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## INDEX TO VOLUME XI.

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<b>A.</b>		<b>E.</b>	
<p>Adams, Rev. H. C., History of the Jews, ... .. 183</p> <p>Allardyce, A., Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, 415</p> <p>Anglicising of the Scottish Universities, ... .. 390</p> <p>Archivio Storico Italiano, ... 206</p> <p>----- per le Province Napolitane, ... .. 206</p> <p>Argyll, Duke of, Scotland as it Was and Is, ... .. 1</p> <p>L'Art, ... .. 212, 437</p> <p>Atti della Giunta per Incheſta agraria e sulle condizioni della claſſe agricola, ... .. 103</p>	<p>Ebrard, J. H. A., Apologetics, II., III., 180</p> <p>Emerson the Thinker, G. Stewart, Jun., ... .. 288</p> <p>English Illustrated Magazine, 202</p>		
<b>B.</b>		<b>F.</b>	
<p>Barbé, L. A., The Tragedy of Gowrie House, ... .. 188</p> <p>Bibliothèque Universelle, 212, 438</p> <p>Bissolati, L., I contadini del circondario di Cremona, ... .. 103</p> <p>Bradley, Rev. G. G., Lectures on Job, 413</p> <p>Burnett, G., Scotland in Times Past, 1</p>	<p>Founder of Modern Pessimism, The, Rev. R. Munro, B.D., ... 244</p> <p>Fraser, Bishop, Sermons, ... 430</p> <p>Frothingham, O. B., Transcendentalism in England, ... .. 288</p>		
<b>C.</b>		<b>G.</b>	
<p>Cabot, J. E., Memoir of R. W. Emerson, ... .. 188</p> <p>Chalmers, G., Caledonia, I. and II., 186</p> <p>Chauvet, Em. La Philosophie des Médecins Grecs, ... .. 195</p> <p>Christianity and Evolution, ... 181</p> <p>Civiltà Cattolica, ... .. 205</p> <p>Clayden, P. W., Early Life of Samuel Rogers, ... .. 423</p> <p>Coleorton, Memorials of, ... 188</p> <p>Conway, M. D., Emerson at Home and Abroad, ... .. 238</p> <p>Cooke, G. W., Life, Writings, and Philosophy of Emerson, ... 288</p> <p>Corbett, Julian, For God and Gold, 199</p> <p>Cornhill Magazine, Vol. IX., 202</p> <p>Crawford, F. Marion, Paul Patoff, 198</p> <p>Culdees, The, Rev. C. C. Grant, 217</p>	<p>Gallenga, Italy Present and Future, 103</p> <p>Gaverocks, The, ... .. 197</p> <p>Geddes, P., University Reform, 171</p> <p>Gibson, J. Y., Cid Ballads, ... 193</p> <p>Godet, F., Commentary on I. Corinthians, II., ... .. 180</p> <p>Gordon, General C. G., Letters to his Sister, ... .. 422</p> <p>Grant, Rev. C. C., The Culdees, 217</p> <p>Green, J. R., Short History of the English People, ... .. 417</p>		
<b>D.</b>		<b>H.</b>	
<p>Darwin, Charles, ... .. 346</p> <p>De Gids, ... .. 431</p> <p>Deutsche Rundschau, ... 215</p>	<p>Holmes, O. W., R. W. Emerson, 288</p> <p>Huchown of the Awle Ryale, G. P. M'Neill, ... .. 266</p> <p>Hutton, R. H., Some Modern Guides of English Thought, ... 191</p>		
<b>I, J.</b>		<b>I, J.</b>	
	<p>Ireland, A., Emerson, a Biographical Sketch, ... .. 288</p> <p>Irving, H. and F. Marshall, Shakespeare, Vol. I., ... .. 194</p> <p>Jacini, S., Proprietà fondaria e le popolazioni agricole in Lombardia, 103</p> <p>Jenkin, Fleeming, Papers, ... 422</p>		
<b>K.</b>		<b>K.</b>	
	<p>Ker, J., D.D., History of Preaching, 414</p> <p>Kinnear, J. B., Civil Government, 200</p> <p>Knight, Professor W., Memorials of Coleorton, ... .. 188</p>		

- Knight, Prof. W., University Reform, 135
- Koch, Rev. A., Alexander of Battenberg, ... .. 200
- L
- Lafargue, P., The New Judgement of Paris, ... .. 427
- Lavelaye, Ede, Nouvelles Lettres d'Italie, ... .. 103
- Leisure Hour, 1887, ... .. 202
- M
- Mahaffy, J. P., Greek Life and Thought, 419
- Marget, Edith, Songs and Rhymes of South Italy, ... .. 307
- Martinengo-Cesaresco, Countess, The Peasant in North Italy, ... 103
- M'Kendrick, Professor J. G., University Reform, ... .. 154
- M'Neill, G. P., Huchown of the Awle Ryale, ... .. 266
- M'Vail, D. C., University Reform, 164
- Menzies, Rev. A., National Religion, 429
- Mitchell, W., Scotland and Home Rule, 323
- Müller, F. Max, Biographies of Words, 425
- Munro, Rev. R., The Founder of Modern Pessimism, ... 244
- N
- Noel, Lady A., Hithersea Mere, 198
- Norton, C. E., Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson, ... .. 288
- Nuova Antologia, ... .. 203, 441
- O
- Oliphant, Mrs., The Makers of Venice, 421
- Oliphant, Mrs., The Second Son, 427
- Oliver, J. R., Upper Teviotdale and the Scots of Buccleuch, ... 183
- P
- Palgrave, W. G., Ulysses, ... .. 426
- Panama Canal, The, ... .. 35
- Pater, W., Imaginary Portaits, 192
- Peasant in North Italy, The, by Countess Martinengo Cesaresco, 103
- Pfleiderer, O., Philosophy of Religion, II., ... .. 182
- Pollock, Sir F., Personal Remembrances, ... .. 191
- Preussische Jahrbucher, 213, 435
- Pünjer, B., History of Christian Philosophy of Religion, ... .. 181
- R
- Rassegna Nazionale, ... .. 204, 422
- Revue des Deux Mondes, 211, 439
- Revue de l' Histoire des Religions, 206, 439
- Revue des Etudes Juives, 207, 440
- Revue du Monde Latin, 208, 441
- Revue Philosophique, ... .. 210, 436
- Revue Scientifique, ... .. 209, 436
- Rivista Contemporanea, ... .. 441
- Richard Cable, ... .. 428
- S
- Saintsbury, G., Elizabethan Literature, 424
- Salmon, Dr., Gnosticism and Agnosticism, ... .. 199
- Scotland and Home Rule, by W. Mitchell, ... .. 323
- Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, ... .. 415
- Scotland in Times Past, by G. Burnett, 1
- Scottish Coronations, The Earliest, 60
- Scottish Historical Novels of James Grant, by S. F. F. Veitch, 117
- Scottish Universities, The Anglicising of, ... .. 390
- Scottish University Reform, ... 135
- Scudder, H., Men and Letters, 200
- Selborne, Earl, Ancient Facts and Fictions concerning Churches and Tithes, ... .. 418
- Shairp, J. C., Sketches in History and Poetry, ... .. 190
- Shakespeare, The Henry Irving, Vol. I., ... .. 194
- Sinclair of England, ... .. 430
- Solway, L., L'Art Espagnol, 196
- Songs and Rhymes of South Italy, by Edith Marget, ... .. 307
- Stewart, G., Jr., Emerson the Thinker, 288
- Stokes, M., Early Christian Art in Ireland, ... .. 196
- Sunday at Home, 1887, ... .. 202
- T
- Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 214, 434
- Theologisch Tidschrift, ... .. 433
- V, W, Y
- Veitch, S. F. F., Scottish Historical Novels, ... .. 117
- Ward, Mrs. H., Robert Elsmere, 428
- Westermanns Monats-Hefte, 213, 434
- Whitelaw, Dr. T., The Gospel of St. John, ... .. 414
- Young, Prof. J., University Reform, 146





THE  
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

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JANUARY, 1888.

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ART. I.—SCOTLAND IN TIMES PAST.

*Scotland as it Was, and as it Is.* By the DUKE OF ARGYLL.  
2 vols., 8vo. Edinburgh, 1887.

‘SCOTLAND as it Was, and as it Is,’ purports to be an attempt to deal with a group of factors in the progress of Scottish civilization, described as those which ‘concern the amalgamation of races, the consolidation of a national government, the beginnings of law, the use of industries, the origin, the growth, and the working of these accepted doctrines of society which consecrate and establish the respective rights and the mutual obligations of men.’ It begins with a history of the ownership and occupation of land in the old Celtic time, and in the feudal period that succeeded it. This is followed by an account of the social and economical condition of the Highlands, from the reign of Robert Bruce nearly down to our own time. A subject further taken up in the second volume is the burst of industry of all kinds of which Scotland generally, and especially the Firth of Clyde, has in more modern times been the scene. Though the plan of the work is not very continuous, one prominent object runs through it, namely, to show how separate ownership and occupation of land has been from the earliest times a fact; and how it also is, more particularly when regulated by well-defined contract, the arrangement most conducive to the general well-being. It is not intended in the present article to follow the Duke of Argyll in his refutation of the theories of modern

*doctrinaires*, or to enter on anything that can properly be called a criticism of his work. It is rather proposed to offer a few remarks, equally discursive with those of the Duke, suggested by and having more or less bearing on the topics handled, though with more relation to 'Scotland as it was,' than 'as it is.'

Our knowledge of the Celtic age in Scotland has considerably enlarged since the time when Lord Hailes characterized the whole history of our country prior to the accession of Malcolm Canmore as involved in obscurity and fable, or when Tytler began his narrative with the reign of Alexander III., as the period at which our national annals first become 'particularly interesting to the general reader.' The process of demolishing the myths which grew up during the controversy on the independence question, and for centuries did duty for history, had to come first; and the antiquaries and scholars of the end of the last and beginning of the present century, who performed so effectively this important and useful work, had no idea of the possibility of re-establishing the earlier history of Scotland on a basis of fact. They were ignorant in great part of the existence of the materials for the reconstructive process, ignorant in whole of their value, and unversed in the language in which they were written. These materials consist in the first place of certain Scottish and Irish chronicles which have come down to us from the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, written therefore before the controversy alluded to had begun, which agree in their chronology and other essential features with the still earlier works of the ecclesiastical historians, Bede and Adamnan, and receive corroboration wherever it is possible from them; also of the historical sagas of Norway, and over and above them, of the ancient laws of Wales and still more of Ireland, which take us back to as high an antiquity as the Ninth Century, and contain a mass of matter whose value can hardly be overrated for the elucidation of the primitive organization of the kindred Celtic races of Scotland, the ownership and occupation of land among them, and their general social polity.

The importance of these sources of information is now recognized by all historical scholars. Both the Welsh and the Irish laws have been edited and translated, as have the most important



of the chronicles alluded to; and in the three volumes of his *Celtic Scotland*, Dr. W. F. Skene, the editor of the *Welsh Laws* and of the *Scottish and Irish Chronicles*, has furnished us with an invaluable repertory of historical information bearing on the ethnology, religion, culture, and land usages of Scotland. Its third volume is unquestionably the most important work that has ever appeared on Highland land tenures; and if, to the average reader, unversed in the Gaelic tongue, who desiderates a popular exposition of the subject, the accumulation of Celtic words and technical terms is apt to be perplexing, it must be remembered that the author addresses himself mainly to students or scholars, to whom his work would have been less useful had it been more popular and readable. The high authority of *Celtic Scotland* is fully recognised by the Duke of Argyll in those parts of his work in which the same topics are touched on. A later writer, Mr. F. Seebohm, has incidentally taken up the subject of Celtic tenures in his learned work on *Village Communities in England*; but he is hardly so happy in his analysis of the tribal institutions of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, as in his researches into the early husbandry and social condition of Eastern England.

To enable us to understand the nature and growth of the system which the Duke of Argyll, not altogether whimsically, terms 'Celtic Feudalism,' it is desirable to have as clear a view as may be of the civil history and polity of the purely Celtic period in our country, as now understood with the aid of the lights alluded to. What used to be called the 'Pictish question' is no longer the open question that it was in the days of Sir Arthur Wardour and the laird of Monkbarns. The Caledonians or Picts, who in Roman times inhabited Scotland north of the Forth and Clyde, were a Gaelic people, ethnologically akin to the Scoti or inhabitants of Ireland, whom Ammianus Marcellinus describes as joining with them in an attack on the Roman province. A hundred years after that historian wrote, a colony of the same Scoti crossed the channel, arrived in North Britain, and founded the kingdom of Dalriadic Scotia, whose limits approximated to those of the modern county of Argyll. The two races, having similar institutions and speaking nearly the same tongue, easily amalgamated, and were brought into closer rela-

tions in the Sixth Century by the Columban Church, and the conversion of the North Picts to Christianity. This amity seems, however, to have been somewhat disturbed by the mission of St. Boniface, by whose efforts the Picts were brought in a measure into conformity with Roman usages. In the course of hostilities that broke out between the two Kingdoms, the Picts conquered Dalriada, which was governed for a century by monarchs of Pictish race, a fact which recent research has put beyond doubt: but eventually (in 850) Picts and Scots were united under a King who was the acknowledged heir of both, and whose dynasty lasted till 1034. The new Kingdom, called first Pictavia, then the Kingdom of Scone, only began in the reign of the last King of this race to be known as the Kingdom of the Scots, the Scoti having become the predominant race in the plains. To this period belong the incursions of the sea-rovers from Denmark and Norway, and the seizure of the Orkneys by a band of Norwegians, who founded a Norse Earldom there, and again and again temporarily overran Caithness, Sutherland, and the Hebrides.

Meantime the Kingdom expanded southwards. Kenneth Macalpine and his immediate successors had only ruled north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. In 946 the district which had formed the British Kingdom of Cumbria, embracing the West of Scotland from Clyde to Solway and most of Cumberland and Westmoreland, was ceded by Edward the Elder to Malcolm I., King of Scots. The larger portion of it became a permanent part of the Scottish Kingdom; and on the southmost portion being wrested from David I. by William Rufus, the southern frontier of Scotland became identical with what it now is. Eighty years after the acquisition of Cumbria, Lothian, including Tweeddale, which from the Sixth Century had been peopled by an Anglic race, with Anglic institutions, was won by Malcolm II. at the battle of Carham, and continued thenceforth with two slight intermissions to be an integral part of Scotland.

Malcolm II. was the last legitimate descendant in the male line of Kenneth Macalpine; and the failure of his male posterity suggested an innovation on the then recognised law of succession, by the recognition of an heir female. That heir female was King

Duncan, and his son and eventual successor (after the episode of Macbeth's usurpation) was Malcolm Canmore, the first of a line of kings under whose dynasty Scotland became transformed from a Celtic to a feudal kingdom. Passing from the civil history to the social organization of the Celtic period, I find it difficult to relegate, so completely as the Duke of Argyll does, the Tribal period in Scotland to pre-historic times. It rather seems to me that the primitive tribalism, through which all races are supposed to have passed, continued during the whole Celtic period to form in a qualified shape the framework of society.

It seems to have been established by Mr. Seebohm that as early as the date of the Roman conquest the Tribe had been supplanted in the eastern parts of England by an entirely different organisation, and one which bespoke some advancement in husbandry. But, on the other hand, tribalism lingered on for centuries in Western England and in Scotland; and though it must have been in its origin the institution of a pastoral people, it had become modified to suit the agriculture of a rude age. A belief in the common descent of the members was the original tribal bond of union, a bond, however, which in Christian times must have become somewhat shadowy, having come down from a primitive age, when the sanction of marriage was unknown, and relationship was counted through females only. Each tribe had its leader, who was both King (Ri) and commander in war (Toisech), whose state was maintained at the expense of the tribe, and who, as early as land began to be appropriated, had mensal land belonging to his office, and his Dun or stronghold. The office was elective, but the already mentioned idea of kindred led to the choice falling on a member of what was considered the oldest line of the family of the common ancestor. Dr. Skene's account of the stages of tribal development, though in part involving matter of conjecture, must be received with the deference due to the matured opinion of one whose intimate familiarity with old Celtic literature, including the laws of Ireland and of Wales, as well as his general historical scholarship, give him an exceptional claim to be heard; and it also seems to an outsider, who has not the advantage of the same Celtic learning, to afford the most consistent explanation that has been given of the polity set forth in the early

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documents bearing on the subject. In popular language it is somewhat to this effect. As the appropriation of land by the tribe was involved in the transition from the nomadic to the pastoral state, so its appropriation by individuals followed almost necessarily from the introduction of agriculture. This apportionment began by a periodical division of the arable land by lot among the members of the tribe, who had their pasture land in common. Cattle, which had always been personal property, became the symbol of wealth. The operation of natural diversities of character produced an inequality in the distribution of this wealth; and inasmuch as the allotment of land to each member of the tribe was proportioned to the size of his herd, this inequality always increased, and out of it grew the recognition which is to be found in the Irish laws of a gradation of ranks. The possessor of a certain amount of wealth had, as a cattle-lord, (Boaire), exclusive possession of a homestead. Next came the concession to a certain rank of cattle-lord (there were various grades of them), the exclusive right to land, both arable and pasture, which had been for three generations in his family, this land becoming inheritance-land, no longer available for periodical division. The Boaire who acquired that right came to belong to a still more privileged order, known as chiefs. In the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries the tribes began to split up into sections under land-owning chiefs, who gradually came into the place of the Toisechs, while a process was going on which materially affected the body of the tribesmen. The chief gave off his surplus stock to them in return for food-rent, services, and homage, the result of which was that the common tribesmen sunk more and more into a position of either nominally free dependance or absolute serfdom. A tenant whose entire stock was derived from his chief became a serf without tribal rights. But in addition to the tribesmen thus reduced to total or partial dependance, there was, and had been from the first, an unfree class, not supposed to participate in the common descent, but understood to belong to subjugated races or tribes, who formed a very large part of the rustic population, and were added to by the chiefs, who found that they could greatly increase their power by settling stranger or broken septs in their lands. During the whole

of the Celtic period, in fact till the accession of David I., the tribe as an institution was still in a measure recognised.

