper is promised in which other practices connected with mourning, fasting, the funeral feast, etc., will be treated in the same manner.—The number concludes with a notice of the death of Martineau, in which a study of that great leader of thought is promised for a future number.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE.—The April number opens with an excellent article from the pen of M. J. Villarais, having for its title 'Anglais et Boers au sud de l'Afrique.' The author is of opinion that much of the feeling on the Continent against Great Britain, if not the whole of it, is purely sentimental, and due to an almost complete ignorance of what are really the facts of the case. He traces the history of the Boer Republics and Britain's attitude towards them, and is by no means sure that victory for the Boers would be to the good of humanity. Each, he says, is naturally free to give his sympathy to whichever side he pleases; but on the one side is the past, the pretended 'good old times,' with its slaveries and half-unconscious cruelties; on the other hand is the reign of justice, equality for all before the law, open doors, the gradual elevation of an entire race as numerous as the people who have deprived them of their possessions, and who have a right to demand that in exchange for these they shall be assured of the benefits of a true civilization.—M. Delines continues his descriptive pages under the title of 'Le Village Chinois,' both in this and in the following number; while in each of the three numbers of the quarter, under the general title of 'En Plein air,' M. T. Combe discourses on the 'Histoires de petits bergers.'—The February number also contains 'L'homme aux grandes altitudes,' over the signature of M. C. Bühler, and the second part of M. E. Bovet's 'Les conditions présentes de l'Italie.'—'La princesse Désirée,' by Clementina Black, is begun, and M. F. Mailer contributes 'Jamné, ou de mauvais œil.'—The March number gives the first place to a criticism, by M. Paul Stapfer, on Victor Hugo as a poet. The title of the article is 'Lois de l'imagination poétique et satirique de Victor Hugo.'—The editor, M. Ed. Tallichet, contributes a paper on 'La guerre du Transvaal et l'Europe,' in which he argues in favour of British supremacy, and points to the development of the gold fields and the corrupting influence of gold as the real motive, on the part of the Boers, for the war.—The other con-

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland. Edited and Abridged by DAVID MASSON, etc. Second Series. Vol. I., A.D. 1625-1627. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh. 1899.

Students of Scottish history will learn with regret that this volume, though the first in a new series, is the last that will be issued under the able direction of Professor Masson. During the twenty years he has been connected with the Scottish Privy Council Register he has done splendid work, both by the judiciousness of his selections, and by the admirable introductions he has prefixed to the volumes he has edited. His successor, Dr. Hume Brown, is well known for his large acquaintance with the literature of Scottish history, especially with that of the Reformation, and by his two singularly able works on Knox and Buchanan. One may therefore at least hope, with a considerable amount of confidence, that the traditions Professor Masson has established, and so admirably illustrated in connection with the Register of the Privy Council, will be thoroughly sustained. The period covered by the present volume is the first twenty-seven months of the reign of Charles I. For some reason or other these months have all but escaped the attention of historians. The events that happened in them, however, are of very considerable importance, and the information, which is here published for the first time, is essential to the thorough understanding of some of the things that happened in Scotland at a later period. On the 9th of April, 1620, Charles had been vested by his father with 'the power of full administration, government, and handling of his affairs,' as Prince of Scotland, and for the five years before he came to the throne they had been managed for him by what was known as the Prince's Council, a body which, though distinct from the King's Privy Council, was in the main composed of persons selected from it. Its president was the Earl of Melrose, Secretary of State and President of the Court of Session, and along with him were Sir George Hay, Chancellor and Premier, together with the great officers of State, the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, four bishops, a number of nobles not holding offices of State, and certain lairds and lawyers—in all, forty-six. At the meeting of the Privy Council on the 31st, 1625, the first of the meetings here noticed, a letter was read from Charles, dated March 27, the very day on which his father died, intimating that it was his pleasure 'that matters in that kingdome, alsweil concerning justice as policie, sall continue and goe forward in the same course wherein they now ar,' and in a series of documents coming down to the 15th of April this general resolution was confirmed in all requisite details by instructions as to new seals and signets, and by a definite edict that the Privy Council and all other magistrates throughout Scotland should continue in their offices until further notice. So far all seemed well; there was nothing to indicate that anything of importance in the way of change was contemplated. Between the middle of April and the middle of the following June the Council was largely depleted. Chancellor Hay, Melrose, Archbishop Spotswood, and others, had been summoned to consult on Scot-

tish affairs, and many other members of the Council had gone up for the double purpose perhaps of paying their respects to the new King, and attending the funeral of James. In the absence of Melrose, Lord Carnegie, an ordinary Lord of Session, acted as President. The chief piece of business that arose during his presidency was the suppression of the rebellion of the Clan Ian, a section of the Macdonalds, now chiefly memorable as the first service rendered to Charles I. by Lord Lorne, afterwards the great Earl and Marquess of Argyll. Among other matters which came before the temporarily attenuated Council was the case of Mr. Dunbar, the non-conforming minister of Ayr, who was charged to fulfil his previous sentence by going into banishment in Ireland, the settlement of a long standing dispute as to proprietary rights on the shore of the Firth of Forth, and the precautions to be taken against a plague-infected ship lately arrived in Leith Roads, a reminder that 'the Plague, the periodical scourge of Europe in those days, had been in various parts of Britain for some months before the death of King James, and that its dark shadow still overhung the island.' Melrose returned and resumed the presidency of the Council on the 21st May, to be relieved of it on the 12th of July by Chancellor Hay. Down to the month of July nothing of importance occurred, but on the 26th of that month an Act was passed by the Council of a quite peculiar character. It authorised and required the setting up of Parish Courts in all landward parishes, to consist of persons to be nominated by the parish ministers, and to act as justices of the peace by commission under his Majesty's signet, with powers to put in force the Acts of Parliament against fornication, drunkenness, profane swearing, rioting to the disturbance of divine service, obstinacy under excommunication, neglect of the rule to have a Bible and a Psalm Book in every household, vagrancy, sturdy begging, etc. The Courts were to have the usual rights of judicatories to appoint their meetings, create offices, summon witnesses, try by juries, etc., and were to be vested with power to inflict pecuniary penalties on offenders. The object of this remarkable Act was apparently to substitute for the Kirk Sessions more effective judicatories armed with whips of civil penalties in aid of ecclesiastical censures for the offences described. Nothing more, however, is heard of this Act in the present volume. The commissions for which the Act provided were to be for a year only, and the probability is that the Act, like not a few others of those days, never came into operation. But those who were in the secret knew that a document of much more importance, and one which was to prove an apple of discord, if not to be the undoing of the King in Scotland, was in preparation. The news of its preparation had been sent to Edinburgh on the 17th of May, by Mr. Gilbert Primrose, who, when writing to his father, the veteran Clerk of the Council, whose successor he hoped to be, had said: 'His Lordship [Melrose] hes lykewayes gevin young Durie and me charge to draw up the Kingis Revocatioun, quhilk we haif done.' These words, as Professor Masson observes, 'were words of fear to all to whom the Clerk of the Council might report them.' The obvious explanation, as Professor Masson puts it, is that 'by the feudal law, as understood in Scotland, the sovereign had the right, at any time between his attaining the full age of twenty-one and the completion of his twenty-fifth year, to revoke and annul all grants and gifts that had been passed during his minority, or even retrospectively beyond that in certain cases, to the detriment of the properties and revenues of the Crown,' and that such a revocation was about to be made. Revocations of the kind had not been infrequent in Scottish history, and one by Charles at the beginning of his reign would be no new thing. The chief anxiety was as to its terms, but