Thus far as to the individual tribe. In Scotland as in Ireland several such tribes were grouped together as a great tribe (Mortuath) under a provincial King (Ri Mortuath). From the persistent association of the number seven with the Provinces of Scotland in the earliest authentic descriptions of the kingdom, it appears probable that there was a time when these Mortuaths were really seven in number, and when their subjection to the Supreme King, like that of the Kings of Ireland to the Monarchs of Tara, extended no further than a stipulated tribute, and occasional entertainment. But about the beginning of the Eleventh Century the authority of the Supreme King had been greatly strengthened by conquests over these provincial rulers; and these latter, with the exception of the semi-independent King of Moray, came generally to be designated not Kings but Great Stewards (Mormaers): nor were they any longer seven, but double that number. As the consolidation of the power of the Supreme King advanced, the Mormaer's position became that of a judicial officer, the protector of the rights of the Crown within the bounds of his Mortuath, having a right to a certain share of those dues, for which he had to account to the King. There is abundant evidence that the office of Mormaer was hereditary.

It is only on a full consideration of the relations thus subsisting between the different classes of rulers and their dependants that one can realize the analogy of the Celtic to the feudal system insisted on by the Duke of Argyll, one of whose contentions is, that the ready acceptance that the feudal system obtained in Scotland was the result of its being an embodiment of existing ideas, facts, and necessities of life. And certainly the analogy between the two systems holds good in many points. The resemblances come out strongly in the description of the framework of society in Ireland in the tract called the *Book of Rights*. 'We there see,' says Dr. Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, III., p. 151),

'The gift or Tuarastach, as it is there called, made by the Ardri to the different provincial kings, by them to the kings of the respective Mortuath, and by the latter to the Ri Tuath; while the corresponding returns made by the inferior to the superior king consisted first of a small fixed rent,

which in one case consisted of a Sgreaball, or three pence, from each Baile or township, and a tribute termed Cobhach, which included, in the case of Munster, a submission paid in cattle, termed Smacht, and a Biathad or refection; and each king was entitled to a maintenance when going beyond his own territory, called "Coinnim," corrupted into Coigny; and, besides these, service in war was due from each inferior tribe to the superior, distinguished into Feacht or expedition and Sluaged or hosting. The number of fighting men each Tuath had to provide was 700, and each Mortuath three companies, or 2100 men.'

Feudal usages are represented by the Duke of Argyll as a development of the usages of Celtic times in the direction of civilization and order, a development which he contrasts with the retrograde course of events in Ireland in the direction of violence, rapine, and crime. The customary tributes and exactions of gradual growth, whose vagueness tended to make them an engine of oppression, were superseded under Scottish feudalism by a system of well-defined payments and services, while in Ireland they became, as time advanced, more and more burdensome. This was pre-eminently the case with the exaction named Conweth, or in Ireland Coigny, a food contribution based on the right possessed by the superior to be feasted by the occupant of the land. In Ireland, outside the Pale, this tribute degenerated into systematic plunder: in Scotland, though some vestiges of it can be traced in the remoter Highlands at a period almost within the memory of man, it was, generally speaking, swept away on the introduction of a landed system founded on written and clearly defined rights.

The commonly received difference between allodial and feudal tenures is this. In the former the proprietor of land was its absolute owner, such homage, allegiance, or military service as he owed to the Crown being done by him as a private citizen, and quite irrespectively of his position as a landholder. According to feudal ideas on the other hand, the radical right of property is in the King; the performance of military or other service is the express condition on which land is held by a subject; and, when subinfeudation is permitted, the subordinate landholder holds on similar conditions from his immediate superior, each title being traceable in the last instance to the pre-eminent superiority of the Crown.

The old Celtic tenure certainly partook more of the feudal than of the allodial character. It did not start with the assumption of the feudal system, that the King owned the whole land of the realm, of which he only parted with the usufruct: but the services due by the inferior to the superior, though connected with stock rather than land, and the gradation of superiors by whom these services were exigible, bore so close an analogy to feudalism, that the differences, being theoretical rather than practical, came in the course of a few generations to be almost forgotten. At the time when Fordun wrote (c. 1380) it had become the established belief that King Malcolm II. had been owner of the whole land of Scotland, of which he generously parted with the *dominium utile*, retaining in his hands the Mote Hill of Scone only.

But Scotland did not pass at once from Celticism to feudalism; there was a seventy years intermediate condition of Saxondom. Malcolm Canmore had a Saxon mother, sister of the Earl of Northumberland: he had been educated in Saxon England, and had a Saxon wife, whose brother, the representative of the Saxon Kings of England, found, along with many of his compatriots, an asylum at the Scottish Court. And it was under Saxon rather than Norman auspices that those changes were first inaugurated which in the course of the next two hundred years raised Scotland to a state of well-being such as she had never known before, and which (even taking into account the brief and brilliant reign of Robert the Bruce) she hardly knew again till the Eighteenth Century. Lothian, till then an outlying Anglic province, became for the first time under Malcolm and Margaret the most important portion of the kingdom. Edgar and Alexander I. were also Saxon Kings.

The first Sovereign with decidedly Norman sympathies was David I. He had been brought up at the Court of Henry I., possessed in his wife's right the Earldom of Huntingdon, and as guardian to his stepson had entered into feudal relations with the King of England; besides which he had, before being King of Scotland, ruled Cumbria, temporarily separated from the rest of the kingdom, as a feudal lord. He brought with him a multitude of Norman adherents; and during his reign and those of

Malcolm IV., William, and the second and third Alexanders, the English colonization made rapid progress, and Norman, Saxon, and Celtic blood came to be so largely mixed in the veins of the upper classes that it has since become matter of dispute from which race some of the leading families of the time paternally descended.\* And if this *commixtio sanguinis* did not prevail to the same extent among the common people, there was a Teutonizing process going on among them also, especially when they found their way into the towns. In a few exceptional districts where wars and confiscations had been the order of the day, and notably in the eastern parts of Ross and Moray, it had been found necessary to drive the turbulent inhabitants beyond the mountains, and plant a more settled people in their room; but the idea that over the country generally there was a displacement of the native population will not bear the light of history.

The religious houses which were so munificently endowed by the kings of this dynasty, were powerful instruments of progress and refinement. It is hardly possible to over-estimate the share that they had in promoting the cause of peace, order, and kindly relations, among a warlike and half-civilized people.

The burghs, which also had their rise during this period, were another important factor in the national prosperity. They were largely peopled, not by Saxons only, but by Flemings, who brought with them their habits of industry and knowledge of trade and manufacture, and also not unfrequently became useful in time of war. Wanderers from Flanders had come in numbers

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\* The Duke of Argyll adopts the rather undignified derivation of his own surname, for which the high authority of Dr. Skene may be quoted, that it was in its origin a personal epithet meaning 'crooked mouthed.' The once popular Campobello legend is of course as baseless a fabrication as the Fitzgerald origin of the Mackenzies. But the name 'Camville,' derived probably from one of the manors so-called in Normandy, appears in the Rolls of Battle Abbey, and was of note in England more than two centuries after the Conquest; and it has been contended, not without a measure of plausibility, by some genealogical antiquaries, among others the late Principal Campbell of Aberdeen, that the Campbells of Lochow may have sprung from the marriage of a member of that family with an O'Duine heiress.



from England in the reign of Henry I., and spread into the sister kingdom; and when Henry II. expelled all foreigners from his dominions, they flocked into Scotland, where a more enlightened policy made them welcome. The different classes of subjects to whom the charters of David I. were habitually addressed were Scots and Angles, or French, Scots, Angles, and Galwegians. But in a charter by David, Earl of Huntingdon, to the ancestor of the Leslie family, another nationality springs into recognition: that writ is addressed 'Francis et Anglis et Flamingis et Scotis.' In Berwick-on-Tweed the Flemings lived by themselves in a separate community, and they appear prominently in the Exchequer Accounts, not of that burgh only, but of Perth, Edinburgh, and Inverkeithing. It would appear also that they were allowed to be governed by their own laws. A confirmation of a charter of Cruterystoun in the Garioch in 1359 to John of Mar, canon of Aberdeen, contains the clause, 'una cum lege Flaminga que dicitur Fleming lauch.' The chronicler of Lanercost's glowing description of Berwick as a second Alexandria has been often quoted, as has the fact that, at a time when the whole customs of England did not exceed £8412, those of Berwick were pledged by Alexander II. to a Gascon merchant for a debt of £2197. Inverness acquired a European reputation for ship-building. What Matthew Paris calls a noble ship was built there for the Count of St. Pol and Blois, when he was preparing to accompany St. Louis to the Holy Land. The burghs had, as has been already noted, a considerable share in the Teutonizing of the Celtic people of the East of Scotland. There was, in those early times as now, a continuous stream of population from the rural districts to the towns. They carried no patronymic with them; and when they had learned to speak the language of the towns, their Celtic descent was forgotten; and they in most cases adopted by way of surname the Teutonic denominations of the trades which they exercised.

It must be kept in mind that the Scottish Burghs grew up under a system of close monopolies. Each burgh not only restricted the practice of a trade within its own bounds, but forbade competition within a wide district of the surrounding country, a fact appealed to by the Duke of Argyll in refutation of the as-

sertion sometimes hazarded that the legislative measures of feudal times were conceived in the exclusive interest of one particular class of people, and that class the owners of the soil.

Among the improvements which we owe to the successors of Malcolm Canmore none was more important than the introduction of charters. The earliest Scottish charters were granted to churchmen. The still extant chartularies of the ecclesiastical sees and monasteries contain copies, nearly as old as the originals, of written grants by David I., and a few by his predecessor Edgar. These writs are after the Saxon, not the Norman model. They sometimes purport to be donations for the soul of the donor and his kindred, but contain no specific reddendo, only a more or less modified exemption from the ancient Celtic burdens.

There was, as the Duke of Argyll remarks, no novelty in such gifts to the Church, only in their being committed to writing. In the Book of Deer (an illuminated copy of the Gospels in the University Library of Cambridge, which belonged to the old Columban monastery of Deer, and has been edited with valuable notes by the late Dr. John Stuart), there are yet to be seen in a handwriting of the Twelfth Century a series of memoranda of grants of land made to that religious establishment for a succession of centuries by Mormaers and Toisechs. Sometimes King, Mormaer, and Toisech unite in a gift of tribe-land to the Church. Similar in kind are memoranda in the Chartulary of St. Andrews, engrossed in the Twelfth Century, but bearing to be extracted from an ancient Gaelic volume, recording the foundation by Brude, King of the Picts, of the Culdee monastery of St. Serf, and describing gifts of lands and freedoms bestowed on that house by kings of Scotland, from Macbeth downwards. In an inquest of 1116 regarding the possessions of the See of Glasgow, the property of the Church is found to consist of donations of past ages, some of them made to St. Kentigern, who had been dead for five hundred years, proved (as the Duke of Argyll remarks), by the verdict of an assize of powerful men, who had the strongest personal interest to call the Church's right in question. Some ceremony had doubtless accompanied these gifts. Traces exist of a usage of having solemn processions or perambulations around the lauds conveyed; and there are indications of

the occasional use of symbols of a kind that we are apt to associate with feudalism. But formal writings there were none in these remote times : and the change introduced at the close of the Eleventh Century was the substitution of the more certain evidence of a parchment acknowledgement for oral tradition or chance memoranda made by the ecclesiastics.

David I. granted few charters to laymen ; almost the only ones known are two grants respectively of the lands of Annandale, and of the forest of Annandale, to Robert Bruce, ancestor of King Robert. Like the charters to churchmen of the same date, they are not properly feudal, inasmuch as they name no specific *red-dendo* ; and therefore the first feudal king, enlightened as he was, seems hardly to have had a distinct perception of the change which charters were destined to effect in substituting fixed for unfixed exactions. We have, however, a decidedly feudal charter of this reign, not from a king, but from one of his most powerful lords, Waldeve, son of Cospatrick, conveying the lands of Dundas to Elias, son of Uchtred, for the service of half a knight. In the ensuing reigns Crown charters were granted with fixed feudal *reddendos* in feu, blench, and military tenure. It can only be in deference to the conceptions of the more ignorant of his readers that the Duke of Argyll has deemed it necessary to point out, in such fulness of detail, that in all these charters, nay before the age of charters, land pastoral and waste, as well as cultivated, is expressly conveyed, and that, without private ownership of pasture as well as arable land, its undisturbed use by the tenants of the owner would in these days have been impossible.

‘In the nature of things,’ says the Duke, ‘ charters tended to the abolition of the old lawless exactions of Celtic feudalism. They effected this as regards all lands granted to the Church, by expressly forbidding these exactions altogether. They effected the same object as regards lands granted to laymen, by substituting definite and fixed amounts of payment and service.’ This is uncontrovertibly true in reference to grants to laymen, in the reigns following that of David I. But it is perhaps worth remarking that the usage of exempting the Church from the exactions referred to, seems to date as far back as the reign of Grig or Cirig, Kenneth Macalpine’s successor, who is universally

asserted to have 'liberated the Church from servitude.' Nor did the exemption in feudal times become quite absolute; for reservations occasionally occur in the charters of David and William the Lion, in such phrases as 'pro conredio regis,' 'salvo servicio meo.'

The transformation of the old Mormaers into Earls, which began in the reign of David's brother and predecessor Alexander I., was something more than a change of designation. While six of them appear in the new character of 'comites' of the Sovereign, appending a formal sanction to his acts, and exercising functions resembling those of the Saxon Wittenagemote, a set of new officers called Vicecomites or Sheriffs were appointed, who, if they did not entirely supersede the Comites in their judicial office, at least exercised a concurrent jurisdiction with them. The next step was to convert the Earls into feudal holders of the lands of their earldoms: and this was effected, as occasion offered, by David I. and his successors Malcolm and William.

As the Mormaer became an Earl, the Toisech became a Thane, and the common tribe territory became Crown demesne, held from the King by a tenure in which the old Celtic exactions still survived in a modified shape. Thanage was considered a noble tenure, the Thane's rank, though inferior to the Earl's, being at least equal to that of the Baron. By the reign of Alexander III. the hereditary Thane had in many cases disappeared, and the lands were in the natural occupation of the King, or let on lease. The War of Succession and final settlement of King Robert on the throne effected almost a revolution in the ownership of land. The Anglo-Norman Barons who had adhered to Edward lost their Scottish possessions; and so did the Comyns, who had been driven by circumstances into an attitude of opposition to Bruce. The Lord of Lorn, connected by marriage with Comyns and Baliols, had ranged himself on the same side, and been stripped of his possessions. An enormous number of charters, both of Crown property and of forfeited lands, were granted by King Robert, principally though not exclusively for ward tenure, to the companions in arms who had supported him in his struggle: and the thanages were also converted into military holdings. The remotest parts of the Highlands were brought under the rule of

charters: and the chiefs themselves granted charters to their vassals.

The cultivation of land by tenants under leases or contracts is the subject of a very suggestive chapter, in which the Duke of Argyll handles various interesting and some rather difficult historical topics.

The earliest agriculturists of whom we have almost any record are the Columban monks. Agriculture was one of the stated occupations of the community of Iona; and there are many references in the work of Adamnan to the operations of sowing, reaping, grinding, baking, milking of cows, etc., as carried on by them. The only other cultivators of the ground during the purely Celtic age were the unfree class. The whole labouring population seem at that time to have been serfs, who, with their wives and children, were the absolute property of their masters.

Perhaps the most distinct attainable information about the nature of serfdom in Scotland is that derived from the *Quoniam Attachiamenta*, a treatise which, though it belongs in the shape in which we have it to the Fourteenth Century, consists largely of materials of an older date; and the close correspondence of its definitions of the servile class with those of the Irish laws, point these out as belonging to the period when Celtic usages still prevailed, but had begun to be clothed in feudal language. We read there of 'nativi de avo et proavo,' transferable from one master to another with the land on which they dwelt, occupants of land known as servile who had rendered servile services for four generations; also aliens, removable at will, who might become in-born; and separately from these, personal serfs, who, to obtain a protector, had given themselves up in open court to a master by the hair of their forehead. If the last named kind of serf afterwards denied his servitude, and his lord succeeded in proving it, the lord was—we are told—entitled to deprive him of all that he possessed except four pence, and to pull his nose in open court. All these classes of serfs seem to have been known as 'nativi;' but it is to the personal serfs, who from time to time made their escape from harsh usage and were reclaimed, that the epithet 'fugitive' was commonly applied.