of these nothing was known until the 21st of July, when the document was forwarded and read before the Council, and its formal registration in the Council Books by the King's Advocate, Sir William Oliphant, desired. It terms itself a 'General Revocation,' and, though apparently explicit enough, some doubt was felt as to its precise scope and significance, but the interpretation generally put upon it was that it was intended to revoke only such grants as affected the estates and revenues of the Principality. On the 12th October, a fortnight before the meeting of the Convention of Estates, Charles caused his Revocation to become law, by passing it on that day through the Privy Seal—a fact which appears to have been kept secret from all the Councillors. No record of it has been found, but there can be no doubt about it, as it is referred to in an Act of Parliament of 1633. Nor is any copy of the document as it thus passed the Privy Seal known to exist, though from a letter addressed to the King by twelve Councillors, it would appear to have been very different from that which Sir W. Oliphant had presented on the 21st July. The view which the Councillors signing the letter took of the document as it passed the Privy Seal was sufficiently serious. 'Touching that Revocation,' they say, 'which has been kept so obscure, as none as yet has seen the same, the fear which is generally apprehended thereupon by all your Majesty's subjects of this kingdom is so unusual and great, and so heavily grudged and murmured at, as nothing has at any time heretofore occurred which has so far disquieted the minds of your good subjects, and possessed them with apprehensions and fears of the consequences thereof, as if all their former securities granted by your Majesty and your royal Progenitors were thereby intended to be annulled, and that no right hereafter to be made in the majority of Kings could be valid; which we are persuaded is far from your Majesty's royal purpose and intention. And, however projects have been made unto your Majesty of lawful and great gain by this Revocation, we are of opinion that the gain shall not prove answerable to the overture, and that the trouble of your Majesty's subjects is more than all that by law can follow upon that Revocation, except so far as concerns the Principality, which by cause of law and justice will subsist, according to your former Revocation made thereof.' On the 28th January His Majesty found it necessary to issue a proclamation explanatory of the Edict, in order to allay the discontent it had caused. Two months later the Privy Council was re-organised, probably with a view to facilitate the purposes the King entertained with respect to Scotland. That he had distinct and thoroughly formulated schemes in respect to Scottish affairs is manifest all through the present volume, and nothing is more remarkable than the tenacity with which he held to them. For some months after the re-constitution of the Council, nothing is heard of the Revocation. But on the 21st of July, 1626, a royal letter was received for registration and proclamation, which bore: 'Howsoever we haif maid our Revocation after the maner that our prædicessouris had formarie done, we doe certifie and declair by these præsentis that we doe intend to make no benefite thair of by extending it any further then onlie againis Ereccionis and other Dispositionis whatsomevir of Landis, Teyndis, Patronageis, Benefices, formarie belonging to the Churches, and since annexed to the Crowne, and againis Dispositionis of Lands and Benefices mortified and devoted to pious vses, and of Regalities and Herestable Offices, and againis the change of holding is since the yeir of God, 1540, from the ancient tenour of Warde and Relieff to Blenshe and Taxt Wardes.' The letter goes on to say that though His Majesty might proceed at once to recovery of the unjustly acquired properties or powers specified, without respect to the harm that might result to the holders thereof, he was disposed to act more elemently,

and had therefore appointed Commissioners to treat and arrange terms of composition with all who might before the 1st of January next voluntarily surrender any rights they have or claim to have of the kind described. A month elapsed and no surrenders were made, and on August 22 an action at law was begun by His Majesty against all within the compass of the Revocation Edict, by what is known as a 'summons of reduction.' The summons charged all concerned to appear and bring with them and produce all charters and infestments whereby they held lands and baronies, kirks, teinds, etc., appertaining to any Abbacy, Priory, etc., together with 'all infestments of Heretable Offices or Regalities of whatsoever date.' A Proclamation was also made in September, 1626, that certain Commissioners appointed by His Majesty would meet on the first Wednesday of the following November to receive surrender of rights affected by the Edict, but the meeting was not held. On the other hand, however, meetings were held during the month in Edinburgh of the nobles and lairds most affected by the Edict, and two deputations were sent to lay their case before the King, with the result that a new Commission was appointed, which practically gave the Revocation a new start, and was known as the Commission for Surrenders of Superiorities and Lands. The Commissioners began their sittings on 1st March, 1627, and sat to the end of June, the date at which this volume closes. They directed their attention to the Teinds, on the reform of which the King had set his mind. Surrenders also began to drop in upon them. As for the resolutions come to by the Commissioners respecting the teinds, we must refer the reader to Professor Masson's remarkably lucid introduction. The subject is too large and too technical to enter upon here, and would require for its explanation considerably more space than is here available. Besides, the Commissioners, during the months covered by this volume, treated but a part of the matters referred to them. As time went on their actings became of vastly increased importance, and may be said to have eventually wrecked the King's cause in Scotland. The other matters referred to in the volume are of a very miscellaneous character. Some of them are of great importance in reference to the social life of the country, while others of them throw light upon the history of the Court of Session, and upon that of the municipal organisations of the time. The volume, in fact, is replete with valuable information, and sheds a flood of light upon a little known period. In conclusion, we can only add that too much praise can hardly be given to the two really valuable sections in the Introduction, intituled respectively 'An Account of the State of the Scottish Church Lands and Revenues before the Reformation,' and 'A History of those Lands and Revenues from the Reformation to the year 1625.' In these Professor Masson has brought together a mass of information which, so far as known to us, has never been brought together before. The sections will serve to dissipate a number of mistakes, and to clear up some vexed and complicated and little understood questions in connection with the lauds of the Church in Scotland.

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. Edited by Sir JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, F.S.A., Scot., Lord Lyon King of Arms. Vol. II., A.D. 1500-1504. Edinburgh: H.M. Register House. 1900.

The first volume of the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts, which is now out of print, was published as far back as the year 1877. In the same year was published the first volume of the Register of the Privy Council.

fewer than fifteen volumes of it have since been issued ; but twenty-three years have had to pass before so much as the second volume of the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts has been allowed to appear, notwithstanding the proved value of the first volume as a source of materials for the history of Scotland. The delay has been due, we are told, to various reasons. The first volume was edited by Dr. Dickson, who, under the rules of the service, retired some years ago from the post he so admirably filled of Curator of the Historical Department of the General Register House. The introduction which he wrote for that volume was, and is still, considered a remarkable piece of work, and of the utmost value to the study of Scottish history. Much recondite information was brought to light, and many things which might be said respecting future volumes of the Accounts were anticipated. The Editor of the present volume is Sir James Balfour Paul, and now that the obstacles have been removed, and the veto of the Government against the publication of further volumes rescinded, it is to be hoped that the public will be put in possession of the information the Accounts contain with as little delay as possible. The present volume is valuable both on account of the introduction prepared for it by Sir James Balfour Paul and on account of the light which the entries of the Treasurer or his clerks throw upon the then condition of the country and the domestic life of the King. The first volume closes with the Accounts of May, 1498. From that date until February, 1500-1, when Sir Robert Lundy of Balgonie was Treasurer, no accounts are known to exist. The present volume covers the period from February, 1500-1, down to 9th February, 1504-5, and contains the Accounts of David Beaton of Creich, the Treasurer for the time and brother of James, Abbot of Dunfermline, his successor in the office. Though varying in certain details, his Accounts bear a general resemblance to those given in the first volume. Singularly enough, while the Accounts of Charge are there almost invariably given in the vernacular, they are here always in Latin. The Accounts of Discharge are here not so carefully classified as are those of Sir William Knolleys or Abbot Schaw in the earlier years. The Treasury Clerks make the same kind of mistakes as those pointed out in the earlier volume. The items are not always inserted in their proper chronological order, and a series of entries is sometimes given under a single date, though they must in reality have been spread over a longer period. Sir James traces out the itinerary of the restless king, following him from place to place, and here and there correcting from other sources the entries of the Treasurer's clerks. The King's character has given rise to much discussion, but on reading over the entries one cannot help feeling, Sir James remarks, that 'they deal with a very gracious personality.' 'James,' he continues, 'had all that charm of manner which was so characteristic of the Stewart race, and in this, as in the previous volume, many instances are to be found which illustrate his accessibility to the humblest of his subjects and the affectionate loyalty which he inspired in them. He has been styled the Paladin of Romance, and certainly he was chivalrous to a fault ; fond of all manly exercises, we can follow him from end to end of his kingdom, flashing like a brilliant meteor to and fro ; we find him hunting and hawking, shooting with the bow and arrow, playing golf and tennis, and in the long winter evenings amusing himself with song and dance, playing-cards, and chess. Nor did he neglect more serious pursuits : full of "intelligent curiosity," he threw himself with ardour into the study of chemistry, feebly represented as it was in his day by the empirical science of alchemy ; at a time when few men outside the clerical profession interested themselves in literature at all, the King's library contained many volumes both of classical and theological subjects. He was an accomplished linguist,

and evidently made a most pleasing impression on all with whom he came in contact, as we may judge by the laudatory terms in which Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador, wrote about him.' That there was another side to his character, Sir James fully admits, but suggests that perhaps too much has been made of it by many of his historians. He holds, and here he is supported by manifold entries in the Accounts, that James was a devoted son of the Church, and believes that it is not too much to say that in no other reign of the Stewart Kings was Scotland so well governed or the factious and turbulent nobles so well kept in hand. 'With a little more ballast of character,' he writes, 'and a little less imagination, James, the gentle, the gallant, and the chivalrous, might have been enrolled in the annals of history as a great king.' When the Accounts open the King has just returned from Glasgow to Stirling Castle, where he is interesting himself in the new garden there being laid out, reading certain 'prentit bukis bocht' of 'ane Franchman callit Bertholomo,' and playing chess, at which, on February 15th, he loses fourteen shillings. The 'prentit bukis' were the *Vita Christi major et minor*, Quintilian, Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, and a work by Hugo de St. Clare, who, about the close of the fifteenth century wrote notes (*postille*) on the Bible. On the 17th of February James was at Perth, attending the 'heaving' or baptism of a son of the Earl of Buchan. Easter was kept as usual at Edinburgh, and there are entries respecting the distribution of the Maunday dole and the alms clothing for the King's bedesmen. 'The King lap on hors' at Stirling on April 8th, and rode all the way to Edinburgh. Twelve days later he set off to Whithorn, and went there by way of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright. He returned by Ayr and Glasgow, and was in Stirling by the 26th. In July he was at the Castle of Threave, where chamber hangings were sent for his comfort, five shillings being paid for the hire of a horse to convey them. On September 12th he was playing cards 'at the Kyrk of Balquhiddier,' when he lost eighteen shillings, or at anyrate received that sum to play with. The next day some women of the neighbourhood made him a present of butter. He then passed to Strathfillan, and remained till the 18th, hunting on Benmore during the day, and listening in the evenings to 'Heland bardis,' who got five shillings for their trouble, and 'the samiyne Robert' got fourteen shillings 'to by thaim met.' The next month Commissioners were dispatched to carry through his espousals to the Princess Margaret of England. Indications of the excitement caused by the marriage in Scotland are present through a great part of the volume. The King himself shared the excitement, and in his determination to make as brave a show as possible at the reception of the Princess on this side of the border, spent, poor as he was, a considerable sum of money, more, perhaps, than he could well afford. Many entries bear witness to his lavish expenditure. But after all, when they met, his own appearance scarcely met with his royal bride's approval. His beard was not in the approved fashion, and he had not been a Benedict for a day before an alteration was made upon it, as we learn from the following entry:— 'The ix day of August, after the marriage, for xv elne claith of gold to the Countess of Surry of England, quhen sche and her dochtir Lady Gray clippit the Kingis berd, ilk elne xxij li—summa j^e lxxx li.' Lady Gray got fifteen ells of 'damas gold,' at a cost of £180. This was probably, as the Editor remarks, the largest barber's fee on record. While a bachelor the King could move about lightly. Most, if not all, of his journeys were made on horseback, and his baggage was light. After his marriage no less than twenty-three carts were required to carry the Queen's baggage, at a cost of £20 14s. for their hire, besides a pack-horse for small articles. On one occasion referred to the King's baggage was carried by a single

Scattered throughout the volume are many entries regarding jewels, dresses, and robes of state. The prices paid for a vast number of presents are also entered. The King's fondness for music and other modes of amusement comes out on nearly every page. Lutars, fithulars, gysaris, dancers, acrobats, and actors are frequently referred to. The Accounts also testify to the King's eagerness to become the possessor of a navy. His interest in chemistry or alchemy is shown by the numerous entries in connection with the Abbot of Tunland, who, besides trying to find out the elixir of life, invented a flying machine, the failure of which is noted by Dunbar. The chief amusements of the King were hunting and hawking. From some of the entries he appears to have indulged in a round at golf, notwithstanding the Act against it. The information which the volume gives about the private life of the King is, in short, almost endless. Here, as in the previous volume, the Accounts have been somewhat abridged. In future volumes the process may be carried still further, but under the skillful editorship of Sir James Balfour Paul there is little chance of anything of importance being left out. For the present volume, as much almost for the introduction as for the text, all students of Scottish history will thank him.

Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603. Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and Elsewhere in England. Edited by JOSEPH BAIN. Vol. II., A.D. 1593-1569. Edinburgh: H.M. Register House. 1900.

This volume covers a period of close on seven years. The papers it contains relate chiefly to the attempts on the part of Elizabeth to commit Mary to an alliance with one of her own favourites, on the pretence that with him the reversion of the English crown would be settled on her, to Mary's ill-fated union with Darnley, to the joint reign of the ill-matched couple, ended by Darnley's murder, to Mary's hasty marriage with Bothwell, the rising of the Confederate Lords, followed by her imprisonment and deposition, her escape, her defeat at Langside, and her flight to England. The evidence of Elizabeth's selfishness and lack of truth is here continued, and it is not a little amusing to find her warning Mary not to have two strings to her bow, and saying that she does not love or practice duplicity, while all the time her practice was just the reverse, and at times she has so many strings to her own bow that it is somewhat difficult to make out what she would be after. The least that can be said of her policy is that it was crooked. So crooked was it that at times it was obscure to her own partisans, and they had to ask her to be more explicit. One of her proposals was mean. She had asked and obtained Mary's licence for Lennox to return to Scotland on his private affairs, but afterwards, on pretence that his return might offend some of her partisans in Scotland, she caused Cecil and Randolph to write to Murray and Lethington to move Mary in secret to stay his return for a year. Murray and Lethington had more respect for honesty of purpose than she had, and flatly refused to have anything to do with her request. As to the marriage, she presumed to dictate to her equal, specifying certain royal houses into which the Scottish Queen might not marry, and commanding Randolph, as of himself, to indicate the person she preferred, set down in her own handwriting, showing her reason for preferring Dudley, though he is not named. That she was able to do anything of this sort without the risk of war was owing to the fact that she had numerous partisans in the

country, if not in her pay. Amongst her supporters was Knox, who lifted up his protestation, denounced any foreign match, and assured Cecil that he daily thirsts for death. He wrote also to Dudley as to a patron of pure religion, complaining that the nobility in Scotland were 'waxen cold' in their zeal, and that in England great superstition was maintained, and vain ceremonies required, and hinting, not obscurely, that they were favoured by Elizabeth—'not doubting in whom this fault consisteth.' Elizabeth's proposal of Dudley, when he was at last distinctly named, was received in Scotland with surprise, and when asked to give undoubted security for all the promises with which her proposal was accompanied, she admitted to Cecil that she was 'in a labyrinth.' Her dealings all through the marriage negotiations afford, indeed, a clear illustration of her character, and show that duplicity was the controlling spirit of her policy. They show, too, that her settled determination was to give Mary no peace. After the Darnley marriage she fomented discontent among Mary's subjects, and assured them, through Randolph, of her support. The paper in which Knox and Craig are enumerated among those consenting to the death of Riccio is here printed. Its value or trustworthiness has been called in question, and the controversy it occasioned when discovered by Tytler has recently been renewed. Mr. Bain, however, is not prepared to say that it is 'an unauthenticated scrap of paper.' The paper here printed, he says, 'is in official writing of the time, indorsed, moreover, in the well-known hand of Cecil's clerk, and is certainly genuine. The indorsement,' he continues, 'bears that the (persons within) "were assenting to the death of David." The names of Knox and Craig follow those of the actual conspirators or murderers, but it is not said that these two men were present.' The question is, were they privy to the conspiracy? or did they in any way consent to the deed? On this point Mr. Bain, not without reason, says:—'It cannot be doubted that the rumour of such a design, in which their chief friends Murray, Glencairn, etc.—Knox's own father-in-law, Ochiltree, among them—were concerned, must have been floating in the air of Edinburgh. The other papers deal with the tragedy of the Kirk of Field, Mary's marriage with Bothwell, the rising of the nobles, Mary's imprisonment and escape, the battle of Langside, the flight to England, and Elizabeth's treatment of her royal cousin down to the year 1569. As need hardly be said they are full of materials for the history of the period, and throw a little light on the characters of the leading personages of the time. Mary's innocence or guilt is a thorny question, but no higher eulogy has been pronounced upon her than that which is here given of her by her fiercest foe, Sir Francis Knollys; and, as Mr. Bain remarks, the woman who could inspire such devotion as is here evidenced in such men as Lo Herries and Boyd and the Bishop of Ross (two Protestants and a Catholic) must have possessed most attractive qualities. Though sorely tempted she stood firmly by the religion in which she had been brought up, and cannot be accused, like Elizabeth, of being a trimmer; still less can she be accused of anything like the treachery with which she was treated by her cousin of England. Murray's character does not appear here, notwithstanding his consistency, altogether unsoiled. If Randolph may be believed, he was a party to the assassination of Riccio, though not an actor in it, and he made two attempts to prejudice the decision of Elizabeth's commissioners on the question of Mary's guilt. His innocence before the case came regularly before them at York, by getting their private opinions on copies of the letters, etc., in her handwriting afterwards publicly produced at Westminster. His subservience to Elizabeth is amusing, and has justly laid him open to the charge of duplicity of patriotism. After taking office as Regent, when writing to the

he signed himself 'James Stewart,' but when writing to Cecil, often on the same day, he used the official form, 'James Regent.' On one occasion when writing to Elizabeth having began 'Regent,' he altered it to his surname. Mr. Bain has printed in an appendix the nineteen holograph letters of Mary to Elizabeth while in England for the period of this volume—all of which with one exception are now in the British Museum; and in another the small relics of the celebrated Casket Letters, 'which are copies of translations of the long lost originals,' with Morton's account of their discovery.