The chartularies furnish us with a mass of incidental evidence

about serfdom as a recognised institution, of which a few examples will suffice. In 1170 we find Waldeve Earl of Dunbar, making a donation to the Abbot of Kelso, of Halden and William his brother, 'et omnes liberos eorum et omnes sequelas eorum.' About the same date William the Lion gave to the monks of Dunfermline Gillandreas M'Suthen and his children. In 1258 Malise Earl of Strathern, for the good of his soul and the souls of his ancestors and descendants, made over to the Abbot of Inchaffray, by one instrument, Gilmory Gillandres, and by another John called Starnes, son of Thomas son of Thore, in each case 'cum tota sequela sua.' Andrew Fraser, after bestowing certain lands in Gordun on the Abbey of Kelso, adds two crofts occupied by Adam del Hoga, 'nativo meo, cum tota sequela sua;' and he warrants to the Abbey the same lands, meadows, men, and pastures. As late as the year 1388 the chapter of Aberdeen leased their barony of Murtle to William Chalmer, 'cum bondis, bondagiis, nativis, et eorum sequelis.' The late Joseph Robertson used to comment on the evidence furnished by this tack that the biographer of Bruce, then a member of the chapter, notwithstanding his oft quoted ejaculation—

' Ah, freedom is a noble thing !'

scrupled not to be a party to the hiring out of serfs and their issue along with the lands which they cultivated.

The acknowledged right of the owner of the serf to the property of his descendants for ever made it important to preserve a note of the pedigree of this class of men : and in the chartulary of Dunfermline we have numerous genealogies of serfs recorded in order to facilitate their being reclaimed. It will be observed that in these documents and wherever the serfs are mentioned by name, their appellations have a purely Celtic, and generally rather uncouth character, *e.g.* Patrick Stursarauch, Allan Gilgrewar, Bredinlaub, Gilleserfmacrolf, Gillecolmmacmalg, Riscolok, etc.

The servile class began gradually to disappear under the humanizing influences of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. Their emancipation is ascribed by the Duke of Argyll to the churchmen removing their serfs from one estate to another in

order to use their labour in reclaiming land, a practice which undoubtedly existed in the Twelfth Century, for which the consent of the Crown was either required or at least considered desirable, and which would gradually effect a severance between the *natives* and the land. The chartularies also contain occasional allusions to formal manumission, the Religious Houses sometimes purchasing serfs with the view of emancipating them.

But the burghs seem to have been the most potent agency in the emancipative process. By a Scottish usage, which did not obtain in England, the undisputed possession of a burgage tenement for a year and day converted the serf into a freeman. A fugitive would no doubt find it difficult, without his master's knowledge, to obtain the means of purchasing a tenement in burgh. But one or two documents have been preserved which strongly suggest the existence of a practice by which this change of condition would take place with the master's concurrence or connivance. There is an instance of purchased emancipation in the Chartulary of Coldingham, in 1247, when a burghess of Berwick bought the freedom of Renaldus, a serf, with his following, from that Religious House. The price, twenty marks, was a large one; but then Renaldus was at the time of his emancipation 'prepositus' (which in those days meant bailie) of the town of Berwick. This transaction can only be explained by supposing a private understanding between Renaldus and the Abbey, the latter supplying him with the means to settle in Berwick, on the chance that he might, by successful trading in the town, be able within year and day to pay the stipulated price of his liberty. It is not easy to point to the exact period when serfdom came to an end in Scotland—there was no express legislative enactment abolishing it. The latest known process under a brief for recovering 'fugitivi' was in the sheriff court of Banff in 1364; but the chapter of Aberdeen had, as already remarked, its serfs as late as 1388.\*

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\* It is a common but not unnatural mistake to suppose that the 'bondi' mentioned in Scottish charters of the Fourteenth Century were persons of the unfree class. It can only have been at a very early date, if ever, that the so-called 'bondus' was a serf of any description. Could any doubt exist as to what was meant by the bondus of the ancient statutes, it would be set at rest by the Exchequer Rolls of the Thirteenth Century. The

The Columban missionaries who diffused the blessings of Christianity throughout Pictland, had carried with them the primitive agriculture of the Iona Monastery; and under their influence in many parts of the country, the forests had been cleared, the mosses drained, and the corses utilized. More enlightened ideas of husbandry were imported from the South by the Canmore Kings, and put in practice not only in the possessions of the newly-erected Religious Houses, but in the lands of the Crown, which were then of great extent. The chartularies make us aware of the existence of regulations for the protection of growing corn and hay, and make mention of roads adapted for wheel carriages, and of water mills, windmills, kilns and breweries. In both Church lands and Crown lands the actual tillers of the ground were to a large extent free husbandmen, and tenants with or without leases. That the King's 'firmarii' (tenants paying a rent but without leases) had power to remove from their holdings when it suited them, and go elsewhere, may be gathered from an allusion in the account of the Sheriff of Edinburgh for 1290 to a payment made to the farmers of Liberton and Laurieston in consideration of a mortality among their cattle in the previous year, 'ne exeant terram regis in paupertate, et ne terra regis jaceat inculta.'

Leases seem to have begun almost as early as charters, and first in the possessions of the Church. The earliest lease, however, which the chartularies have preserved to us, of date 1190, is granted, not by ecclesiastics, but by laymen, vassals of the Steward of Scotland, to the monks of Kelso, the Steward's confirmation being appended to it. The subjects let are the wood

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account of the Sheriff of Forfar rendered in 1290 states that the rent (firma) of the land of Menmuir, amounting for two years to £66 13s. 4d., cannot be recovered on account of the poverty of the 'bondi' inhabiting that land, the ferme having been raised to 50 marks annually in prejudice (in odium) of these 'bondi' by Sir Hugh of Abernethy. Similarly, in the account of the Sheriff of Traquair in 1288, the letting of waste lands 'bondorum' to free farmers is specified; and these persons are shewn by later accounts to have been small tenants who paid certain services called 'bondagia,' a term applied both to the services and to the lands held by them, and continued in use in some parts of the country till a comparatively recent date.



and pasture of Innerwick ; the lease is for thirty-three years, and the rent is 20s. yearly.

Allusions occur to leases by the King, and grassums paid on entering on them, in the Crown accounts of the reign of Alexander III., which have been preserved to us in a fragmentary form. These same accounts present us with interesting glimpses of the rural economy practised in the lands attached to the several Crown manors. We find tenants paying part of their rents in oats, barley, wheat, and fodder, also in cattle, sheep, swine and poultry. The grain most extensively grown was oats. Large districts of natural meadow furnished grass, which was made into hay. In the Sheriffdom of Traquair, free tenants took in hand the reclamation of waste lands at steelbow on a five years lease, on entering on which they paid a grassum. At all the Royal manors we find beef largely consumed, and the hides of the cattle manufactured into various descriptions of useful articles. Of the hides of eighteen beeves used at Roxburgh Castle, where there was a large store of arms, the cook was to have nine, seven were to be used for the military engines, and the crossbowman was to have the remainder. In Forfarshire the dairy was an object of especial attention, and the Crown rents were largely paid in cheese. The demesne lands of Forfar, Glamis, and Kingalvey together returned 1600 stone of cheese annually. Sheep are chiefly mentioned in the Lowlands. The Wardrobe Accounts of Edward I. allude to large supplies of malt furnished to the English garrisons in Scotland in 1299 and 1300 ; and, when the King invaded Galloway in the last named year, he purchased wheat there, which was shipped from Kirkcudbright to the ports of Cumberland, to be ground and returned to Scotland ; and mention is made of the destruction, by the English cavalry on their return from Galloway, of eighty acres of oats, the property of William of Carlile.

It is impossible to doubt that the twenty years preceding Bannockburn must have been a period of retrogression in agriculture, as in the arts of peace generally. Yet the Chartulary of Scone presents us with an example of a lease with some singularly enlightened provisions, granted by the abbot of that monastery, in 1312, to Edmund Hay of Leys, and William his son. The land

let was Balgarvy in Perthshire, and the term of endurance was thirty years, a violation, it may be remarked, of a canon of a Provincial Council of 1242, prohibiting churchmen to let lands to laics for a period exceeding five years. The most striking peculiarity of this document is that it is an improving lease, based on the assumption that the tenant will, for his own sake, execute such improvements as will cause the land to give an increasing produce, and therefore to be more valuable to both landlord and tenant. As the lease advanced, it was provided that the rent should rise, being two marks for the first year, two marks also for the second year, three marks for the third year, four for the fourth, five for the fifth, six for the sixth and six following years, and for each of the remaining ten years ten marks.

Another provision of the same lease illustrates the position of free agricultural labourers already adverted to. The land has before been let to husbandmen '*ad firmam*;' but the new tenant was expected, according to the common practice of the day, to bring his own cultivators, who were to quit along with the tenant himself at the end of the lease. The former husbandmen, therefore, were clearly not serfs, who as *adscripti glebæ* were irremovable; nor does it appear that they had, as free tenants, any right of occupation which prevented the land from being withdrawn from them.

This Scone lease, however, can hardly be esteemed (as the Duke of Argyll seems to regard it) an average example of the leases of the time. The agriculture of the Religious Houses was much in advance of that of other laudlords. In this case the tenant was himself a great landholder, son of a younger brother of the Constable of Scotland, the progenitor of an important branch of the Hay family, and apparently more intelligent and enterprising than most of his class. The provision for a progressive rise of rent was unusual even in leases by Religious houses. A clause more frequently met with in leases by the monasteries is a restriction on the tenant sub-letting to any one more powerful than himself, a condition which was perhaps dictated by an apprehension that the subject let might pass into the hands of some one who would have influence to retain it against the proprietor.

The Accounts of the Customs of the Scottish Burghs which begin towards the end of the reign of Robert Bruce, and are nearly complete from the middle of the Fourteenth Century, furnish data for some not unimportant conclusions bearing on the agricultural position of Scotland, and in particular, enable us to estimate roughly the number of sheep in the country.

For a long period the principal trade of Scotland was in wool, which was exported largely to Flanders, both in the shape of clipped wool and of fleeces. There was also a not inconsiderable exportation of hides of cattle. The burgh officers appointed to collect the customs levied on these classes of exports, rendered yearly accounts to the Exchequer, specifying the numbers of lasts, sacks, and stones of wool, and the number of woolfells and of hides exported. The rates of custom were fixed in 1368 at a figure amounting to four times those exacted in the reign of Robert Bruce, and for a long time afterwards these rates remained unaltered, namely, two marks on each sack (of 24 stones) of wool, one mark on the hundred (i. e. 120) woolfells, and four marks on the last of hides. During the reign of Robert II., the gross amount of these customs averaged £8000, and sometimes exceeded £10,000, about one thirteenth part being derived from hides of cattle and the rest from wool. It is difficult to estimate what proportion the hides exported bore to the whole cattle in the country, and no calculation can well be based on them. The wool exported was not of course that of the aggregate of the sheep reared in the country, as a certain proportion must have been re-retained for the home-manufactured dress of the lower orders: any computation founded on these accounts must therefore be within and not beyond the mark. At the Exchequer Audit of 1378-9, one rather below the average of the reign of Robert II., the customs are accounted for of 5112 sacks of wool, and 42,226 woolfells. Each sack may be presumed to have contained the fleeces of 280 sheep.\* There were therefore exported in that year, 1,431,360

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\* From the facts, (1) That the custom was the same on a sack of wool as on 200 (i.e. 240) woolfells, (2) That a statute of 1357 authorizing the king to make purchases of wool, fixed the same price (4 marks) for a sack of wool as for 240 woolfells, we may safely conclude that the 240 woolfells

shorn fleeces, and 42,226 woolfells, in all 1,473,586 fleeces. Making allowance for fleeces retained in the country, the conclusion seems warranted that the number of sheep then in Scotland exceeded a million and a half. A computation made on the same basis for the year 1327, brings out a nearly similar result, though the data are rather less complete. It is rather remarkable to find that in the reigns of Robert I. and Robert II., the sheep of Scotland should be half as numerous as they were computed to be in 1814,\* when the population had certainly much more than doubled.

Equally remarkable is the falling off in the customs of wool, and presumably on the number of sheep reared, in the reigns of the earlier Jameses. The average yield of the customs on wool and hides in the reign of James I. (after his return from England) was little above £5000, in that of James III. about £2600.

Two other series of documents in the General Register House, containing a large amount of information bearing on the occupation of land in the Fifteenth Century, seem to have little, if at all, come under the notice of the legal writers who have treated the subject of leases. These are respectively the Accounts and the Rentals of the Crown lands. The few of the Accounts that belong to the reign of James I. are noteworthy as containing references to Rental Books not now extant, indicating that the crown lands were then, as afterwards, periodically let at fixed rents. Indeed a considerably earlier account of Strathern, when in the hands, not of the King, but of Earl David, son of Robert II., contains evidence of a like practice in 1380. In the reigns of the second and later Jameses, the Crown lands, which had been greatly encroached on by grants of Robert Bruce to his companions in arms, came to be again extended by forfeitures and otherwise. A not inconsiderable proportion of the area of Scotland was inalienably annexed to the Crown in 1455; but a statute of 1503

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contained about the same weight of wool as the sack, viz., 24 stones, or 360 pounds. But as the fell must have contained somewhat more wool than the shorn fleece, the sack would contain the fleeces of above 240 (say 280) sheep, the clip of wool being thus a little less than 1½lb per sheep.

\* See *General Report of the Agricultural State and Political Circumstances of Scotland*, by Sir John Sinclair, Vol. iii., Ap. p. 6.

gave a sanction to alienations under certain conditions. From the reign of James II. onwards the series of accounts of the 'ballivi' of the Crown lands is almost without a break; and after 1480 the Rentals furnish us with the name of the tenant of every holding, and the general terms of his lease. The Crown possessions accounted for during that period included, *inter alia*, the old demesnes of the royal palaces of Stirling and Linlithgow, Ballincrief and Gosford in Lothian, lands in Perthshire which had formed part of the abbacy (abthania) of Dull, the possessions of the Prince in Ayrshire, Bute, Cumray, Cowal, etc., the earldoms of Menteith and Fife and barony of Tullicultry, which had devolved on the Crown on the forfeiture of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, the earldom of Strathern, which had been taken possession of on a questionable pretext by James I., Strathgartney, which David II. had acquired from Sir Robert Erskine in exchange for Alloa, Ettrick Forest, Galloway, and Moray, with other lands beyond Spey, which had fallen to James II. on the attainder of the Douglasses, and sometimes the earldoms of March, Ross, and Mar.

The usage in nearly all the districts named was for the whole lands to be let at regular intervals for terms of three or five years by the Comptroller of the Household and other Commissioners appointed under the Privy Seal. The rent stipulated was generally payable, part in money, and part in grain, marts, and poultry, with a stipulation (less definite than the other provisions) for 'cariagia et servicia consueta.' At each renewal of a lease a *grassum* was due, usually about equivalent to a year's money rent. The larger number of tenants got no written leases, the terms of the agreement as entered in the Rental Books serving the same purpose. Now and then, however, mention is made in these books of formal leases to favoured tenants granted under the Privy Seal for seven, thirteen, or nineteen years, or for life. On the death of a tenant his lease fell, or could only be renewed to his widow or heir on payment of an entry (*introitus*) nearly equivalent to a *grassum*, a payment under the same name being made by every new tenant in addition to his *grassum*. A female tenant marrying without leave forfeited her lease, which, however, was often renewed on payment of a *grassum* by her husband.

The permission occasionally accorded, particularly to the holders of leases under the Privy Seal, to have sub-tenants, seems to indicate that sub-letting was not in the general case allowed, and that the tenant was to occupy the land with his own stock; and a higher *grassum* was sometimes exacted from a tenant on the renewal of his lease as a penalty for sub-letting without leave. We find the Crown as landlord sometimes stipulating that the existing tenants are not to be removed; a bargain which seems to imply that they are to become sub-tenants under the new lease. A special recognition sometimes occurs in the rental of a new sub-tenant, as when, in a five years' lease under the Privy Seal to Lord Home, part of the lands of Crieff are let to Andrew Wood of Blairton and Henry Schaw as his sub-tenants.

The principal tenants vary in respect of condition in life, from personages of rank and position like Lord Drummond, Moray of Tullibardine or of Abercairney, Lord Home, Edmonstone of Duntreath, or the laird of Luss, down to people obviously in the position of 'husbandi,' or expressly so styled. A large number of the latter class of persons are often tenants of one township or village, cultivating no doubt in the old runrig fashion, owning it may be half a bovate, or a bovate and a half, and paying a rent not exceeding 2s. 8d. The higher class of tenants are from time to time, particularly after 1503, found getting their leases converted into feu-rights. The ancestors of some considerable families in the south of Scotland first appear as tenants of Etrick Forest, and in the reign of James V. got charters of the lands which they occupied.

There is abundant evidence that, as a general rule, the agreements regarding the letting of land were what the Duke of Argyll calls 'bargains for mutual profit and mutual convenience.' At a new assedation the rents are often raised; and from time to time tenants, deeming the rent asked to be too high, refuse the lease, and the land is let to another. There are at the same time favoured tenants, regarding whom we learn from entries on the credit side of the Crown accounts that their *fermes* or *grassum* are remitted in consideration of some service which they have rendered, or post which they held; and the holders of offices in

the household are often declared in their leases to be entitled to set their salaries against the rent of the land which they occupy.