The History of Edward the Third (1327-1377). By JAMES MACKINNON, Ph.D. London, etc.: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1900.

The reign of Edward III. deservedly ranks among the greatest in English history. Whatever may be thought of his foreign policy there can be no doubt that for close on fifty years he was the central figure in Europe, and raised England out of the abject condition into which it had fallen during the reign of his predecessor. Nor was it without its effects at home. There it started great issues, and made his reign one of the most important in the constitutional history of the country. His necessities were the opportunities of the people, who were far from slack in taking advantage of them. In many ways his reign is deserving of separate treatment, and Mr. Mackinnon, who has already done good work by his *History of the Union of England and Scotland*, has done well to select it. The materials for the study of the reign have been accumulating for some time, and though the reader may not entirely agree with the author on many points, no one can deny his claim to have gone direct to such original sources as he was acquainted with, and made ample use of them. His numerous footnotes are a sufficient proof of the labour he has expended upon his pages, while the latter afford abundant evidence of the skill with which he has rifled the pages of Froissart, Baker, and other chroniclers of the time, and reconciled these often conflicting statements. In the reign of Edward III. Dr. Mackinnon seems to have found a more congenial theme even than the *Union of England and Scotland*. He writes with a lighter touch, and has evidently developed a new style. It is, perhaps, more picturesque, but scarcely original or satisfactory. Here and there it reminds us of a style we have been accustomed to for some time. The following passage, for instance, is more in the style of Carlyle than in that of the *Union of England and Scotland*:— 'The march in quest of Glory presents a sorry spectacle of savage excess, over which we at all events shall not blow the patriotic trumpet. Distastefully brutal and reckless is this barbarous method of settling a quarrel, which, after all, concerns only the two individuals who happen to be Kings of France and England, and who consign whole provinces to destruction because they cannot agree on a mere point of genealogy. Once more, what a fool of a world is this misguided fourteenth century. Clearly lunatic, and, as is always the case with lunatics, unconscious of the fact. Otherwise we should not find sanguinary clerics ascribing to "our Lord" the honour of such savage orgies, and giving thanks to God accordingly. Heigho! what a perverted moral sense sometimes lurks under stole and tunic.' There is much more of this sort of preaching in the volume. In the opening sentence of his preface Dr. Mackinnon says, 'In writing this work I have limited myself to the investigation of contemporary evidence.' Here and there, often indeed, one is disposed to wish he had. Here and there his reflections get mixed up with his facts, and one is at a

loss at times to distinguish fact from reflection. When he sets himself to tell the story of the reign one is rather charmed by the simplicity and picturesqueness of his style. His description of Edward's retreat beyond the Somme, and the battle of Crecy, has seldom been surpassed. The same may be said of his account of the last days of Jacques d'Artevælde. Or take his accounts of Edward's dealings with his Parliaments, or of the conduct of the Archbishop of Canterbury. These one has no difficulty in following: on the contrary, they are as luminous as the battle pieces, whether the battles be on sea or land. As might be expected the author is no apologist for Edward. His strictures upon his character and policy are severe enough, but they will scarcely commend themselves to those who realise or make allowance for the spirit of the times in which Edward lived, and do not judge him by the standard of the nineteenth century, as Dr. Mackinnon does. All the same the work is valuable for what facts it brings to light and for its lucid descriptions of the events which occurred in Scotland, as well as in England and France and beyond the Pyrenees, during the fifty years of Edward's vigorous, if not altogether satisfactory reign. The absence of an index in a work like this cannot be regarded as otherwise than a great defect.

The Scottish Reformation: its Epochs, Episodes, Leaders, and Distinctive Characteristics. (Being the Baird Lecture for 1899). By the late ALEXANDER F. MITCHELL, D.D., LL.D., &c. Edited by D. HAY FLEMING, LL.D., with a biographical sketch of the author by James Christie, D.D. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1900.

The late Dr. Mitchell was well known as a diligent and enthusiastic student of the Scottish Reformation, and we have here in the Baird lecture for 1899 his latest, and perhaps his ripest, thoughts upon it. We say 'perhaps,' because the lectures were written and revised in ill-health, his original intentions in respect to them he was unable to carry out, and he did not live to see the volume through the press. Whether on further revision he would have materially altered anything here said it is useless to speculate, but from his known opinions it is scarcely likely that he would. However, Dr. Hay Fleming, whose knowledge of the period is great, has edited the lectures with evident painstaking care. Many of his notes are helpful and he has endeavoured to carry out the author's intention of adding a couple of lectures on Alesius and Melville, by incorporating in the volume a lecture delivered by Dr. Mitchell some years ago to his class on Alesius. Dr. Christie has also added a graceful biographical sketch of the venerable Professor, and nothing has been left undone to make the volume as complete as possible. The title page is full, perhaps too full, for after all the lectures contain only a sketch of an event, which, great as it was, and much as has been written about it, is not yet fully understood. But if only a sketch, it is wonderfully well drawn, and exhibits the Scottish Reformation as it presented itself to Dr. Mitchell in a singularly clear and striking manner. Its simplicity of narration is in parts charming, and the perusal of it is rendered all the more pleasant by the absence of apparent effort on the part of the narrator. Some parts are scarcely so attractive, and much that is said in respect to the Theology of the Reformers and their efforts at Church Statesmanship, notwithstanding the art with which it is set out, is likely to be of greater interest to the student than to the general public.

As is well known, Dr. Mitchell's admiration for Knox was almost unbounded, still there were points in the character of the Reformer and in his actions, or at least in his language, which did not entirely commend themselves to him. At the same time he defends him against the charges of immorality which have been brought against him, and says of them that they 'may be dismissed as nothing more than the stock-in-trade of hard-pressed controversialists in the sixteenth century.' The volume is supplied with a good index and a series of useful appendices.

The Lake of Menteith; its Islands and Vicinity, with Historical Accounts of the Priory of Inchmahome and the Earldom of Menteith. By A. F. HUTCHISON, M.A. Illustrations. Stirling: Eneas Mackay. 1899.

Neither the ancient province nor the ancient Stewartry of Menteith comes exactly within the scope of Mr. Hutchison's volume. Here and there, indeed very frequently, they are touched upon, but the special subject of Mr. Hutchison's study is the piece of water known as the Lake of Menteith, with its islands and its vicinity. How it comes to be called the *Lake of Menteith* is apparently a mystery. As far back as 1485 it was known in the documents of the period as *Lacus de Inchmahomok*; in a rental book of 1646 it is called the 'Loche of Inchemahummoe,' and Timothy Pont, in his Map of the Province of Lennox (1654), names it 'Loche Inchmahumo;' but in 1724 Graham of Duchray calls it the 'Lake of Monteath,' and then the name begins to hover about, being sometimes the Lake of Inchemachame or Inchmahane, the Lake of Inchmaome or the Loch o' Port, till finally it settles down into the Lake of Menteith, and becomes what Mr. Hutchison calls 'the only lake in Scotland.' It lies at the foot of the Ben-dearg portion of the hills of Menteith, is some fifty-five feet above sea level, and some five or six feet above the Carse of Forth, and is situated in the midst of a beautiful country, in which its own waters and islands, with their ruins, form a not unimportant feature. Speaking of the country around it, Dr. John Brown of *Horæ Subsecivæ* fame, says: 'It is lovely rather than beautiful, and is a sort of gentle prelude, in the *minor* key, to the coming glories and intenser charms of Loch Awe, and the true Highlands beyond.' The lake is not large, being about a mile and a half in length and a mile in breadth, and approximately circular in outline. In one part it is shallow, but elsewhere it reaches a depth of forty-five, sixty-three, and eighty-eight feet. At its north-west corner is situated the village of Port, once the landing place for the monks of Inchmahome. By a charter passed under the great seal, 8th February, 1466, James III., for the singular favour he bore to his beloved kinsman, Malise, Earl of Menteith, and for provision to be made for himself and his lieges in the high land of Menteith, during the season of the huntings, raised the town or village into a free burgh, and conferred upon its inhabitants the usual privileges. Whatever glories the burgh once had—and they do not seem to have been many, though it was often favoured with royal visits—they are now gone. The hawthorne tree, at least the trunk of it, which had to do duty as a Market Cross, is still standing, but its market and fair of St. Michael are now discontinued. As usual with places of this sort, there is more to tell about it after the Reformation than there is before it. As usual, too, more is known about the sins of the people than about their virtues. The chief and besetting sin of the inhabitants of Port appears from the Kirk Session book to have been drunkenness, and especially on the Sundays, and Mr. Hutchison gives some curious notes from the said record