Bute was in an exceptional position, the tenants seemingly approaching somewhat to the position of 'rentallers or kindly tenants.' The Bute accounts go as far back as the accession of James II. ; and there is an incidental mention of a leasing of the island at that time. We have no rental or list of the tenants, no allusion to grassums or entries paid, and no remissions of rent such as have been adverted to elsewhere. But the fermes continue the same from 1436 till 1506, when a feu-charter is granted by James IV. to the rentallers of Bute, specifying each by name with his lands and his proportion of feu-duty, and declaring their tenure to have been virtually feu-holding. Those feuars came to be popularly, though not with much propriety, styled 'Barons' of Bute.

We may now turn, as the Duke of Argyll does in his fourth chapter, from the conditions of the ownership and occupation of land in the more civilized part of the Kingdom to those that prevailed in the less settled districts. The Duke is at pains to impress it on his readers that all parts of Scotland were alike in respect to the law ; that there was no portion of the Kingdom exempted from the operation of the beneficial charges introduced by the successors of Malcolm Canmore, and that written charters, leases, and wadsets were introduced into Highlands as well as Lowlands. Theoretically no doubt this equality existed ; but the mountain barrier separating the South-eastern from the North-western part of the Kingdom, formed from the first a geographical obstacle to the spread of the civilizing agencies alluded to : and the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries witnessed within the Highland boundary something like a suspension of law, and a relapse into the unwritten Celtic code of earlier times.

The notion entertained in some quarters that down to about 1745 the population of the Highlands lived in a state of Arcadian bliss, founded on the happy relations that existed between clansmen and chiefs, and that the conversion of that relation into the normal one of landlord and tenant after that date has been to the detriment and injury of the people, is most justly regarded by the Duke of Argyll, as not only untrue, but an absolute inversion

of the facts. The terrible evils from which the Highlands suffered in past times are laid by the Duke to the door of the clan system ; and he describes the gradual supplanting of clan-ship by the modern relation between owner and occupier of the soil, as an incalculable benefit to all concerned.

The splitting of the Highland tribes into clans has been already adverted to, and Dr. Skene explains in detail how, within the Highland line, the Earls who had been Mormaers retained a measure of their power and prestige until their Earldoms had passed by marriage or otherwise into the hands of a Norman family ; and how the breaking up of the Earldoms, one by one, disclosed, not the tribes, whose existence had been half forgotten, but the septs and clans that had been formed out of them.\* In the reign of Robert Bruce, however, the clans are hardly heard of. Bruce appealed to the patriotism of Highlanders as well as Lowlanders : their leaders forget their differences in trusting and following him : and the national spirit evoked by that king was felt within as well as without the mountain barrier. Though it cannot be maintained in the face of the data presented by the Exchequer Accounts, that the wars and troubles of the reign of David II., abridged the material resources of Scotland to the extent that has been often assumed, they certainly, even in the Lowlands, arrested the progress of civilisation, and the result in the fastnesses of the North and West was nothing less than a deplorable sinking into barbarism. The absence of a ruler who could make his presence felt, placed unlimited power in the hands of the chiefs, who were soon at deadly feud with each other, and a generation or two later made the Highlands not only a scene of violence and misrule, but a serious source of peril to the civilized part of the kingdom. For a while, however, unruly as the

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\* As to the puzzling Clan Macduff that sprang up away from all other clans in the East of Scotland, a possible explanation has been offered by Dr. Skene, that it may have been a Gaelic sept which had followed Macbeth from Moray when the southern districts were subjected to his sway, but which was accorded the privileges which it enjoyed from its chief siding with Malcolm Canmore. At a later period we have so-called 'clans' in Strathclyde and Cumbria, and extending along the English as well as the Scotch border.



mountaineers might be within their own barrier, there were no general collisions between Highlands and Lowlands. Fordun, writing about 1380, describes the Highlanders as 'a savage and untamed nation, rude and independent, given to rapine, ease-loving, of a docile and warm disposition, comely in person but unsightly in dress, hostile to the Anglic people and language, and owing to diversity of speech, even to their own nation, and exceedingly cruel. They are, however, faithful and obedient to their king and country, and easily made to submit to law if properly governed.'

Yet a very few years after the passage was written, a statute of 1384 presents a vivid picture of bands of malefactors and katherans from beyond the mountains, ravaging, plundering, burning, and murdering wherever they went; and the most prominent among the persons alluded to was one who ought to have been among the foremost vindicators of the law, the King's brother Alexander, Earl of Buchan, who, placed in a position of almost absolute power over clans willing to own his sway, became more Highland than the Highlanders, and earned for himself the name of the 'Wolf of Badenach.\*' A few years afterwards a large body of katherans, numbering among their leaders more than one illegitimate son of the 'Wolf,' made a savage raid into the lowlands of Angus, where a sharp fight ensued, with great loss to the Lowlanders. But this and other plundering expeditions shock us less than the sanguinary butchery of 1396, when sixty wild Highlanders, thirty on each side, engaged in a deadly struggle in the North Inch of Perth, in the presence and under the sanction of King Robert III. and his assembled court. In the form in which this story has been transmitted to us, it has so unreal an air that we can scarcely credit it to be history and not legend; and the present writer must confess to having been

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\* The Duke of Argyll observes that the only drop of Celtic blood in the veins of the royal house of Stewart came through the Macrorrys, Lords of Bute. They were however through another line descended from a famous Irish Celtic race. The mother of Walter the High Steward who married Marjory Bruce, was a daughter, not, as has been sometimes said, of the Earl of March, but of Walter de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, by a daughter of Hugh O'Connor, King of Connaught.

somewhat startled when he first encountered the following matter of fact entry connected with it in the then unpublished Crown Accounts of Perth:—‘Pro meremio, ferro, et factura clausure sexaginta personarum pugnancium in Insula de Perth, xiiij. li. sij. xjd.’ Fifteen years later, the bloody victory of Harlaw, where the advance of Donald of the Isles was arrested, marked an epoch in the history of Highlands and Lowlands. From 1411 onwards we hear no more of the clans breaking, *en masse*, as a united army across their mountain barrier.

Passing on to the period of the Jameses, if there were not a few turbulent doings in the Lowlands, there may be set against them some excellent legislation, and the foundation of three universities for the pursuit of learning. But the internal condition of the Highlands presented more and more an exhibition of the worst vices of an utterly barbarous people. While the most powerful of their chiefs, the Lords of the Isles, though nearly related to the Royal house, were in a state of chronic rebellion, and intriguing with successive Kings of England for the partition of the kingdom, the clan fights and feuds presented a perennial spectacle of plunder, devastation, treachery and murder. The Duke of Argyll singles out a few characteristic examples of the incidents of the time, including among others the massacre of the MacIans by the Macleans, and the smothering to death of the whole population of the Island of Eigg in a cave where they had taken refuge.\* About as revolting an outrage as any of these took place in 1490, not in the remote north-west, but on the very verge of the Perthshire Lowlands, being the climax of a long-standing feud between the Drummonds and Murrays. Its im-

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\* It would rather seem that Eigg witnessed two different outrages of this description, which have been made into one by Sir Walter Scott. Popular tradition ascribes the smothering of the inhabitants of the island in a cave, not to Macleod of Macleod, but to Alaster Crotach Macleod of Harris, who flourished from 1490 to 1545. On the other hand, in 1588, while the ‘Floride,’ one of the Armada, was at Tobermory, M’Lean of Dowart with a party of one hundred Spaniards, harried the four islands of Eigg, Muck, Rum, and Canna, burning the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex. See paper on this subject by Sheriff Macpherson in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xii. p. 547.

mediate cause was a dispute about the amount of tithe to which the Abbot of Inchaffray, a Murray, was entitled from the lands of the Drummonds. A son of Lord Drummond having taken up arms to resist the exaction, encountered Campbell of Dunstaffnage, who, with a band of followers, had made his way from Argyllshire to avenge the death of his father-in-law, a Drummond, slain by one of the Murrays. The Drummonds and Campbells together overpowered the Murrays, and drove 120 of the latter to take refuge in the church of Monivaird. A shot fired by the Murrays having wounded one of the Dunstaffnage men, Drummonds and Campbells together set fire to the church, and all the men who were in it, with a single exception, perished in the flames.

The Highlands occupied much of the attention of James IV., who made various efforts to break down the power of the chiefs. The final submission of the last Lord of the Isles took place in his time; he undertook a series of expeditions to establish his authority in the islands, and reduce the principal chieftains to obedience; and the records of his reign throw some light on one of the main causes by which lawlessness had been perpetuated, the replacing of the older settled people of the clan by a purely military population. The Acts of the Lords of Council fully bear out the Duke of Argyll's account of the introduction from other districts of broken men, devoted to fighting, whose implicit obedience to their chiefs could be depended on, and whose sole source of support lay in unlimited exactions made from the peaceful cultivators of the ground.

The tenacity of purpose and political activity with which the sixth James is only now beginning to be credited, is nowhere more shown than in the resolution with which he applied himself to repress lawlessness in the less settled parts of his dominions. In 1587, 1594, and 1597, he initiated a series of Acts whose purpose was to obtain control over the Highlanders through their ablest and most powerful chiefs. It is to be noted that the first of these Acts is directed *nominatim* against the chiefs and clans of the Borders as well as of the Highlands; and the Duke of Argyll regards the clanship of Highlands and Borders as so identical that no distinction, either of principle or of effects can be drawn

between them. The clanship of the Borders, however, was, it appears to the present writer, historically different from that of the Highlands, and the evils connected with it were on the whole less difficult to grapple with.\* At a time when the Highlands were all but inaccessible to the officers of the law, the Crown accounts of the border districts tell us of multitudes of justice ayres held there, in which border lairds became security for border thieves, and border thieves were fined and 'justified,' though there is also a striking number of instances in those accounts where fines were remitted. The Privy Council Register of the Sixteenth Century is full of matter of a similar description: but after James comes of age, the last named record evinces the existence of a far more pronounced determination that the anarchy of the Borders shall cease, now that the extremity of the Kingdom is about to become the centre of it. To use the words of the accomplished editor of that record, Professor Masson, 'The severities of the government of James VI. in the administration of the Scottish Borders from 1603 to 1607, ought to be more remarkable than those of any of his ancestors from James I. to James V., in their famous justiciary expeditions. They mark the beginning of the transition from lawlessness and turbulence to the modern state in which the imagination of the peaceful natives delight to conserve the mementos and traditions of the old turbulence, and has them converted into legend and song.' In the course of a generation the hereditary feuds—which, it must be remembered were of Scotsmen against Scotsmen, and not alone against Englishmen—had ceased, and the Border counties had become as peaceful and industrious as any part of the Lowlands.

James' task in the Highlands was a more arduous one, and it cannot be said that all his enactments regarding that part of his

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\* There was, says Burton (*History of Scotland*, vi., p. 290) 'an old similarity between the Highlander and the Borderer that both of them indulged in theft. The Borderer, however, was by nature a utilitarian and a tradesman. He drove the beeves of the English because it was the most profitable business he could engage in; when the profession ceased to pay he dropped it. But it was of the nature of the Highlanders to be idle and feed on the produce of other men's labours.'

dominions were attended with marked or immediate success. A somewhat stringent Act of 1597 required all 'landlords, chieftains, and leaders of clans, principal householders, heritors, or others pretending to right to any lands within the Highlands and Isles,' to produce their charters or other titles prior to a certain date, else their lands would be presumed to be crown property, the reason alleged for this requirement being that the persons alluded to have, 'through their barbarous inhumanity, made the Highlands and Isles altogether unprofitable both to themselves and to the other lieges, they neither entertaining any civil or honest society among themselves, nor admitting others to traffic within their bounds with safety of their lives and goods.' One curious practical result of this statute was the fabrication of a mass of spurious charters and pedigrees, about which Dr. Skene gives us much curious information. Another consequence of it was an effort made, without eventual success, towards a colonization of the Lewis by Lowland adventurers and speculators. Six years after the date of this statute an unusually savage outrage took place, about the last of its kind, the massacre of the Colquhouns by the Macgregors at Glenfruin, which, occurring as it did just as James VI. was ascending the English throne, caused, in the advancing state of civilization, a burst of horror, leading to the well-known proscription of the race and name of the guilty clan.

More important than these Acts in reducing the Highlands to order were the so-called 'Statutes of Icolmkill,' solemn agreements entered into at Iona, in the year 1616, between the Bishop of the Isles (Andrew Knox), as King's Commissioner, and the several chiefs, and directed towards uprooting the loose traditional customs which positive law had been unable to eradicate. It was agreed that tenants and labourers were no longer to have the burden of supporting strangers or the gentlemen retainers of their chiefs, or vagabonds who choose to live at free quarters on them; that chiefs were to limit the number of their retainers, and that the bards, who used the attractions of poetry and music to keep alive the animosities between clan and clan, should no longer be allowed to exercise their vocation, under peril of the stocks or banishment. Restrictions were also placed on the sale of wine ; \*

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\* Abundant evidence exists that wine, not whisky, was the intoxicating

and an obligation was laid on every gentleman, or yeoman possessed of 60 cattle, to send his eldest son to school in the Lowlands.

The statutes of Iona mark a turning-point in the history of the Highlands. The clan feuds were mitigated, and occurrences like the massacre of Glenfruin were no longer possible. But thieving and plundering did not at once come to an end. The inherited notions regarding cattle which the robber clans put in practice are thus described by the Duke of Argyll :—

‘The Clan Gregor, like other clans, had been taught to believe that robbery of cattle was not immoral. . . . Cattle in Scotland had originally been an indigenous animal. They said that God made the cattle, that He also made the grass upon the hills ; and therefore their conclusion was that cattle, the very earliest form of human property, could not be considered as rightful property at all. The strongest might always take it, and those who defended it could only hold it by success in battle. This theory is not perhaps quite so incoherent as the modern form of it which applies the same reasoning to property in land, but shrinks from applying it to property in the produce.’

After the Statutes of Iona, the next epoch of importance in the development of the Highlands was the Union of 1707, an event

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drink chiefly consumed in the Highlands at that period, and that it was in particular largely indulged in in the Western Isles. In 1609 the Privy Council had prohibited the importation both of wine and of spirits from the mainland ‘without prejudice always to any person within the Isles to brew aquavitæ and other drink to serve their own houses, and to the special barons and substantial gentlemen to send to the Lowlands, and there to buy wine and aquavitæ to serve their own houses.’ In 1616, in pursuance of the Statutes of Iona, the use as well as the sale of wine was prohibited in the Islands, on the preamble that ‘the great and extraordinary excess in drinking of wine commonly used amongst the commons and tenants of the Isles is not only an occasion of the beastly and barbarous cruelties and inhumanity that falls out amongst them to the offence and displeasure of God and contempt of law and justice, but with that it draws numbers of them to miserable necessity and poverty, so that they are constrained when they want of their own to take from their neighbours.’ In July, 1622, there is a further prohibition of the importation of wine, not from the mainland only, but from any quarter whatever, ‘except so mekle as is allowed to the chieftains and gentlemen of the Isles.’ It may be doubted whether these enactments had as much effect as the war and the import duty in putting an end to the use of wine among the common people of the Hebrides, and substituting whisky for it.

which stimulated the industry of Scotland by affording it outlets in entirely new directions. It is beyond the scope of this article to follow the Duke of Argyll in any detail in his sketch of the industrial progress of Scotland during the last 180 years, or in his digression regarding the sources of wealth, and suggestion that 'mind, matter and opportunity,' should be substituted for the 'law, labour, and capital,' of political economists. The legislative measures following the rising of 1745 are not regarded by him as effecting many material changes; and he views the abolition of heritable jurisdictions, if on the whole beneficial, to have been the result of a mistake, of a confusion of the power of the chiefs, which was independent of law, with that of the barons, which was founded on law. Much interest attaches to his account of the reports by Campbell of Stonefield and President Forbes of Culloden of the agricultural economy of Mull, Morven, and Tiree, more primitive than that of the Iona monastery, and of the vigour with which the reforms recommended by them were carried out by Archibald, third Duke of Argyll. The greater landlords of that period were undoubtedly the pioneers in the way of improvement in Scotland: they were indeed the only capitalists who could be got to sink money in experiments whose success was doubtful: capitalist tenants there were none till a later date. The introduction of sheep-farming, the rise of the kelp industry into a temporary source of wealth, the over-population that followed, the spread of potato-culture, the collapse when kelp-making ceased to be remunerative, and the potato-crop failed, throwing the whole population of the West Highlands on public charity, are all touched on, as also the later phases of the Highland question.

Allusion has been made to the large number of sheep reared in Scotland as far back as the Fourteenth Century. The discovery which was made in the beginning of the present Century, of the use to which the Highland mountains could be put as grazing for these animals, made an enormous addition to the natural produce of the country, the difference being computed to be that between £600,000 and £4,200,000, all added to the comfort and resources of mankind. But this change, on the whole a highly beneficial one, involved, in many cases, the removal of the

smaller tenants, in order to convert their holdings into winterings for the sheep. Dr. Skene remarks (*Celtic Scotland*, III., p. 373) that 'the old servile condition of the small tenants, by which they were attached to the soil and could not be severed from it, which is usually regarded as an oppressive custom, would probably have been valued at the time as a privilege.' The larger number of those who were thus dispossessed, however, found a refuge in emigration: but, overcharged as are some of the pictures which have been presented to us of Highland evictions, there were, no doubt, instances—exceptional it is to be believed—where unnecessary harshness was practised to individuals in carrying out this desirable if unpopular improvement. A fuller acknowledgment of this fact would—it will appear to some readers—not have detracted from the cogency of the Duke's general argument.

*Scotland as it Was and as it Is*, must be admitted to be a very important and suggestive contribution to the history of land economy in Scotland; and it is to be hoped that it may have some influence in inducing the Highlanders to regard as false friends those visionary enthusiasts who would lead them to look back with sentimental regret on the wretched era of clanship, and those still more mischievous orators whose panacea is the forcible dispossession of the owners of the soil. Indolence and over-population have in later times been the two sources of the evils from which the Highlanders have suffered. The former, in the belief of the present writer, is matter, not of race, but of habit: and there is a growing conviction among thoughtful people that the true cure for both ills is to be found in colonization, that is to say, not the unregulated emigration of past times, when isolated individuals were too often landed in a semi-helpless state on a foreign shore, but a scheme like that now advocated by Lord Meath, by which opportunity is given to whole families and communities to make a fresh start in a new country, surrounded with their home associations, and provided on their arrival with land, farm buildings, and implements of husbandry.

GEORGE BURNETT.



## ART. II.—THE PANAMA CANAL.

‘ *J’E declare que le Canal de Panama sera plus facile à commencer, à terminer, et à entretenir que le Canal de Suez.* FERDINAND DE LESSEPS.’ Such is the statement on which, made on the 1st November, 1879, M. de Lesseps brought before the trusting peasantry of France his insane scheme for piercing the Cordilleras. We propose to enable our readers to form their own opinion as to the character of the statement and its propagators.

The Suez Canal, as is well known to many of us, is essentially the re-opening, through loose sands deposited within historic times, of a navigable channel; closely resembling one which, twenty-four centuries ago, was opened in the same locality by the Egyptian monarch Neco. Fully half of the waterway lies through marshes and lagunes, where a little dredging is all that is requisite. No work of art, it is remarked by an eminent English engineer, occurs on the whole course of the Canal, except the piers or jetties at the entrance. Only one cutting of any magnitude is effected; and not more than a single kilometre has a depth exceeding 50 feet above the water level. The locality is readily accessible, the climate is good, the Government lent all its resources to facilitate the work; and the existing traffic only awaited the opening of the communication to avail itself of a route which effected an immense saving in the time of transport between Europe and India.

The estimate of M. de Lesseps for this very simple work, for which he obtained the concession, was £6,480,000; which was raised to £8,000,000 in order to allow for the payment of interest out of capital. An English contractor would have gladly undertaken the work at the price. Under the management of M. de Lesseps, by the end of 1882, the sum of £20,000,000 had been expended in opening a water way 20 feet deep, and only 72 feet wide at the bottom, instead of the 144 feet which the concession stipulated; and a further sum of £8,000,000 is now in course of expenditure in order to bring up the width to that of the original plan, giving a total of 28 millions for work estimated at 8 millions sterling.

Notwithstanding this wasteful expenditure, the strong steady stream of traffic, when once allowed to seek this natural chan-

nel, was such as to pay some 16 per cent. to the shareholders of this enterprise. It may be noted that in June 1884, when the beneficial return to the Viceroy and to England, who had found £8,407,727 of the capital, was £495,637, the beneficial return to the 'promoters,' who had found £260 of the capital, was £462,332; and the value of the '*parts de fondateur*,' representing 10 per cent. of the profits on working, which were issued at 5000 francs each, stood, on 15th November, 1880, at 380,000 each, as stated in No. 30 of the *Bulletin du Canal Interocéanique*. Having said thus much we hope to be relieved from the necessity of referring any more to the Suez Canal; the experience of which is a matter entirely apart from that of a canal through the deadly Isthmus of Panama, attaining a depth of upwards of 360 feet of cutting.

The latter work, if practicable as designed, would cut asunder the backbone of the New World; and open a channel which, if the sea gained free admission to it, might so alter the hydraulic conditions of the tropical oceans as materially to affect the climate of England. It contained, as a scheme, almost every conceivable element of difficulty. That at any outlay of money its construction is physically possible, is not the opinion of many disinterested experts. That it is financially impossible was very clearly foreshadowed in the *Edinburgh Review*, in April 1882. The frightful mass of evidence that has accumulated since that date confirms the opinion expressed by the editor of the *Economiste Français*, in August 1885, to the effect that in the history of the Canal 'we shall see the most terrible financial disaster of the Nineteenth Century.' This is the translation into plain English of the words of M. de Lesseps on October 22nd, 1879:—'*L'opération de la construction d'un Canal entre la Méditerranée et la mer Rouge était bien plus difficile que l'ouverture maritime entre l'Océan Atlantique et l'Océan Pacifique.*'

From the time when Cortes wrote to the Emperor Charles V. of his anxiety to discover a natural strait between the Eastern and Western coasts of the American continent, to the present day, the idea of forming an artificial channel has never failed to exercise a wonderful fascination. For a brief historic

notice of the many schemes brought forward only to be abandoned, we refer the reader to a little work entitled, *The Panama Canal: its History, its Political Aspects, and its Difficulties*, by J. C. Rodrigues, LL.B. (London, 1885), which brings down the history of the project to June, 1885. The figures given by Mr. Rodrigues are carefully taken from the official publications of the Canal Company, and are thoroughly reliable. But much has to be added to them, and that of a very unequivocal nature. The official publications of the Company distinctly prove that the flagrant case of misrepresentation exposed by Mr. Rodrigues errs only on the side of moderation.

On the strength of studies which the *Compte Rendu* of the proceedings of the 'International Congress' of 1879 shows to have been comprised within the term of fourteen days, M. de Lesseps declared that he had found the solution of the secular problem, which had been regarded as an enigma for nearly 400 years. How he arrived at the conclusion, we leave Mr. Rodrigues to explain. What are some of the main features of his project we will proceed to point out.

The continents of North and South America are connected by a mountain range, which bends in a semi-circle round the north of the Bay of Panama, giving to that piece of water the appearance of the submerged crater of a mighty volcano. A line running N. N. W. from the centre of the crater crosses the lowest pass as yet known of the ridge, which is a saddle-backed depression, three hundred and thirty feet above the level of the sea. The ridge rises on either side to the height of 400 and 620 feet. From this watershed descend on the one side the head stream and affluents of the Obispo, which falls into the Atlantic, in the Bay of Limon, after a course of some 35 miles; and on the other side the waters of the Rio Grande, which has a course of some 15 miles to the Pacific at the Bay of Panama. Each of these rivers is of a torrential character, and each receives important affluents, falling in at right angles, on both banks. The most important of these is the Chagres, which falls into the Obispo at Matachin, about 27 miles from the sea, on its right or eastern bank. The Chagres drains an unsurveyed district, of at least 1500 square miles in area, which is subject to a tro-

pical rainfall, exceeding 120 inches in depth in the year. Its flood volume is fourfold that of the heaviest flood ever seen in the valley of the Thames; and its waters have been known to rise as much as 40 feet from the rainfall of a single day.

It is not safe to assert that the canalisation of these two main streams, the Obispo and the Rio Grande, by well considered works, involving a series of locks, and thus following the natural rise of the country to the height of some 120 feet above the sea, and a cutting of some ten miles in length, at this level to unite the two, is impossible. Far less would any engineer of repute be disposed to stake his character on the assertion that it was practicable, in the absence of these detailed surveys, and volumetric measurements, which as yet do not exist. A cutting of 240 feet in depth would still have to be executed, through material which proves to be of a slippery nature; and at what slope the cutting could stand, exposed, as it would be, to a tropical rainfall, there are no data for calculating. The summit pond could not be made at a much higher level than 120 feet, for want of a steady supply of water. The arrangements for protecting a line of water communication from the rush of the torrents of the wet season, laden as they are with floating timber and other *debris*, would require very anxious care, and are as yet beyond the limits of practical experience. Commander Lull, of the United States navy, and Mr. Menocal, civil engineer, in 1875 made surveys for a line of this description, which was 42 miles from sea to sea, rising by 24 locks, with a lift of 10·3 feet each, to a level of 124 feet, and passing over the Chagres by a viaduct 1,900 feet long, and 44 feet above the bed of the river. This last outcome of very numerous surveys by nine different routes never had any existence but on paper; but it is mentioned as shewing the extraordinary difficulties which competent engineers found to accompany any effort to pass over this portion of the isthmus by water.

Superable or insuperable, however, the difficulties of such a work would not be one tenth of those opposed to the ignorant scheme of M. de Lesseps, which is no other than to run a level open track from sea to sea across this mountain barrier. The mere bulk of excavation required, which is by no means

the most serious feature of the case, has been successively stated by M. de Lesseps and his officers at 46,000,000, 75,000,000, and 125,000,000 cubic metres. Judging from the contents of the heaviest section, that of Culebra, which is said to contain 25,000,000 metres in a length of two kilometres (a volume which is calculated at slopes that would be impossible to stand), it is more likely than otherwise that the third estimate is not more reliable than either the first or the second. But whether we estimate the Culebra cutting at 25, or with the Commission of the Academy of Sciences, at 37 millions of cubic metres, only 1,500,000 cubic metres had been removed from it by the beginning of 1886, to which have to be added 608,000 for that year, and 481,000 for the first six months of 1887. The rate of progress of this key work of the whole system, on which the date of opening the Canal must under any circumstances depend, six years after the date at which work was to be commenced (according to M. de Lesseps' promises on 3rd March, 1881), 'all along the Canal, including the hard rock mountain of Culebra,' is alone enough to decide the question of the intelligence and good faith of a scheme, the promoters of which have already incurred liabilities to the amount of upwards of 65 millions of pounds sterling.

The idea of a level canal involves the dispossession of the great rivers above-named of their natural channels and outfalls. The Obispo, before and after its junction with the Chagres, crosses the line of canal 46 times, and the Rio Grande crosses it 11 times, at levels ranging from 5, 8, or 10 to 200 feet above the level of the intended bottom. The effect of a very moderate flood in either river would be the utter destruction of the Canal, if admitted. New channels must therefore be cut to carry off the torrent water, and to preserve the navigable water way. As the affluents fall in on both sides, new channels must be cut on both sides of the Canal to carry off their waters. And as the flood volume of the Chagres alone would more than fill the cross section of the Canal, it is clear that the excavation necessary for the two lateral side channels would not be inferior to that for the Canal itself, in its lower reaches. To diminish this prodigious

bulk of cutting it has from the first been proposed to erect an enormous dam across the pass between two hills through which the Chagres flows near Matachin, with the view of impounding its flood waters, and drawing them off at the still considerable rate of 400 metres per second, which is the volume of the Thames in flood. But in his last report, terrified as it should seem by the near approach of a catastrophe he must know to be inevitable, M. de Lesseps announces a 'simplification,' of his plans by omitting the construction of the Gamboa dam. This would involve, either the destruction of everything done below Matachin by the first flood of the Chagres (which after all might be hailed as an escape from an *impasse*), or the quadrupling of the size of the 27 miles of lateral channel on the right hand bank of the Canal, from Matachin to the sea.

The excavation for the navigable canal and for the two lateral water courses between Matachin and the sea, is by no means the most formidable part of the earthwork proposed by M. de Lesseps. From the 45th to the 59th kilometre, measured from Colon, extends a solid block of hill, rising to the height of 358 feet above the proposed bed of the canal, and estimated by the canal authorities to contain 72,000,000 cubic metres of excavation. That this enormous figure is far below the probable amount of work to be done is shewn by the fact that the 2 kilometres forming the Culebra section are included in it, as before seen, at 25,000,000 cubic metres. That estimate, however, is based on the assumption of the existence of a large portion of solid rock, standing nearly perpendicular, while the softer material has slopes of 1 to 1. So steep a slope may well be regarded as impracticable; to flatten it will enormously increase the work to be done. Even if  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 slopes are substituted for 1 to 1, the contents of the 2 kilometres will be increased by one third; and only 1,500,000 cubic metres are returned as excavated at Culebra up to the spring of 1886. Lieutenant Rogers says that 78,000 cubic metres of earth slipped back into the cutting in that year, which it took six weeks to remove. Thus supposing that there may be some error in the statement that the mountain is moving bodily towards the axis of the canal, it is evident that the 72 millions of cubic metres to be excavated might not improbably

expand to twice that volume. It is precisely in the loftiest part of the hill, according to the borings, that the earth is softest and most treacherous. Nor is it possible to say at what slope an earth cutting of so tremendous a depth could stand under a tropical rainfall, even when the Obispo and its affluents have been conducted from their present beds, and the sides of the canal have been protected from their ravages.

Again, the estimate of 25 millions of cubic metres is based on a section which crosses the ridge at the lowest point, at the contour line of 100 metres above the sea-level. But from this point the ridge rises on the West to 120, and on the East to 190 metres; and the edge of the eastern slope of the cutting, if set out at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, cuts the contour line of 160 metres. It is unsafe to estimate the contents of the section, therefore, at less than 37 millions of cubic metres, and when we are told by Lieutenant Rogers that 'the little ridge on the left is a mixture of sand and clay and conglomerate,' and that 'during the rainy season the surface deposit becomes saturated with water, and the increased weight, coupled with the incline, causes the deposit to slide over the smooth surface of the clay into the canal excavation works,' we can give no assurance that 50 millions of metres may not here call for removal. 'Worse than all,' adds Lieutenant Rogers, 'the mountain on the left side of the cut is found to be moving bodily towards the axis of the canal, at an annual rate of from 12 to 18 inches, owing to the cutting away of its lower support.' What will be the case if the cutting is carried 200 feet lower?

It should be observed, with reference to these quantities, that three different sections, published from time to time by the Canal Company, differ not only from each other (which might be the result of improved accuracy) but from the plans which they accompany. On the first the Culebra cutting is figured as 286 feet deep to sea level. On the second it scales to 333, and on the third to 358 feet above the bed of the Canal. The river crossings on the third section differ not only in distances but in numbers from those shown on the plans.

The deepest part of the Culebra cutting is 9 kilometres from the point where the Chagres falls into the Obispo. It is evident that unless the material for the Gamboa dam be taken from the

upper parts of the cuttings through the mountains it will have to be carried up hill; and that if the material is only taken out and piled alongside, it will have to be moved a second time, if subsequently used for the dam. But even if, with the most exact proportion, the 26,000,000 cubic metres of the Gamboa dam be all carried from the upper parts of the Obispo, Emperador, and Culebra cuttings, what is to be done with the remaining bulk? To pile this on the sides of a cutting of from 200 to 350 feet in depth will be not only a stupendous undertaking, but a direct invitation to disaster. And the doubts before expressed as to the adequacy of the surveys and estimates are not diminished by the fact that Lieutenant M'Lean, who was sent to report on the Canal works in January, 1885, gives the width on the surface of the deepest cut on the Culebra at 820 feet, whereas it comes to 1028 feet at slopes of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, starting above the solid rock.

It is difficult to form any practical estimate of the cost of excavations conducted on such a scale. Even in England it has been found to be the case that the cost of the last work to be executed on a railway has been seven times as much, per cubic yard, as that of the first work commenced on it. But what will be the cost of raising rock, or softer material, to heights of from 200 to 350 feet; heights that will in some parts be doubled by that of the banks into which the excavated material has to be piled? If contracts are now made, as we are assured, at 6s.  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per cubic metre, will 40s. per cubic metre be enough to allow for the last 20 or 30 feet of the Emperador and Culebra cuttings? Again, the distance for which the material will have to be conveyed from the main cuttings into the Gamboa dam, even if uphill work can be avoided, will alone be a formidable item in the cost of that necessary preliminary to the safety of the lower part of the Canal.

If it be asked for what end this enormous cost has been so wantonly expended, the only explanation that can be offered is that conditions have been adhered to as a question of *amour propre*, when they had been once announced in ignorance of engineering principles. It may not, indeed, be possible to save much more than one-third of the depth of the deepest cutting by the use of locks; but that any feasible estimate of a canal rising



by the usual mode to the level of the Chagres at Matachin, must be at least trebled by the effort to run in the sea level to that point, there can be little doubt. That a level canal is, when practical, preferable to a locked canal may be readily admitted. But the balance between the cost to be saved by each ten feet of lockage, and the time to be added to the transit in order to pass the locks, is one that every engineer should know how to strike ; although the question does not seem to have been raised with respect to the case to which it most critically applies.

It will be difficult for an engineer to review the above cited facts, taken, as they chiefly are, from the very meagre information furnished by the *Bulletin du Canal Interocéanique*, without arriving at the conclusion that the Panama question has never yet been properly investigated as a matter of either scientific or practical engineering. If any doubt remain, M. de Lesseps has said enough to dispel it. So lately as on 1st August, 1886, he reiterated his assertion of 1879, 'that with the 600 millions comprised in the provisions of the International Congress of 1879 the completion of the Canal of Panama will be assured before the end of 1889.' It is millions of francs of which he speaks, not, as the reader fresh to the subject might suppose, of pounds. 'A 'canal with locks,' says M. de Lesseps, 'is necessarily temporary in its character.' 'There will not be sufficient time for the construction of locks. We shall make them later on.' 'The Panama Canal, he told his shareholders in 1884, is really easier than the Suez Canal. The whole matter is excavation, pure and simple. 'The Canal would be ready on January 1, 1888.' It is in reliance on a judgment that may be gauged from these utterances that no less a sum than 66,000,000 has been coaxed from the thrifty and trusting peasantry of France, without making any serious impression on the work that was to have been completed for £24,000,000.