respecting 'that old sin and scandall of this parish of drinking the whole Lord's day,' and the efforts made to repress it. The two principal islands on the lake are Inchmahome and Inchtalla. Of the two, the first is the larger. It derives its name from a dedication to the Celtic saint Colman or Colnoe, and is therefore the Island of my Colman, as is elaborately shown by Mr. Hutchison in opposition to M'Gregor of Stirling, who would interpret the name as 'the Isle of my Rest.' The island, which is about five acres in extent, was probably at first the site of a single cell, and then of a colony of Culdees. The coming of the Augustinians may be set down at or about the year 1238. That, at any rate, is the date of the foundation charter of their house. This was necessarily small, but the canons were fairly well endowed with land in the neighbourhood of the lake. Mr. Hutchison gives a description of the ruins of the monastery, and a plan of the original structure, and notes the remains of their garden, and the traces of their arboriculture. He tells the legend of the Nun's Walk, but rejects it as accounting for the name of the walk—a road running between the two principal buildings, and ending in a sort of knoll—and suggests that 'Nun's' is a corruption of 'Nones,' and that the walk was so called because the monks were in the habit of taking exercise there after nones. Inchtalla was the residence of Malise, first Graham Earl of Menteith. The building, however, which is represented by the existing ruins, is of much more recent date. Its builders do not appear to have scrupled to use the stones of the Priory in its construction. Mr. Hutchison gives a brief but interesting history of the Earldom of Menteith. He finds the first mention of the Earl of Menteith in a statute of David I., and in the course of his narrative gives an account of the Comyns, of Walter, the third son of Walter the High Steward of Scotland, and of Alexander his son, and Alexander his grandson, and has naturally much to say respecting Robert Stewart, the third son of the Earl of Strathorne, by whom the Earldom of Menteith came back to the Stuart family, and who afterwards became King Robert III. To Sir John Menteith, the betrayer of Wallace, Mr. Hutchison devotes an entire chapter, and says probably all that can be said in his favour. He is not altogether sure that he deserves all the infamy which has been heaped upon him. Throughout his volume Mr. Hutchison has had the assistance of the Red Book of Menteith and other works of authority, but every page bears witness to the ability and pains taking care he has brought to bear upon it. The work is an excellent example of a local history. It is well printed, and has a sufficient index. The illustrations might have been better, and a map would have been convenient.

Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel, with Supplementary Extracts from the Others. A Revised Text. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Appendices, and Glossary, by CHARLES PLUMMER, M.A., on the basis of an Edition by JOE EARLE, M.A. 2 vols. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1892-1899.

Professor Earle's text of his two Saxon Chronicles was published eight years before it was furnished with notes and ready for publication, and seven years have had the publication of Mr. Plummer's first and second volumes, the first giving the text, and the second the introduction. The delay in Professor Earle's work was caused by the delay in Professor Earle's work, which was good and helpful. In the meantime

Latin text of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, which is an unquestionable gain to the student, and one of the most erudite pieces of editing we have. The Saxon Chronicles are here edited with the same minute care and extensive scholarship. Good as Professor Earle's edition is Mr. Plummer's shows a number of improvements upon it, and but for the formidable lists of *corrigenda* and *addenda* might almost be said to leave nothing to be desired. In the main, however, Mr. Plummer has followed Professor Earle, though in a number of points he departs from him. The arrangement of the texts is extremely convenient. The two principal are taken from the Parker and Laud MSS., while all the passages in which the other MSS. vary to any important extent are given, either alongside the text or in the notes. Earlier and later interpolations in the Parker MS. are distinguished by the use of different types, those in good and fairly early hands being printed in a smaller roman type, and the rest, which are considerably more numerous, and due to a twelfth century hand, in italics. Similarly, the interpolations or marginal or other insertions in the Abingdon and other MSS. are all carefully marked off or distinguished by methods as ingenious as they are convenient and helpful. The Glossary is of great value and aims at giving every word occurring in the two principal texts. The principal forms which occur in the extracts from the other MSS. are also registered, but minute variations in spelling, etc., are ignored. Turning to the Introduction, in this Mr. Plummer discusses the difference between histories and chronicles, describes the MSS. which contain the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, respecting which it would be truer to say they are four rather than seven, since the MS. used by Wheloe, but afterwards destroyed by fire with the exception of three leaves, is a transcript of the Parker MS., and the MS. known as B. is identical, as far as it goes, with C., and are both copies of the same MS., while F. is an epitome of E. The Parker, Abingdon, Worcester, and Land 'have every right,' he believes, 'to be considered distinct Chronicles.' The arguments by which this conclusion is arrived at are often extremely neat and convincing. The paragraphs on the relation of the different MSS. to Bede and to other Chronicles are of great importance, as are those also in which the locality of origin is attempted to be proved. Following Dr. Theobald Mr. Plummer uses the Annals of Asser or St. Neots to prove that the MS. *Æ*, 'the common ancestor of all our chronicles up to 892,' had behind it, and was itself a copy of another MS., *Æ*, extending up to the same date, and preserving the true chronology, which, as Dr. Stubbs pointed out in his edition of Hoveden, is dislocated in all the existing MSS. This MS. *Æ* Mr. Plummer regards as autograph of the writer who compiled the Chronicle up to 892, and believes that the compiler worked under the direction of Alfred, in support of which he adduces a number of interesting arguments, but chiefly from the preface to the Chronicles and Alfred's translation of Orosius. Both the Introduction and the notes are singularly replete with information. The latter are as full and elaborate as the Introduction, and bear evident signs of the value of the author's studies on Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* as a preparation for the writing of them. It is not too much to say that Mr. Plummer's editions of both works are by far the best which English scholarship has produced.

The Life of John Nicholson, Soldier and Administrator, based on Private and hitherto unpublished Documents. By Captain LIONEL J. TROTTER. Portraits and Maps. London: John Murray. 1900.