The chief engineering problems which remain for solution on the Isthmus of Panama, after those of the floods of the Chagres, the current and floods of the Obispo and its affluents, and the disposal of the vast mass of earth which must be removed to form the Canal, are satisfactorily disposed of, are those which

concern the Pacific slope of the Cordilleras, and the lock, break-water, and other arrangements for access from both oceans.

From the 55th to the 65th kilometre of the Canal, as shewn on the plans, the Rio Grande crosses and recrosses the axis of the waterway (as was before seen to be the case with the Obispo on the Eastern slope) eleven times. Its first crossing is at the height of 146 feet above the bed of the Canal; and while most of the affluents fall in from the West, the discharge is to the East of the waterway which it is intended to navigate. The three consecutive sections of the line which are thus complicated contain an estimated bulk of 27 millions of cubic metres of cutting, for the Canal alone, without any allowance for the river deviation. This difficulty is but another case of the problem before presented by the Obispo.

The tidal rise and fall at Panama has a range of 21 feet at ordinary springs, and of 27·6 in extreme cases. Such a movement of the water renders it indispensable to close this end of the Canal by a lock; and the sum of £480,000 was allowed for that purpose in the earliest estimates for the undertaking. It has thus been a misrepresentation to speak of the Canal as being made without locks. But we are now told that the 'simplification' of the works of the Canal is to extend to the abandonment of the tidal work.

Seven kilometres at the Panama end of the line are to be dredged below the present bottom of the bay. Without giving implicit credence to the latest reports as to the inefficient work of the dredgers here, it is obvious that the question of the maintenance of a navigable channel at a depth which, towards the shore, reaches many feet below the sea coast bottom line, is one of some gravity.

At Colon, or Aspinwall, on the Atlantic, 350,000 cubic metres of earth have been formed into a wharf or platform, which was intended to serve for the protection of the harbour, as well as for the site of the administration buildings, shops, and landing stages. But the continuous storms of 1885 showed the necessity of constructing a gigantic stone dam north of the bay; a work which at present exists only on paper. The estimate made in 1879 for the Aspinwall breakwater was £400,000.

It will be seen from the foregoing remarks that nothing in any way resembling the detailed estimate of a responsible engineer has ever yet been brought before the world, as shewing the probable cost of the Panama Canal. As to those points for which direct calculation is practicable, the history of the manner in which they have been from time to time represented is not reassuring. The total excavation for the work was estimated, by the 'Congress' of 1879, at 46,150,000 cubic metres. This was raised in the following year, by the 'International Commission,' to 75,000,000 cubic metres. In the report of July, 1885, M. de Lesseps admits that it will reach 120,000,000 cubic metres. Herr Beyeler, in the autumn of 1886, gives 131,000,000 cubic metres for the Canal proper, and 2,000,000 for river diversions. The comparison of these quantities with the section shews that they contemplate slopes far steeper than experience points out as safe, or even practicable; and he would be a bold man who should assert that the plans now put forward on paper could be executed with a less volume than 200,000,000 cubic metres of excavation. Assuming that 40,000,000 cubic metres have been, up to this time, excavated, including the sand and mud dredged at both ends of the line, the utmost rate of progress yet attained is such as to require 13 years from the present time for the removal of the remaining quantity of earth-work, or  $10\frac{1}{2}$  years for the removal of the net quantity set down by Herr Beyeler. The present annual charge for interest and amortisation, paid out of capital, is £2,668,000, a charge that is increasing at the rate of £500,000 a year; so that, if money should continue to be forthcoming on demand, upwards of £60,000,000 will be required for interest by the date of the completion of the Canal, if effected by 1899. This is without allowing a single farthing for the prosecution of the work.

Thus while the materials do not exist for a reliable engineering estimate of the cost of a level canal from Colon to Panama, certain figures may be set down with sufficient accuracy to render more research somewhat unnecessary. In July, 1887 (under reserve of any small corrections for the amortisation of shares and the receipt of interest) the Panama Canal Company was responsible for a share and loan capital to the aggregate amount of

£55,000,000, of which they were supposed to have from £2,000,000 to £9,000,000 in hand. The new loan, as then proposed, would have raised this capital amount to £75,000,000, and as actually effected, to £66,000,000. Interest on this sum, and on the future necessary additions, will amount to £60,000,000. Management in Paris and at the Isthmus comes to £4,000,000. For the Gamboa dam, the tidal lock, and the breakwater, £8,000,000 has been estimated. There remains the bulk of the unexecuted cutting, which it would be a very sanguine estimate to put as low as £50,000,000. The resulting total of £168,000,000 allows nothing for the probable excess in the volume of the cutting, for rebate, discount, and commission on the sums yet to be raised, or for contingencies, among which must rank the improbability that the price of 10s. per cubic metre will be enough to cover repairs and renewals of working stock, as well as cost of labour.

But, taking the expenditure up to 30th June last at £46,000,000, with £9,000,000 in hand, the balance of £113,000,000 will be required in cash. As the company are already raising money at 56 per cent. discount, it cannot be assumed that this balance will be obtainable on more favourable terms. That being so, to raise 113 millions in cash will increase the capital to £256,800,000, giving a gross total of £311,800,000, or a cost of 6½ millions sterling per mile as the price of the Canal when complete.

In consideration of this outlay the shareholders are to enjoy the privilege of charging 12s. 6d. per ton on the shipping using the Canal. At the present cost of steam navigation, it will be necessary to save 1500 miles distance on a voyage in order to make it worth while to pay this charge. This may to some extent account for the variation in the estimates of probable traffic, from the 1,625,000 tons of Mr. Church, or the 1,313,602 tons of Mr. Nimmo, to the 7,000,000 tons of M. Levasseur. But supposing the American statistics to be wrong, and the sanguine guess of the French academician to be right, the gross return at the maximum rate would hardly furnish one fourth of the interest which the Company have bound themselves to pay, without allowing a single penny for the costly item of 'administration,' or for the maintenance of the canal. It might, therefore, have been better for all parties to consult a competent engineer at an earlier stage of the project.

We pause in the enumeration of the engineering difficulties, so wantonly invited and disregarded, not for want of matter, but for want of space. We have probably said enough on this part of the subject, and must turn to the financial outlook.

The *Bulletin du Canal Interocéanique* is a fortnightly publication, by means of which the directors of the Panama Canal communicate to the shareholders and loanholders such accounts of the financial and engineering state and progress of the enterprise, as from time to time they think desirable. By a careful collation of the whole series of *Bulletins*, it is thus possible, not only to arrive at some notion of the conditions of the undertaking at any definite date, but also to compare the outcome of facts with the original statements and estimates.

In July, 1879, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps concluded an arrangement with M. Bonaparte Wyse and his associates, for the purchase of a concession granted to the latter by the Columbian Government, for a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. On the 23rd of that month, M. de Lesseps published his first prospectus, inviting subscriptions for 800,000 shares of 500 francs each, giving a capital of £16,000,000. The shares were not taken up. In November, 1880,—we refer to the book of Mr. Rodrigues for what occurred in the interval—a second prospectus was issued, for 600,000 shares; and upwards of 1,200,000 shares were then applied for by 102,230 subscribers. The Company was thus constituted, with a capital of £12,000,000, in 600,000 £20 shares.

These shares have been paid up in full, and the Company has contracted the following loans.

1882—250,000 obligations, at 5 per cent.,	-	£5,000,000
1883—600,000 obligations, at 3 per cent.,	-	12,000,000
1884—341,292 obligations, at 4 per cent.,	-	6,825,840
1885— 68,375 obligations, at 4 per cent.,	-	1,367,500
1886—458,802 new obligations, at 3 per cent.,	-	18,352,080
1887—258,887 new obligations, 2nd series, at		
3 per cent., - . . . . .	-	10,355,680
		<hr/>
		£53,901,100

Making a total capital, in August 1887, of - £65,901,100  
 (less a certain number of obligations paid off  
 by the operation of the sinking fund).

The six issues of Loan above specified are credited in the annual accounts as having produced in cash :—

1882—£4,375,000, being a discount of 12·5 per cent.	
1883— 6,840,000	„ „ 43·
1884-5—6,078,440	„ „ 33·4
1886— 8,059,499	„ „ 55·0
1887— 4,556,409	„ „ 56·0
£29,909,348	44·5

The work to be done was estimated in 1879 as follows :—

Canal—soft soil, -	17,300,000 cubic metres.
hard soil, -	5,650,000 „
solid rock, -	23,200,000 „
	46,150,000 cubic metres.
River diversions, francs, - -	17,000,000
Dam for Chagres, „ - -	25,000,000
Tide lock, etc., „ - -	23,000,000
Contingencies, - - - -	25 per cent.
Total, without interest, administration, etc.,	£30,550,000

A 'Revised Estimate' was prepared in 1880, which raised the amount of cutting to 75,000,000 cubic metres, and the total cost, allowing only 10 per cent. for contingencies, to £33,748,000.

A 'Rectified Estimate' was issued in September, 1880, amounting to - - - £28,000,000.

The estimate of the excavations drawn up in 1885, dividing the 45·88 miles of the Canal into 12 sections, was as follows :—

Sections.	Cubic Metres.
Colon, - - - -	2,000,000
Gatun, - - - -	4,000,000
Bohio Soldado, - - -	6,000,000
Tavernilla, - - - -	12,000,000
San Pablo, - - - -	7,000,000
Gorgone, - - - -	11,000,000
Obispo, - - - -	12,000,000

Emperador, - - -	25,000,000
Culebra, - - -	25,000,000
Paraiso, - - -	10,000,000
Corozal, } - - -	17,000,000
La Bocca, }	
	131,000,000
River diversions, - - -	20,000,000
	151,000,000
Total, - - -	151,000,000 cub. metres

The cash expenditure to the end of June, 1886, was returned in the Annual *Inventaire* for 1887 at £24,606,927. Of this sum had been expended on—

Purchase of Panama Canal, -	£3,755,128
Offices, Barracks, Furniture, etc.,	1,203,120
Plant and Stores, - - -	3,674,224
Works and administration in Isthmus,	9,488,488
Administration, Interest, etc., -	6,485,967

£24,606,927

The realisable assets at this date are returned at £5,297,558. The annual interest for which the Company are liable, with the addition of one-half per cent. on the loans for sinking fund, amounts to £2,668,458. The rebates on the issue of loans amount to £23,991,752, making the total cost of administration and financing, to June 30, 1886, (including the rebate on the 1887 loan) £30,497,419

Thus it will be seen that on 30th June, 1887, the Company had partially completed less than one-fourth of the earthwork admitted to be necessary in order to open the Canal. In effecting this, besides purchasing the railway on terms that are said to pay two per cent., they have already spent more than twice as much money as, in 1880, M. de Lesseps declared to be sufficient for the entire work. Their original share capital of £12,000,000 is now burdened with a debt of £53,900,000, and the Company's powers of raising money for the continuance of the work is measured by the fact that little more than half of the money which they endeavoured to borrow in July last, at the enormous discount of 56 per cent., has been offered; although, in 1880, there

were more than two applicants for each share for which the subscription was opened.

It would be hardly necessary to go into the details of the above colossal sums, but for the fact that the relation between the rate of progress maintained and the expenditure regulates the incidence of the interest to be paid (or owed) out of capital. The annual expenditure, not taking into account the rebate and discount on securities, but only the sums realised in cash by the directors, have been as under. In a parallel column will be found the total cube of excavation returned in the *Bulletin* as effected.

Year ending		Francs.		Cubic Metres. •
June 1881,	-	42,792,364		
1882,	-	107,830,852		
1883,	-	78,086,110	-	1,103,703
1884,	-	125,296,865	-	5,499,599
1885,	-	131,302,898	-	7,659,016
1886,	-	154,244,369	-	10,499,000
1887,		not yet rendered	-	12,413,000

Thus the gross total expenditure to 30th June, 1886, amounts to 640,156,446 francs; and the excavation to that date to 24,761,318 cubic metres; and to 37,174,318 cubic metres (out of at least 151,000,000) by 30th June, 1887.

Comment on the above figures is superfluous. A very slight command of arithmetic is enough to show how far the promises of M. de Lesseps are likely to be kept, and how far the editor of the *Economiste Français* is in the wrong when he says '*chaque parole de M. de Lesseps est démentie au bout de quelques mois.*' The matter is too grave for a smile; or the juxtaposition of two Reuter's telegrams would be enough to excite one. On the 18th December, 1886, we find the announcement, 'At a meeting of the Geographical Society, M. de Lesseps again declared that the Panama Canal would be open for traffic in 1889.' On 1st November, 1887, comes the despatch, 'At yesterday's sitting of the Academy of Sciences, Count Ferdinand de Lesseps announced that the Panama Canal would be open by the third of February, 1890. He added that the works would not be entirely completed by that date, but that the passage would be free for the transit of twenty ships daily, and he estimated that even this amount of



traffic would give a receipt of from 90 to 100 million francs per annum.' And M. de Lesseps was aware, when he made the first statement, that in the previous June he had not completed one-sixth part of his estimated excavation; and when he made the second statement he was aware that a year's work had only raised the proportion by eight per cent. '*La somme de 700 millions de francs,*' he states in his Report for the year ending June, 1885, *sera le coût du canal maritime le jour de son inauguration.*' 'It is an operation,' he said on March 3, 1881, 'the exact mathematics of which are perfectly well known, and the grandeur of the effort to be made does not at all trouble the enterprising contractors to whom you will supply the means of carrying out the effort.' The canal proper, he adds, will cost 430,000,000 francs, including the side channels to dispose of the water of the Chagres and the Rio Grande. The other expenses with the canal, such as the barrage of the Chagres, the culverts from the artificial lake, the improvements of the ports, will come to 46,000,000 francs, and the tide lock, reservoirs, lighthouses, etc., will amount to 36,000,000 francs more, thus making a total for all work of 512,000,000 francs. Going back to November, 1880, we find, on the same authority, 'the Universal Company shall be constituted with a capital of 300,000,000 francs. It being estimated that the total expense will reach 600,000,000 francs, the sums necessary to make up the difference will be provided, as the work proceeds, by the issue of the debentures, so that the shareholders may benefit from greater profits in the enterprise.' So large has this benefit become—in imagination—that instead of this £12,000,000, thus allotted for their advantage the shareholders have already enjoyed the privilege of contributing £53,901,100, 'secured' by the debentures of the company; and he would be a bold man who should say that the canal is now by one hour nearer its opening than was the case in 1881.

The terms on which what are pleasantly called the 'Loans' of 1886 and 1887, have been raised are so unprecedented, that we can not but think that they are likely hereafter to bring the inventors and promoters within the hard grasp of the code Napoleon. Let us cite the account given by an English journal,

the *St. James' Gazette*, which has all along shown a particular acquaintance with the misdeeds of the managers of the Suez and of the Panama Canals. We there find, on 23rd July, 1887, the following paragraphs :—

‘The financing of the last Panama loan is certainly unique. How far it is to be taken as a new point of departure for persons in need of money it is for the financier to say. But for a plain man, who does not profess to go much beyond the four simple rules of arithmetic, the subjoined facts are matter for perplexity, only tempered by confidence in the skill of the great author of the scheme.

‘Taking round numbers (the full issue proposed was not taken up last year), the loans asked for in 1886 and 1887, and intimated as wanted for 1888, amount to £24,000,000 in cash, or £8,000,000 for each year. They are issued at over 56 per cent. discount. Thus, taking one series, the company receives £8,000,000 in cash (less bankers' commission, etc.) for which they become indebted to the lenders in the sum of £18,18,818. Interest for the first year amounts to £545,054. To this has to be added the repayment of 6,000 obligations, drawn by lot—say £240,000 ; so that the cost of the loan for the first year is £785,454. For the second year the payment will be £7,200 less, owing to the extinction of the obligations purchased by the sinking-fund. At the end of ten years the debt of the company, in respect to this loan, will have been reduced to £16,020,818. The sum of £5,130,540 will have been paid in interest, and the sum of £469,460 (less any bankers' charges) will remain on hand.

‘If we apply this simple calculation to the whole loan, the indebtedness of the company in respect to it, by the year 1898, will be £48,000,000, and the cash then in hand from the loan will be £1,400,000. The operation is a simple one, the calculation is readily made—not a sixpence of the proceeds of the loan will have been expended on the works. Fifteen millions sterling will have been paid in interest ; seven and a half millions sterling will have been repaid to the drawers of lucky numbers ; a debt of forty-eight millions will have been contracted : and the result will be that the company has about enough cash left to carry on the operations for another half-year.

‘As far as the civilizing mission of France, the fidelity of M. de Lesseps to his past, and considerations of that high order are concerned, I do not pretend to be a judge. But on the low and vulgar level of £ s. d. I should like very much if M. de Lesseps would explain how the shareholders are to benefit by the transaction ; and what effect the money obtained by these loans will have on the prosecution of the works of the canal. If the third series of these “obligations nouvelles” be issued, the capital of the company will stand at upwards of £90,000,000. The canal was to be opened for £24,000,000.’