It is now close on forty-three years since John Nicholson, the 'Lion of the Punjab,' received his death-wound after leading the assault on Delhi, and was buried in the newly formed graveyard near Ludlow Castle, opposite the Kashmir Gate, and the breach which he had been among the first to crown. Since then numerous sketches and notices of him have appeared from time to time from the hands of those by whom he was loved and admired. Captain Trotter's, however, is the first formal biography which has been written of him, and it will in all probability be the last. He has had access to numerous private documents, and has made such excellent use of them, as well as of whatever has appeared in print respecting his hero, that, though further editions of his volume may be required, it is not likely that another biography will be deemed necessary, or that any one will attempt to improve upon the narrative which is here so simply yet brilliantly told. It is no wonder that Captain Trotter's volume has been through so many editions. A better subject he could scarcely have had. Nicholson was of a heroic build both in body and mind. A born soldier and administrator, he knew exactly what to do and when to do it, and toiled, as he fought, magnificently. Wherever he was known he was loved or feared, and the better he was known the more he was loved. Few men in India have left behind them so deep an impression. Twelve years after his death, Captain Trotter tells us, 'Younghusband was in the Shahpur district, south of Rawal Pindi, talking to a towana, or chief, about John Nicholson's doings in that district during the second Sikh war. He said, "To this day our women at night wake trembling, and saying they hear the tramp of Nicholson's war-horse."' Like many of the best officers of the British army, Nicholson was an Irishman, though of a family which was originally English. His father was Dr. Alexander Nicholson of Dublin. On his mother's side he was related to Sir J. Hogg, or, as he then was, Mr. J. W. Hogg, a leading director of the East Indian Company, and subsequently an influential member of the Queen's Indian Council. Through him Nicholson obtained an appointment under the old East India Company in 1839, when he was sixteen, and reached Calcutta about the middle of July in 1839. Long before leaving home he had shown what sort of stuff he was made of. 'One day Mrs. Nicholson found him, when but three years of age, furiously sticking a knotted handkerchief at some imaginary foe. "What are you doing John?" was her wondering question. "Oh, mother dear," he gravely answered, "I'm trying to get a blow at the devil. He is wanting to make me bad. If I could get him down, I'd kill him."' In this the 'child was father of the man.' In after life nothing roused Nicholson so much as the sight of injustice and evil. He was always fighting against it, both in himself and in others. In the Bannu district and elsewhere his name was a terror to evil-doers. If any evil had been done, the sight of his well-known horse was a sign to those who had done it that their hour was come. Few men, indeed, have ruled the wild border tribes of Northern India with so firm or so sure a hand. By the time the Mutiny broke or he had already made his mark, and was trusted by such men as Sir John and Sir Henry Lawrence, by Edwardes and Neville Chamberlain. Captain Trotter relates what Nicholson did, along with most of those just named, to preserve the Punjab, and the magnificent work he did in connection with the siege of Delhi. The lapse of time does not in any way diminish the brilliancy of his actions. There can be little doubt that Najafgarh did more than aught else to bring about the final success while his feats with the 'movable column' have not been forgotten. Captain Trotter speaks of Nicholson, however, not only as a soldier and administrator; he has much to tell also as to his

and of the gentler side of his character. Many anecdotes are told of him, some of them amusing, and one closes the volume with the feeling that by his death the army lost one of the gentlest, truest, and bravest of men.

The Life and Works of Dante Alighieri. Being an Introduction to the Study of the 'Divina Commedia.' By the Rev. J. F. Hogan, D.D. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1899.

From Dr. Hogan's preface we learn that in the main this volume consists of a series of lectures delivered to the students of Maynooth College. It does not profess to contain an exhaustive treatment of its subject; nor does it profess to be written for specialists. It is intended rather to serve as an introduction to the study of the *Divina Commedia* for those who have neither the inclination nor the time to become specialists, but wish to obtain an intelligent understanding of Dante and his writings. Introductions of the kind are numerous, many of them being written from different, and some of them from conflicting points of view. Written originally for students in Theology, the predominant tone of Dr. Hogan is theological. Of the numerous controversial passages which occur in the volume some are better suited for a polemical treatise than for a calm and dispassionate introduction to the study of writings even as theological as Dante's. Their delivery to the students of Maynooth College may have been right and proper, but their presence in the volume rather detracts from the pleasure of its perusal, and will have the effect, we should say, of narrowing the circle of its readers. Dante belongs neither to a party nor to a Church, but to the race, and what is wanted in a work of this sort is not polemics, but a clear statement of the ideas of the poet, and precise indications of his method and art. The larger part of the volume is taken up with an analysis of the *Divine Comedy*, with here and there translations or references to the finer passages. The analysis is accompanied with a commentary for the most part historical. Dr. Hogan mentions the various senses in which the text is to be interpreted—the literal, moral, allegorical, etc.—but does not, of course, attempt to bring them out, though here and there he refers to one or more of them. The analysis, though, as is necessarily the case, is not original, but it is always clear and accurate, and will unquestionably prove of use to the student. As may readily be supposed, that of the *Inferno* is much the most interesting. The biographical notes to the other parts as well as here are excellent, but with some of the expository passages in the third part of the *Commedia* the student not well versed in theology may have trouble. The references to the writings of others on Dante both in the analysis and throughout the volume are ample, and to those who wish to go beyond Dr. Hogan's introduction will be welcome. The 'Life of Dante,' which forms the first part of the volume, though not entirely without its faults, may on the whole be commended. No doubt the invasions 'from beyond the Rhine, under the Othos, the Conrads,' etc., brought much misery upon Italy, but it can scarcely be said that 'the Popes resisted steadily and persistently the encroachments of these foreigners.' The statement that when 'on the death of Henry VI., Innocent III. supported the claims' of Otho, though he did afterwards excommunicate him, shows that at least at one time Innocent had no very strong objections to the Germans. Nor can it be said that with the fall of imperialism 'the brightest epoch of Italy's history began.' Dr. Hogan, indeed, scarcely appreciates the political condition of Italy at the time, and the student will require to study the subject for

himself, or at least to check the statements contained in the *Life*. On Dante's minor works Dr. Hogan's notes, which are not extensive, will be found helpful, as will also the section on Dante's commentators. Chapters are devoted to Dante's views on the temporal power of the Pope, and on the poet's theological opinions. The author has no difficulty in showing that Dante was not a 'Reformer before the Reformation,' in the sense so unwisely held by some, that he taught opinions akin to those taught by Luther, etc., or in showing that the opinions he held on the temporal power were not those attributed to him by Rossetti and others. The most attractive of the chapters at the end of the volume is that on Dante in English literature. The volume is not without mistakes or misprints, as *Infra* for *Inferno*. Some of the names are curiously misspelt; Joachim appears as Gioecchino, and a number of Biblical names appear otherwise than as in the A. V. As to the treatise, *De Aqua et Terra*, Dr. Hogan differs from Dr. Moore, whose defence of it, he tells us, has left his conviction that it is not Dante's unshaken.

The Complete Works of John Gower. Edited from the MSS. with Introductions, Notes, and Glossaries. By G. C. MACAULAY, M.A. The French Works. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1899.

If Mr. Macaulay has not made a great discovery, he has at any rate brought to light one which is of great importance, more especially in regard to the early developments of the English language and the writings of Gower. The principal piece in the present volume is the hitherto missing work of Gower, usually referred to as the *Speculum Meditantis*, and the way in which he came across it, Mr. Macaulay tells us, was as follows:—'In the year 1895, while engaged in searching libraries for MSS. of the *Confessio Amantis*, I observed to Mr. Jenkinson, Librarian of the Cambridge University Library, that if the lost French work of Gower should ever be discovered, it would in all probability be found to have the title *Speculum Hominis*, and not that of *Speculum Meditantis*, under which it was ordinarily referred to. He at once called my attention to the MS. with the title *Mirour de l'omme*, which he had lately bought and presented to the University Library. On examining this, I was able to identify it beyond all doubt with the missing book.' The *Mirour l'omme* is not a great poem in the way that the *Divine Comedy*, *Paradise Lost*, or the plays of Shakespeare are great, but it is great in length. Some of the folios are wanting in the MS., nevertheless, in its present condition, the poem runs out to close upon 30,000 lines. Its weariness is almost equal to its length. The author seems to have been determined to atone for the lighter pieces he had written by making this as learned and heavy as possible. Still, in spite of himself, he has not been able to altogether suppress his skill in words or his natural faculty as a poet, and here and there greener and brighter spots appear in what is otherwise desert. The date at which the poem was written cannot be exactly determined, but, as Mr. Macaulay shows, from certain indications it contains, there can be little doubt that it was written during the year 1376-1379. In his *Literary History of the English People*, M. Jusseran conjectured that if the work should ever be discovered, it would prove to be one of those tirades on the vices of the age which in French were known as 'bibles.' And such it is, though as Mr. Macaulay justly observes, it is much more than this. 'In fact,' as he continues, 'it combines the three principal species of moral compositions all in one frame'

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work—the manual of vices and virtues, an attack on the evils of existing society from the highest place downwards, and finally the versified summary and legend, introduced here with a view to the exaltation and praise of the Virgin.' In the first of the divisions into which it divides itself—a division which extends over nearly two-thirds of the whole—the work resembles somewhat those of Frère Lorenz, William Waddington, and others whose books were intended to be of practical use to persons preparing for confession. In its second part it resembles such compositions as *Bible Guiot de Provins*, but is much larger and goes into much more elaborate detail respecting the various classes of society and their distinctive faults. In the last 2500 lines is a Life of the Virgin as the principal mediator between God and man, the conclusion of the book as it exists containing a number of not unpoetical praises and prayers addressed to her. The work is learned—too learned, in fact, to be lively—and contains an immense number of quotations. A number of them are from Cicero and Ovid. Three are attributed to Horace, but one of them is from Ovid, and another of them from Juvenal. Many are from the Latin Fathers, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Bernard, and Ambrose, but the greatest number are from the Old Testament, with which the author seems to have been very familiar. He was acquainted also with the *Legenda Aurea*, and refers to the *Vite Patrum*. There are references to the political events of the period, but, as might be expected, the work is richest in notes bearing upon its moral and social aspects. The general corruption was regarded by Gower with something like horror, but he describes what he saw or believed he saw. What he says respecting the Court of Rome and the mendicant Orders confirms the unfavourable impressions we get from other writers of the times. The temporal possessions of the Church he denounces as the root of almost all the evils there is in her. The mendicant friars he regards as those 'false prophets' of whom the Gospel speaks, who wear sheep's clothing but inwardly are ravening wolves. The parish priests, he thinks, are almost as much to blame as the prelates, monks, and friars, and is of opinion that the whole church is in need of reform. Turning to secular life, he gives a curious and life-like picture of the city dames at the wine-shops, whither they go instead of to church or market, how the vintner draws for them ten kinds of wine from a single cask at different prices. He describes the devices employed by shopkeepers to attract custom and to cheat customers. The mercer cries out louder than a sparrowhawk, seizes on people in the streets, drags them into his shop, and urges them only to view his wares, ostrich feathers, silks and satins, and foreign cloth. The draper tries to sell cloth in a dark room, where blue can hardly be made out from green, and while making his customer pay double its value, wants to persuade him that he is simply giving it away out of regard for him. The goldsmith purloins the gold and silver left with him; the druggist not only sells paints and cosmetics to women, but is in league with the physician, and charges exorbitantly for making up the simplest prescription. Food is adulterated; false weights and measures are used; wines are mixed and coloured, and what is sold as Rhenish probably grew upon the banks of the Thames. Merchants defraud all who have dealings with them, live in great state, but when they die are found to have spent all their substance and to have left their debts unpaid. The labourers in the country are discontented and discreditable. They demand more pay and do less work than former times. They never whoaten bread, and rarely and usually packed by certain he condemns in more ing. As to himself

a few facts may be gathered from the poem which in some degree supplement what little is known of his life. His life hitherto, he thinks, has been passed in folly, and he has committed all the seven deadly sins; moreover, he has written love poems; all the same it is probable enough that his life was highly respectable. He appears to have been married, and it is not unlikely that he was a merchant. He apologises to the honest members of the class for exposing the abuses to which the occupation is liable, objects to outsiders being given privileges in trade, and is so enthusiastic about wool as the first of all commodities, and has so much to say about the abuses of the staple that the probability is he was a wool merchant. As is well known, he was wealthy, but his tastes appear to have been simple. That he was just and upright is beyond question. The other works contained in the volume are the *Cinkante Balades* and the 'Traicté.' The first have been known through their publication by the Roxburgh Club and by Dr. Stengel; the 'Traicté,' a series of eighteen balades, has also been twice printed, once by the Roxburgh Club and again by Dr. Stengel. Mr. Macaulay has done his work well. His introduction is of great value both in connection with the writings to which it is prefixed, and in connection with the history of the English tongue in regard to Norman-French. The notes grapple with the difficulties in the text, and the elaborate glossary, so far as we have examined it, is exhaustive.

Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire. By SAMUEL DILL, M.A., Professor of Greek in Queen's College, Belfast. Second Edition, Revised. London: Macmillan & Co. 1899.

Professor Dill's volume has already reached a second edition, a recognition which its value well deserves. Books of its kind do not readily reach a second edition, and the fact that this has may be taken as an indication, not only of its intrinsic merits, but of the wide-spread interest which is now taken in the social condition of the human race at any of the great epochs of its history. For the materials for his work Mr. Dill has, of course, had to have recourse to the authors of the period with which he deals, and his pages resolve themselves largely, though not entirely, but almost of necessity, into a history of the literature of the last days of the Western Empire. His sketches of Symmachus, Ausonius, and Apollinarius Sidonius, their surroundings and writings, are brilliant and effective. The letters and other literary efforts of these and other Roman authors of the time are not particularly interesting reading. For the most part they are extremely artificial, rhetoric and fine phrases being more conspicuous in them than facts or information as to the great changes which were the being gradually evolved. To the severer spirit of Ammianus Marcellinus Mr. Dill pays a just tribute, and writes with discrimination about Rutilius Namatianus. Salvianus he pronounces rhetorical, and says that 'he is *a parti pris*,' but admits that 'on matters of notorious fact his testimony must be accepted.' Of the work of Orosius, notwithstanding its popularity in the Middle Ages and the favour it has found among some modern critics, he has little that is good to say. As for its being the first attempt to found a philosophy of history, this description of it, he says, can only be accepted if by the words 'philosophy of history,' is meant an arbitrary and uncritical handling of the facts to suit an *a priori* theory, or a temporary theological purpose. Referring to the City of God, Mr. Dill says, 'It has some of the faults which we might expect from what S. Augustine

us of the distractions of his daily life ; but its vastness of range and conception gives us the measure not only of the writer's genius, but of the force of the enemy to be overthrown. . . . So far as the work is polemical, it is an assault, in the first place, upon the political view of the Roman religion, and, in the next, on the philosophical attempt to rehabilitate it.' In short, all through, whether dealing with Pagan or Christian writers, Mr. Dill is always critical, and does not let even his admiration for S. Jerome persuade him to put implicit confidence in the great Commentator's judgment as to the things that were transpiring in the parts of the empire so remote from Bethlehem as Italy or Gaul. In the first of the five books into which the volume is divided, Mr. Dill accounts for the obstinate attachment which prevailed, both among the vulgar and among the educated classes to the ancient paganism of Rome. That this attachment was obstinate Mr. Dill has no difficulty in showing ; and points out that, notwithstanding the severity and even fierceness of the edicts against paganism at the close of the fourth century, the majority of the people were little touched by the Christian faith ; that in the reign of Honorius, staunch adherents of paganism still held the Urban or Pretorian prefecture ; and that a quarter of a century after the death of Theodosius, Rutilius Namatianus could pour contempt on the Christian profession, and rejoice at the sight of the villagers of Etruria gaily celebrating the rites of Osiris in the springtime. Similarly with magic and divination. These, in every form, had long been under the ban of the State, yet in the last years of the Western Empire, the diviners of Africa were practising their arts among the nominal Christians of Aquitaine. To suppose that this attachment to the old faith rested solely on ignorant superstition or on the hard formalism of the old Roman mythology, would, as Mr. Dill justly points out, be a grave mistake. Other and more powerful causes were at work. Some of these are pointed out in the following :—' For many generations,' Mr. Dill writes, ' the cults of Eastern origin, the worship of Isis, of the Great Mother, and Mithra, had satisfied devotional feelings which could find little nourishment in the cold abstractions of the old Roman religion or the brilliant anthropomorphism of Greece. The inscriptions of the fourth century reveal the enduring power of these Syrian or Egyptian worships. They cultivated an ecstatic devotion, and gave relief to remorse for sin. They had their mystic brotherhoods and guilds, with an initiatory baptismal rite. They had their rules and periods of fasting and abstinence from all the pleasures of sense. They had a priesthood set apart from the world, with the tonsure and a peculiar habit. And, in initiation to their mysteries, a profound impression was made on the imagination and feelings of the novice. The baptism of blood, of which many a stone record now remains, was the crowning rite of the later paganism, relieving the guilty conscience, and regarded as a new birth. It can hardly be doubted that, while these cults may not have supplied the moral tone and discipline which was the great want in all heathen systems, they stimulated a devotional feeling which was unknown to the native religions of Greece and Rome.' Mr. Dill also dwells upon the influence which the philosophy of the East had in deepening the attachment to the old faith, as well as upon a variety of other causes, which all worked for the same end, and points out that notwithstanding the antagonism of their faiths Pagans and Christians met on friendly, and sometimes intimate terms. His first book, indeed, is one that the student of the history of Christianity can no more neglect than the student of the social condition of the last days of the Western Empire can. The second book contains the literary sketches to which reference has been made already ; but while giving an account of the literary men and literature of

the period, it contains sketches of the social and moral conditions among which the writers referred to moved. The failure of the Roman administration, and the ruin which this failure brought upon the middle class, is described in the following book. The picture which is given of Italy is particularly striking. Mr. Dill dwells also on the decay of commerce, upon the depressed condition of the merchant class, and upon the fact that, while a few grew immensely rich, the tendency among the rest, through the pressure of circumstances over which they had no control, was to become poor. The chapters treating of the barbarian invasion, and the relations between the Romans and the invaders, are among the freshest in the volume, and give more insight into the actual social condition of the period than any other. The indifference with which the aristocracy viewed the different invasions, and their sublime confidence in the stability of Rome and its empire, are among the most striking features of the times. The elaborate chapter on the culture of the fifth century is remarkable for its scholarship and critical insight, as, in fact, are the whole of the chapters. This last chapter forms a fitting conclusion to what cannot but be characterised as one of the most scholarly and valuable works that has appeared for some time. For anything comparable to it in English, treating of the same subject, the reader will look in vain.