Misstatements and desperate expedients of such magnitude are

unparalleled since the memorable days of Law and the South Sea Bubble. The popularity of M. de Lesseps in France has been extraordinary ; and he has not hesitated to make the fullest use of it. What will be the result when the 350,000 shareholders and bondholders of the Panama Company realise their true position, it is difficult to foretell. It will not be alone on the directors of the Company, who, while waiting for their share of 3 per cent. of the net profits of the enterprise, draw £9,600 per annum as fees, that the full fury of the disappointed peasantry will be expended : the Government of July, 1886, have compromised themselves in the affair in a way which may tell hardly on their successors. It is thought doubtful by men who are intimately acquainted with the state of France, whether Republican institutions can survive the discredit brought upon them by such flagrant cases of wild speculation, or of unblushing corruption, as each day unveils. In June, 1885, M. de Lesseps applied to the Government for authorisation to issue a lottery loan of 600 millions of francs. On receiving the application, the minister of public works sent, in December 1885, M. Rousseau, an engineer in chief of the *Ponts et Chaussées*, to Panama, to report on the state and prospects of the undertaking. It appears from the proceedings of the Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, that M. Rousseau reported as to the impossibility of completing the canal in the time stated. About the same time M. Jacquier, also an engineer in chief of the same distinguished corps, who had been recently appointed Director of Works on the canal, gave his opinion that the construction of a canal without locks was impossible. The report of M. Rousseau, however, was suppressed. It was not allowed to see daylight, and information as to its contents was refused to an official application from this country. M. de Lesseps hastily withdrew his demand for an authorisation of his lottery loan ; and on his own responsibility made that appeal for funds which has resulted in the receipt of £12,616,000, for which the Company has incurred a debt of £28,707,000. That a Government which had so far interfered in the matter, should allow such a procedure to go on under its eyes, while still withholding from the public the only approach to an independent

report on the subject which had been drawn up, is a matter as to which, in all probability, we have not heard the last word.

Not that there has been any want of effort to secure independent reports. The Government of the United States has made repeated attempts to obtain such information as to the state and prospects of the works. Lieut. R. Rodgers, in February 1884, Lieut. R. M. W. Brown, in July 1884, Lieut. R. H. M'Lean, in January 1885, Lieut. Francis Winslow, in February 1886, Lieut. Kimball, in January 1886, and Lieut. Charles C. Rogers, in March 1887, naval officers, were commissioned by the United States Government to ascertain and report as much information as they could gather. But the authority of any of these officers was a very different matter from that of a technical representative of the French Government. *The New York Herald*, and *The American Engineer*, of Chicago, also sent correspondents to the Isthmus. Herr Beyeler, a Swiss engineer, formerly engaged on the Canal, published a detailed statement in October 1886, under the title, *The Truth about the Panama Canal*. Of the faithful and painstaking work of Mr. Rodrigues, a correspondent of *The New York Herald*, we have already spoken. A volume published in 1886, under the title, *Deux ans à Panama*, gave a frightful picture of the climate and its effects on the European officers of the Company; but this work had the disadvantage of being anonymous. So also is the very graphic story, published in the last summer, under the title, *Le Canal de Panama, et ses Gaspillages, Lettres d'un Ingénieur*, which has gone through six editions. These various statements, agreeing very fairly in the main, have failed to counteract the organised *propaganda* of the French press; or to break its silence as to any unpleasant or accurate facts about the proceedings on the Isthmus.

Subject to the reserve as to authorship, the light thrown by the two last cited volumes on the want of engineering information and guidance, and the wholesale pillage organised on the Isthmus, is most startling. The correspondent of the *New York Herald*, writing in February, 1885, has told us that 'the efficiency of the Jamaica negroes working on the Isthmus is about one fourth or one third that of the American labourers in America. They receive 4s. to 6s. per diem, which is like paying 12s. to 16s. in

America.' Before the advent of M. de Lesseps 6d. per day was considered ample wages. The machinists, who are nearly all Americans, get, Lieutenant Winslow says, 24s. a day, apiece. The excavators, locomotives, and other contractor's plant, on which M. de Lesseps places such unbounded reliance, had cost, up to June, 1886, 82 millions of francs. The machinery in question had a nominal power of 52,400 horses. Herr Beyeler says that most of it is in a hopeless condition of rust and dirt. 'The high degree of humidity of the air destroys everything, and of the material enumerated only about half is at this moment fit for use. It may be asserted with equal confidence that should the period of construction be much prolonged a very large portion of this immense material must be renewed.' In February, 1885, Lieutenant Winslow had found that the rate of progress promised by M. de Lesseps would require 40 dredgers, while only ten were employed, and 127 excavators, where there were only 42. Herr Beyeler, however, gives the number of 116 excavators and 36 dredgers—as existing at all events upon paper, but we have seen what he says as to their actual condition.

Powerful as these machines, when properly constructed for the special work that they have to do, and properly managed, undoubtedly are, they have not as yet, on the Panama works, earned much claim to the title of labour-saving machines. An English navy will throw 16 cubic yards of earth into a waggon as high as his shoulder per day. This is, of course, only one of the elements of the cost of removing the earth work. But on ordinary English contract work, as formerly done by hand, at least 3 cubic yards per day was expected from each man. M. de Lesseps declared that with his vast plant more than 6 cubic metres per day would be the work per man; and yet for 1886, 800 metres per annum is the utmost duty per man, the work of the labour saving machines being thrown in. Considering the great power of the dredgers, by which so large a portion of the excavation hitherto carried to account has been executed, this is a melancholy shortcoming. To some extent it is explained by the author of *Le Canal de Panama et ses Gaspillages*. The writer was appointed, he tells us, chief of a section near the middle of the Isthmus; and the number of men borne on his

books was 600. But on his first fortnightly pay only 440 men presented themselves at the pay table. It turned out that a whole battalion of gaily dressed negresses were entered as labourers at ten francs each per day. They hesitated to ask for their money from the new chief; they represented about half the deficient 160 names. The other half, existing only on paper, had provided for the formation of a very respectable fund for the managers of the section, so long as they were undisturbed by strangers. A pendant to this gay picture is the statement that each new recruit arriving on the work has to be measured in the first place, that a proper allowance of coffins may be made by the carpenters. On his section, when reduced by the disestablishment of the negresses and the paper men, the writer counted 35 deaths in the first nine days of January, 1886—one of the three ‘healthy months’ of the year. In the previous month a steamer brought nine new employés, of whom five were dead on the arrival of the boat. This is only a corroboration of the account given by Dr. Otis of the fatalities attending the construction of the railway now the property of the Canal Company, which was said to contain a grave under every sleeper.

It is unnecessary to weigh with accuracy the exact degree of credit that is due to this accordant jury of witnesses. We have called but one into court; but that one is sufficient to prove the case which we have put. It is M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, whose annual reports, to say nothing of the comments of his journal, the *Bulletin du Canal Interocéanique*, are ample for the purpose desired. Estimates of cost, estimates of time, statements of the satisfactory progress of the enterprise, confident promises of its lucrative result—appeals for money, more money, yet more money, and bids for the same up to 50 per cent. discount, are all given under his official signature. Mr. Rodrigues, admitting that ‘the task of writing against the management’ of this speculator ‘is indeed arduous and thankless,’ ventures on the excuse—if it be an excuse—which follows: ‘Sober judgment will find in him the plain promoter, who never made a serious study of the scheme; who, encouraged by his own excessive vanity on one side, and by the fulsome flattery of his countrymen on the

other, has allowed himself to be used as a tool in the hands of ambitious 'people, who, in plain words, bought his name in order that they might enrich themselves out of the savings of the artless and enthusiastic mass of the people.' We do not know on what grounds Mr. Rodrigues bases that opinion. We feel pretty sure that M. de Lesseps would repudiate such a line of defence. There is, at all events, nothing to support it in the long series of documents published in the *Bulletin*. It is M. de Lesseps alone who is known, in France or out of it, as the creator, manager, and promoter of the scheme. He would have claimed all the merit of success, had success been attained. He will have, we trust, the opportunity of explaining to the justice of his country the course which he has taken—and God send him a fit deliverance.

While the ink on the preceding pages was still wet, M. de Lesseps addressed to M. Rouvier, the Minister of Finance and President of the Council, a letter which it is hard to characterise in measured terms. It may well be doubted whether such a series of negations of known facts and figures as this letter contains has ever before been publicly addressed to the Finance Minister of a great country. M. de Lesseps informs the President that the Panama Canal, as it was voted by the International Congress of 1879, was to cost (*devait coûter*) 1,200 millions of francs, and to be executed in 12 years. No such statement was made in the *Compte Rendu* of that Congress. On the contrary, in the circular dated 15th November, 1880, in which M. de Lesseps proposes that 'the Universal Company shall be constituted with a capital of 300 millions of francs,' he goes on to say it is 'estimated that the total expense will reach 600 millions of francs.' And on the visit of M. de Lesseps to the Isthmus, in February 1880, he had decided, as a basis of the undertaking, that the works were to be executed not in 12, but in 8 years.

The letter continues, 'it was possible to execute the Canal in 8 years, by doubling the material. This is what has been done.' No estimate of the material required for either of these terms has been furnished. The year 1888 was from the first spoken of as the date of opening the Canal. On 30th June, 1886, out of

640 millions of francs returned as expended, only 82 millions has been paid for '*gros matériel et outillage en service.*'

'The cost of the digging of the Canal, properly so called,' continues M. de Lesseps, 'is not modified, but the annual charges resulting from the last loans augment daily the total cost of the Canal.' 'The Canal proper,' M. de Lesseps stated at the general meeting in March 1881, 'will cost 430 million francs, including the side channels to dispose of the waters of the Chagres and the Rio Grande.' A further sum of 82 millions of francs was allowed for the barrage of the Chagres, the tide-lock, light-houses, etc., works as yet untouched. In June, 1886, deducting from the sums expended to that date the payment for purchase of the railway, 547½ millions of francs had been laid out, and less than one-sixth of the estimated cubic contents of the Canal and of the deviations had been excavated.

'The actual general total cost of the Canal on the day of its inauguration in 1890,' will be, M. de Lesseps assures the ministers, 1,500 millions of francs. He gives four items as making up this sum—(1.) The Capital shares, 300 millions; (2.) the 'Loans authorised and realised, 635 millions;' (3.) the 'Loans authorised and to realise, 265 millions;' (4) 'charges imposed in excess of the estimates of the International Commission, 300 millions.' The first of these items is correct, the third and fourth are those to defray which M. de Lesseps now applies for the authorisation of a lottery loan. But the second item, set down at 635 millions, actually amounts, as shown in detail on a preceding page, to 1,347,522,500 francs of debt incurred; and if only the money actually received for this amount of obligation be taken into account, to 732,805,890 francs. Thus the liabilities of the Company are understated in this given official document by no less a sum than 712,522,500 francs. In face of such a misstatement it is unnecessary to enquire on what terms the 565 millions of francs now admitted to be still requisite are likely to be obtained.

With the vague unintelligibility which marks every reference to engineering details on the part of M. de Lesseps, he now proposes to form a *bief*, or pond, through the 14 kilometres of the cutting through the Cordilleras, and to construct '*dans les barrages mêmes, des sas reliés aux 60 kilomètres de canal maritime terminés*



*du côté de l'Atlantique et du côté du Pacifique.*' We have before expressed the opinion that the canalisation of the Obispo and the Rio Grande, and a connexion of the two by a cutting through the mountain range, was the only plan of crossing the Isthmus that was deserving of even a moment's consideration. But to lay out the work on this plan is one thing—to revert, in the eighth year, to an attempted modification of design, is quite another. To the low level of 60 kilometres of canal, exposed to the destructive floods of the Chagres and the Rio Grande, it is still proposed to adhere. At what height the cutting through the Cordilleras is to be made is not stated. For hydraulic reasons it can scarcely be more than 120 feet above the sea level, and even so the saving to be effected would hardly amount to that claimed by M. de Lesseps. But what sort of a 'sas' is to be constructed to raise the vessels on the one side of the central *bief* and to lower them on the other? A lock must be at least 600 feet long, to give passage to the class of vessels expected to use the route. If 10·3 feet be the rise for each lock, as estimated by the American engineers, 14,000 feet run of locks will have to be built, in a country where skilled labourers are paid 24 shillings per day. If the lift of each lock be increased, the length will be diminished; but there will be no saving in masonry, as the heights and strengths must be proportionally increased. We should like to see the plans of these 'sas,' or as M. de Lesseps has called them 'temporary locks.' Of course the whole pretext of lowering the central pond hereafter by dredging the solid rock is a mere sop to the vanity of the originator of the scheme. If the cutting be reduced to 40 millions of cubic metres, as now promised, it will occupy, at the actual rate of progress, nine years and four months to accomplish. How long it would take to build the locks, and at what cost, it needs the audacity of M. de Lesseps himself to forecast. Under these circumstances the assertion 'it appertains now only to the Government of the Republic—since the French law obliges us to address our request to it—to assure definitively the execution of our programme, by authorising the Universal Company of the Interoceanic Canal to emit lottery bonds,' looks like an effort to throw the responsibility of the catastrophe, now so close at hand, on the Government of the Republic.

## ART. III.—THE EARLIEST SCOTTISH CORONATIONS.

IN the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, under the date of December 9th, 1878, there is printed a paper by the late Captain F. W. L. Thomas, R.N., intitled *Dunadd, Glassary, Argyllshire; the place of inauguration of the Dalriadic Kings*. The object of the paper is to call attention to the fact that near the highest part of Dunadd, the antient fortified hill in the midst of the Moss of Crinan, which is now recognized as having been the citadel of the early Kings of the Dalriadic Scots, there is engraven upon the rock the representation of an human footprint. This sculptured impression, says Captain Thomas, does not show such a mark as would be made by a naked foot, 'but such as would be made when the foot is clothed by a thick stocking or *cuaran*. The engravure is for the right foot; and it exactly fitted my (Captain Thomas') right boot. The footmark is sunk half an inch deep, with perpendicular sides, the surface is smooth or polished, and the outline is regular. . . . The footmark is 11 inches long, nearly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad, where broadest, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches across the heel. When a person stands with his foot in the depression, he looks a little Easterly of North.'

Captain Thomas then proceeds to cite the case of a similar carving found on a boulder in a tumulus, now destroyed, in the parish of Carmyllie in Forfarshire; a second, which now lies by the side of the mountain stream of the Turret, in Glenesk, near Lord Dalhousie's shooting-lodge of Millden; a third, bearing the engraving of two feet, which is, or was, in Lady Kirk, at Burwick, South Ronaldsay, Orkney; another on a stone now in the causeway leading through the loch to the Broch of Clickemin, near Lerwick, in Shetland; and a fifth called the 'Giant's step' above the hill-dyke of Bracon, in the parish of North Yell, also in Shetland, which is said to have a corresponding footmark over in Unst. He cites also divers foreign examples, especially one on a stone in a cromlech at the foot of a tumulus called the *Petit Mont*, by the shore of the

creek of Croësty, in the commune of Arzon, Morbihan, Brittany. Without following him into these,\* it is well to notice three Irish instances. One of these is a block marked with two feet, and called St. Columba's Stone, now or formerly in the garden of Belmont on the Greencastle Road, about a mile from Londonderry. The second is the engraving of a single footprint upon a rock on the Northern slope of the Clare hills, a little South of the road leading from Gort to Freakle, in the township of Dromandoora. This carving closely resembles that in Dunadd: the impression represented is that of a sandalled foot measuring 10 inches long,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  across the ball, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  across the heel. The third was on a stone, which still exists on the hill of Lech, formerly called *Mullach Leaght*, or the 'Hill of the Stone,' three miles South-West of Monaghan. In this case, the impression of the foot was effaced by the owner of the farm about the year 1809.

There seems to be a tendency to use stones for the purpose of such a ceremony as a Royal inauguration, perhaps as symbolizing strength and stability, perhaps also because their enduring nature enabled generation after generation to enthrone the monarch upon the same seat, thus hallowed by historical associations, which had been that of his predecessors. A glaring instance is that of the Coronation Stone at Kingston-upon-Thames. This stone must have been brought to its present position, for the deposit of Thames-valley gravel and clay, upon which Kingston is built, does not afford such boulders. It may perhaps have once been an antient pagan altar or monument, unless, indeed, it were purposely brought there to provide an imperishable throne for the English monarchs. Anyhow, upon it were enthroned several of the Kings of England.†

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\* In the church of St. Radegonde at Poitiers, there is an hollow impression of an human footprint upon a stone, which is profoundly venerated as a mark left by Christ Himself, after appearing to the Saint. Is it not probable that this is another case in point, but which escaped Captain Thomas' notice?