Tennyson, Ruskin, Mill, and other Literary Estimates. By
FREDERIC HARRISON. London: Macmillan & Co. 1899.

From a note prefixed to these essays we learn that the series was planned, and in great part written some years ago, but has been kept back waiting for the re-issue of Tennyson's principal poems in a popular form. Why the essays should have been kept back on this account is a question that will puzzle most readers, since there is not a single remark made in reference to Tennyson and his poems, which might not have been made if the re-issue of the latter in a popular form had never occurred. The essays, if we count a couple of dialogues as such, are fourteen in all, and, besides those of the writers whose names are mentioned on the title page, pass in review the writings of Matthew Arnold, Addington Symonds, Lamb and Keats, Froude and Freeman, and the new Lives and Letters of Gibbon. On the whole they are disappointing. There is much that is attractive about them. Mr. Harrison is too clever a writer not to be attractive; but most of what he has to say reads like an echo of what has been said not once or twice but many times before, while as for the rest much of it is of little importance, though possibly of interest to examiners and to those who have to answer their questions. What strikes us most in some of the essays, in the one on Tennyson for instance, is the want of restraint. Where Mr. Harrison praises his language is tumid, often bordering on the extravagant, scarcely the cool, measured language of the dispassionate critic. One cannot help admiring the skill with which the adjectives are selected. 'Rhythm, phrasing, and articulation as entirely faultless, so exquisitely clear, melodious, and sure;' 'the winged epithets are often of astonishing brilliancy, extraordinarily beautiful and appropriate metre,' 'a miracle of poignant music,' 'the topmost empyrean of lyric,' 'reaching in rapture the supreme bursts of lyric,' 'the might; imagination of these immortal visions,' are a few of the flowers occurring within the space of four or five pages. The expressions are no doubt forcible, but they border on the extravagant. Another thing which strikes one is that the principal aim of the essays is not so much criticism as to preach the evangel of Positivism. Comte and his teaching meet us in almost all of them, and it is from the Positivist's point of view that th

ideas of the writers criticised are judged, and not always fairly. Freeman is blamed for not distinctly enunciating Comte's doctrine of the evolution of society. 'His arguments,' we are told, would have been both stronger and sounder if he had recognised, not merely continuity and unity in history, but organic evolution and the development of the present from the past.' That Freeman did not do this will be news to those who are acquainted with his writings, and those who are not will have some difficulty in recognising how one who recognises 'the continuity and unity in history' does not also recognise its 'organic evolution and the development of the present from the past.' On the faults and failings of Freeman and Froude as historians, Mr. Harrison dwells at considerable length, and as it seems to us, needlessly. Sufficient has been written in this connection already. The one valuable piece in the two essays is the paragraphs on 'original sources' and the use of them. Here Mr. Harrison writes as one who knows. Rarely does 'original sources' mean more than printed sources. As Mr. Harrison points out, the decipherment of actually 'original sources' is a profession by itself; to those not in the profession it is the merest drudgery and generally of little profit. Turning back to the first essay, we doubt whether the estimate of Tennyson, except among the thoroughly uncritical, is really as high as Mr. Harrison would make out. There can be no doubt, however, that most of the defects he points out in his writings are there. But whether a poet is less a poet because he does not invent a better and deeper philosophy than the best and deepest which is current among his friends or in his age is a question on which much may be said on both sides. Dante did not invent a new theory of things. Nor did Milton or Shakespeare. It will probably be found that both these and the poets of Greece did no more than embody in splendid form the best ideas current around them. Mr. Harrison's essay on Mill is in part an attempt to revive an interest in the writings of that philosopher. The attempt will in all probability fail. Mill's day, like that of so many others, is past, and even his outspoken rejection of Positivism will fail to prevent his writings being overlooked.

Platonis Opera. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit. IOANNES BURNET. Tomus I. Oxonii: E. Typographeo Clarendoniano. *Cornelii Taciti.* Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit. HENRICUS FURNEAUX. Oxonii: E. Typographeo Clarendoniano.

These are the first volumes of the new series of Greek and Latin texts to be issued by the Clarendon Press. They are evidently intended for the use of students or for those who wish to have reliable texts of the writings of the chief authors of Greece and Rome in a handy and portable form. Judging by the two volumes before us, the series is likely to meet the requirements of both the classes referred to. The price is moderate, the paper good, the type clear and remarkably legible, and the binding, in limp cloth, is light and durable. So far as external workmanship is concerned, indeed, the volumes are excellent in every respect. The editors have evidently taken great pains with their texts, as the numerous footnotes, dealing with various and conjectural readings, abundantly prove. The prefaces are brief and to the point, treating chiefly of MS. and printed editions. M. Furneaux is well known as the author of an excellent edition of the *Agricola*, and Mr. Burnet, as Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews and author of a work on Greek Philosophy and of a recently published edition of Aristotle's *Ethica*.

Stephen's arrangement of the dialogues is not followed. The 1 volume contains the following in the order they are named:—Enth the Apologon, Crito, Phaedo, Cratylus, Theastetus, Sophista, and Po

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Editi
Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. In—Infer. (Vol. V.) Ox
At the Clarendon Press. April, 1900.

The great majority of the words registered in this Part of Dr. M great work are of Latin origin. Very few of them are of Old E origin, and comparatively few of them present much difficulty as to etymology. Some of them, however, present problems by no means of solution, and have afforded abundant scope for that research in history, meaning, and origin of words which the Oxford Dictionary contains so many splendid illustrations. It is scarcely possible, in to open the present part without coming across some interesting information. Take, for instance, the article under 'incubus,' who have just lighted upon, or the article under 'incumbent' or 'incun From the second of these we learn that it is in English only that the signifies the holder of an ecclesiastical benefice or of any office. A book buyers 'incunabula' stands for books printed before 1500, l original meaning has as little to do with books and their printin cradle or swaddling-clothes have. But perhaps the most instruct any rate from one point of view the most admirable article in the is that under the word 'index.' Probably not one in a thousand ca the history of *Index Expurgatorius* and *Index librorum prohibi* Yet the history of each is here traced with an abundance of illustrat to its origin. Another interesting article is that on 'indenture,' a preceding it on 'indent.' So again are those under 'indigo,' 'indiv and 'India' and its derivatives. Lowland Scotch words are, as mi expected in this section, somewhat rare. A few, however, are to b with, as, e.g., 'inborrow,' 'inbye,' 'inch' (an island), 'income,' a r affection, 'inding,' unworthy, 'indite,' the act or faculty of inditin the old terms 'infang' and 'infangthief,' which latter, however, much English as Scottish. Those who have an affection for long will find in this section 'incircumscribtleness,' which is quite as l 'honorificabilitudinity.' It may be interesting to theologians to kno in the Nicene Creed the word 'incomprehensible' retains its o sense.

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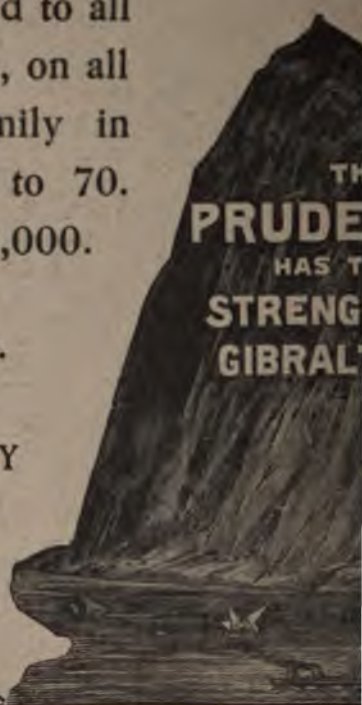
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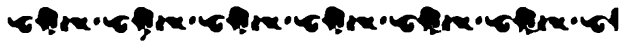
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