† The number of Kings of England crowned at Kingston seems to be uncertain. The evidence is strongest in favour of Edward the Elder (901),

Among Celts, the most striking example is probably the Coronation Stone of Scone, which, whatever its origin, had unquestionably formed part, at least, of the Royal Seat of the Kings of Scots at their inauguration since a period which is involved in the mists of remote antiquity. As is well known, it was brought to Westminster Abbey by order of Edward I. in 1296, and is still preserved under the seat of the Coronation Chair. Again, we have the case of the Coronation Stone of the Kings of Munster, upon the Rock of Cashel. The Irish instances are indeed very numerous, but the one which most closely affects the Dalriadic race is probably that of the stone on which the O'Neill was inaugurated by the O'Cahan and the O'Hagan, since Columba and many of the earlier of the Abbats of Iona, belonged to this clan, in one or another branch of which the Monarchy of all Ireland remained for so many centuries. This stone was at Tullaghoge, a small village in the parish of Desertcreight, in Tyrone, and was broken in pieces by the Lord Deputy Mountjoy in 1602, but it is said that pieces of it were to be seen in the orchard belonging to the glebe house till 1776, when the last fragment of it was carried away.

It is evident that it was the custom for the chief in certain cases, if not in all, to stand upon the stone. Dr. Skene, in his little book upon the *Scottish Coronation Stone*, p. 22, cites the case of the *Lia Fail* of Tara, stated in the old Irish tract called the *Leabhar Gabhala*

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Athelstan (925), Edmund (941), Edred (948), Edwy (955), Edgar (958), Edward the Martyr (975), Ethelred (978), and Edmund Ironside (1016). Edred, Edward the Martyr, and Ethelred, were crowned in the church of St. Mary, which, after undergoing many mutilations, partially fell in 1730, and is said now to have entirely disappeared. The others appear to have been crowned on platforms in the open air. The Coronation Stone has only occupied its present position in the Market Place since 1850, when it was removed from the New Court Yard, where it had long lain. The implication seems to be that it originally stood in the Church. The Coronation Service of Ethelred is extant, but does not mention it. It may have only formed the usual stool before the Altar occupied by Princes on these occasions, and exceptional only on account of its material.

to have been brought thither from Scotland. It 'had the property of sounding under each King at his election if he was the rightful King and not an usurper' or, in the words of the Irish version of Nennius, 'there is a stone at Temhar, viz. the *Lia Fail*, which used to sound under the feet of every one that assumed the kingdom of Erin.' In the case of the stone on the hill of Lech, already mentioned, the engraved footprint upon which was only effaced about 1809, there is absolutely no doubt that it was the inauguration stone of the MacMahons. It 'is marked on an ancient MS. map of Ulster, in the State Paper Office, *Mullagh-lost*, so called because of a stone there, on which MacMahon was made. Sir Henry Bagnall writes to Lord Burghley, from Newry, September 9, 1595, "Sythence the writinge of my L<sup>re</sup>, old Oneyle is dead, and the Traitor (Tyrone) gone to the stone to be made."'

With regard to the ceremonies which accompanied the inauguration of the antient Gaelic Princes O'Donovan in his *Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach* (Appendix L) gives an extract from O'Malconry's MS. of Keating's History, in which occur the following passages:—'I have gathered out of antient historical monuments the ceremonies which I here subjoin, and which were customarily observed in the inaugurations of Kings, whether Monarchs of All Ireland, or Kings of the Provinces, or local chiefs. . . . When a King or chief entered upon his dignity the Historian [of his tribe] was present, carrying a book intituled *The Instruction of the King*, containing the laws and institutes of that country which the candidate for the Kingdom or chieftainship was to administer, and the rewards which God and the people would bestow upon him if he ruled the Commonwealth well, and on the other hand the punishments which awaited him and his descendants if he ruled ill. For it is with the treatment of these things that the *Book of Kings* and the *Instruction of the King* deal. In the majority of cases his friends were bound over as sureties for him, that he would either fully carry out the institutes of the country as laid down in the *Instruction of Kings*, or would forthwith

resign the Kingdom without contention. Even the Tuatha De Dhanann would not suffer Bhreas Mor Mac Ealathan to become King until his friends bound themselves by such a covenant. The Historian delivered a rod to the King-designate, and then turned to the bystanders and declared to them that arms would henceforth be needless to the King to keep his people to their duty, for that the people are in use to render to those who bear the rule over them, love, service, and thanks, even as scholars who are of full age, and understand what is for their own good, ought to bear themselves toward a teacher, and that subjects are bound to yield the like duties to their King, as unto him who ministers right to them by the rod of justice and not by the edge of the sword. The rod which the Historian gave to the King was all white, to show him that he ought sharply to observe truth and uprightness in his government, for even as blackness is the type of a lie, so whiteness is an image of truth. This rod was also straight, to signify to all men that the King ought always to look to what is just and upright, and to utter no word or judgment which can savour of wrong; for that he is surely bound to show equity to friends and enemies, to high and low, just as he would show himself impartial to either of his own two hands if a strife arose between them. The rod, moreover, was smooth and had no knots in it, that the King might remember that he must not allow himself to burst out in roughness and anger against his subjects, but to administer, whether to his own people or to strangers, with calm and quiet mind and looks, the things sanctioned by the laws, as right demands.'

An account which (as will presently appear) is still more interesting from a Scottish point of view, has been left to us by the poet Spenser. He lived for many years in Ireland during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and published a curious work intituled a *View of the State of Ireland*, written in the shape of a dialogue between *Irenæus* and *Eudoxus*. In this book occurs the following passage:—

'*Eudox.* What is this which you call Tanist and Tanistry? they be names and terms never heard of nor known to us.

'*Iren.* It is a custome amongst all the Irish, that presently

after the death of one of their chief lords or captains they doe presently assemble themselves to a place generally appointed and knowne unto them, to choose another in his stead, where they do nominate and elect, for the most part, not the eldest sonne, nor any of the children of the lord deceased, but the next to him of blood, that is, the eldest and worthiest, as commonly the next brother unto him, if he have any, or the next cousin, or so forth, as any is elder in that kindred or sept; and then next to him do they choose the next of the blood to be Tanist, who shall next succeed him in the said captainry, if he live thereunto.

‘*Eudox.* Do they use any ceremony in this election? for all barbarous nations are commonly great observers of ceremonies and superstitious rites?’

‘*Iren.* They use to place him that shalbe their Captaine upon a stone alwayes reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon a hill; in some of which I have seen formed and ingraven a foot, which they say was the measure of their first captaine’s foot, whereon hee standing receives an oath to preserve all the auncient former customes of the countrey inviolable, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to the Tanist, and then hath a wand delivered unto him by some whose proper office that is; after which descending from the stone, he turneth himself round, thrice forward, and thrice backward.’

‘*Eudox.* But how is the Tanist chosen?’

‘*Iren.* They say he setteth but one foot upon the stone, and receiveth the like oath that the captaine did.’ (Ed. 1596, p. 11).

When we pass into Scotland, we find the same forms prevailing among the Gaelic chiefs of the North West. Martin, in his *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, p. 102, says:—‘The formalities observed at the entrance of these chieftains upon the government of their clans, were as follows. A heap of stones was erected in form of a pyramid, on the top of which the young chieftain was placed, his friends and followers standing in a circle round about him, his elevation signifying his authority over

them, and their standing below, their subjection to him. One of his principal friends delivered into his hands the sword worn by his father, and there was a white rod delivered to him likewise at the same time. Immediately after the chief Druid (or Orator) stood close to the pyramid, and pronounced a rhetorical panegyrick, setting forth the ancient pedigree, valour, and liberality of the family, as incentives to the young chieftain, and fit for his imitation.' Besides this passage from Martin, we have the following account of the inauguration of the Lord of the Isles, cited by Captain Thomas from Hugh Macdonald, historian of the Macdonalds of Slate. 'I have thought fit to annex the ceremony of proclaiming the Lord of the Isles. At this, the Bishop of Argyle, the Bishop of the Isles, and seven priests were sometimes present; but a Bishop was always present, with the chieftains of all the principal families, and a ruler (judge) of the Isles. There was a square stone, seven or eight feet long, *and the track of a man's foot thereon*, upon which he stood, denoting that he should walk in the footsteps of his predecessors, and that he was installed by right in his possessions. He was clothed in a white habit, to show his innocence and integrity of heart, that he would be a light to his people, and maintain the true religion. The white apparel did afterwards belong to the poet by right. Then he was to receive a white rod in his hand, intimating that he had power to rule, not with tyranny and partiality, but with discretion and sincerity. Then he received his forefather's sword, or some other sword, signifying that it was his duty to protect and defend them from the incursions of their enemies in peace and war, as the obligations and customs of his predecessors were. The ceremony being over, Mass was said after the blessing of the bishop and seven priests, the people pouring their prayer for the success and prosperity of their new-created lord. When they were dismissed, the Lord of the Isles feasted them for a week thereafter; and gave liberally to the monks, poets, bards, and musicians.'

It appears to be the accepted doctrine of all antiquaries that the footprints thus engraven upon stones mark the place of inauguration of Celtic chiefs, in which at least this element



was the same as that in the inauguration of the Lords of the Isles. Thus Mr. Petrie supposes the so-called St. Columba's Stone near Londonderry to have been the inauguration stone of the King of Aileach, brought to its present place by some local chief of Derry. Dr. Anderson conjectures that the stone in North Yell, marked with what is called the 'Giant's step,' is 'the stone on which in Celtic times the King of the district was crowned.' Capt. Thomas similarly suggests that with regard to the foot-engraven stone at Lady Kirk in South Ronaldsay, the probability is altogether in favour of its having been the inauguration stone of a pre-Norse Pictish chieftain, and, with regard to the like stone in the cromlech at Arzon, that 'as it has been proved that in many cases the stones which were to form the sides or roof of a cromlech or tumulus were sculptured before they were put in position, we may suppose that in this example the cromlech was the tomb of a chief who was the last of his race, and that the inauguration stone of his family was used to form part of his monument.' This remark would also apply to the stone found in the tumulus at Carmyllie. Hence, as regards 'the sculptured footmark upon Dunadd, the Rev. R. J. Mapleton says:—'My impression is that it may have been the spot on which the chief would place his foot when succeeding to the headship of the tribe.' Capt. Thomas himself remarks that 'the theory and use of the foregoing examples of sculptured footmarks can be explained by the theory that they were symbolical marks of sovereignty, carved in a sacred rock or stone, and that by the chief-elect placing his foot or feet therein he assumed dominion of the land, while the subsequent presentation to him of a rod (*alias* wand, sceptre, stick, etc.) admitted and confirmed his right to rule the clan. This formed what may be styled the civil part of his inauguration; but the heads of the great religious societies, who seem to have always been of noble descent, had also great power.' And with regard to Dunadd in particular, he concludes that 'Dunadd, *alias* Dun Monaidh, is of great importance archæologically, for in it we have a dated example of a regal *dun* or hill-fort, which was for some time the capital of the Dalriads and the scene of the inaugura-

tion of their Kings. . . . And, if we adopt the tradition preserved by Spenser, the footmark is the impression of the foot of Fergus Mor Mac Erca, who was the first King of Dalriada, and who died in Scotland in A.D. 501.\*

No one has attempted to dispute the correctness of Captain Thomas' explanation of the graven footprint upon the rock of Dunadd; and it is difficult to exaggerate the intense national interest which this monument must possess for every Scotchman who is even approximately worth his salt. At the same time, the object of the present pages is ceremonial, and only incidentally historical or ethnographical in the ordinary sense of those adjectives. Hence the footprint upon Dunadd is here to be treated as a guide to the ceremonial used in the formal inauguration of our earliest Kings. Finding ourselves possessed of the knowledge of this feature, we are able to conjecture that other features were the same as the other features in similar ceremonials of the same and cognate races, and the force of this conjecture is very much strengthened when we find it supported by the existence of similar features, either in the later Coronation ceremonies of the Scotch people, or in the corresponding rites as practised among kindred races. In the citations made by Captain Thomas may be noted ten distinct points.

1. The Election. Although the kingship was hereditary among Celtic tribes, it was hereditary only in a certain family, within which the dignity was strictly speaking elective. Although the succession became in later times fixed from father to son, we find some marked cases, where the transmission was not direct, especially that of Robert II., who was

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\* These are the words of Capt. Thomas. It looks very much as if, reckoning Fergus as in reality first King of Scots, he had confused the date of his death with that given by the Annals of Clonmacnoise as that of his migration to Scotland, viz. 501. The points are not of very great importance in themselves, and practically beyond the scope of a paper on ceremonial such as the present: but it is as well to call attention to the disputed condition both of the chronology and of the claim of Fergus rather than of his brother, Loarn the great, to be reckoned the Founder of the Scottish Monarchy.

elected at Linlithgow by the assembly of the Three Estates, and afterwards crowned at Scone. The same idea was preserved in France and England by asking the assent of the people at the time of the Coronation. In Scotland the more reasonable form was adopted of either the whole of the members of Parliament or a deputation consisting of members of each Estate, going to the King to offer him the Crown on the morning of the Coronation Day.

2. The chief elect 'was clothed in an white habit, to show his innocence and integrity of heart, that he would be a light to his people, and maintain the true religion.' It is interesting to observe that the Coronation robes of the Kings of Spain were white, and also that the Kings of France, upon the morning of their Coronation, were attired in a robe of cloth of silver, of which M. M. C. Leber, in his book *Des Cérémonies du Sacre*, p. 318, says that it was anciently made of simpler stuff, and that the silver is a substitute for white. He remarks on its use as an emblem of purity, whence the aspirants to public employments in antient Rome were in the habit of wearing it, and thence received the name of *candidati* or *whitened*. It is most probable that its use among the Scottish Celts as well as in France, (where, indeed, the bulk of the population is Celtic), in Spain, and in antient Rome itself, was derived from some custom of the primitive Aryan tribes which it is now impossible to trace to its source. How long its use was continued at Scottish Coronations we cannot tell. Charles I. and Charles II. both wore a princely robe of crimson velvet, to be exchanged at the proper moment for the Kingly robe of purple : but the ceremonial of Charles II.'s Coronation is very likely to have been imitated in this point from that of his father, and his father is very likely, in this as in other matters, to have mimicked the custom of England.

3. We have here the custom of the inauguration stone, of which, not only that at Dunadd, but also that which existed so long at Scone, and is now in Westminster Abbey, are among the countless examples.

4. Here also we have the Coronation Oath, a rite which in some form or other seems to be universal and lasts down to the present day.

5. The assembly of the friends and followers of the chief around him markedly recalls the assembly of the Peers of France around the King of that country, especially at the moment when the crown was put upon his head, an act in which they all took part. It was of course represented by the assembly of the Peers and others for Scottish Coronations and especially, in earlier times, by the presence of the Seven Earls.

6. The white rod is the *Rod of Strength* (Ps. cx. 2.), to which the word *Sceptre* is generally applied.\*

7. The Sword has also remained one of the insignia with which the Kings of Scots were invested down to the very last occasion. That now in Edinburgh Castle is, as is well known, the one sent by Pope Julius II. to James IV. in 1507.

It is indeed a very remarkable fact that the Sceptre and the Sword have always continued to be two of the emblems used on these occasions, and that nothing more was added to them till November 24th 1331, when the Crown was first used ceremonially,† at the Coronation of David II., at the same time that he, for the first time in the Annals of the Scottish Monarchy, received the Unction. The Spurs do not merit to be reckoned in the same category. Introduced during the Middle Ages, as an emblem of chivalry, they were put on without any blessing, prayer, or exhortation, and although carried in the Coronation Procession, they did not form part of the regular 'Honours,' and were not borne on such occasions

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\* In countries other than Scotland two rods early came into use, as may be seen farther on in treating of the Egbert Pontifical. One was called the Sceptre and the other the Rod (*Virga*) or Staff (*baculus*). This may possibly have arisen from the words 'Thy rod and Thy staff, they comfort me,' in Psalm xxiii, which was treated as a Regal Psalm on account of the passage 'Thou hast anointed mine head with oil,' and was additionally appropriate in the Latin, from commencing *Dominus regit me*, as an acknowledgement of the Divine Sovereignty over earthly Princes. This is not however the place to discuss this question. There is nothing to show that any King of Scots ever used more than one sceptre at a time.

† A crown was, as a matter of fact, represented and also worn as an ornament at an earlier period, but its imposition did not form an integral part of the solemnities of the Coronation.

as the Riding of Parliament. Hence, until 1331, the insignia with which the Kings of Scots were invested were exactly the same, neither more nor less, than those of the antient chiefs of the Celtic race from which our Royal House is sprung, and from 1331 onwards, they continued the same with the solitary addition of the Crown, till the last Scottish Coronation in 1651.

8. 'Immediately the chief Druid (or orator) stood close to the pyramid, and pronounced a rhetorical panegyrick, setting forth the ancient pedigree, valour, and liberality of the family, as incentives to the young chieftain, and fit for his imitation.' This recitation of the Royal pedigree seems to be peculiarly Scotch. It is known to have been practised at the Coronation of Alexander III. in 1249, and at that of Charles II. in 1651. It was omitted (with most unfortunate taste) by Charles I. at Holyrood in 1633. As to other occasions, we have no record. The hortatory portion of the poet's address gradually passed into the mouths of officiating ecclesiastics and others, and became represented by the addresses made in delivering the different insignia, and by a formal Coronation Sermon. The proceedings at Scone in 1651 supply a very perfect example.

9. 'The ceremony being over, Mass was said after the blessing of the Bishop and seven Priests, the people pouring their prayer for the success and prosperity of their new-created lord.' This is the religious part of the inauguration, which will be immediately hereafter treated at some length. It suffices for the present to remark that the reader has here unfortunately to grapple with a translation, which was probably not made by one expert in technicalities of this sort. It is previously mentioned that 'the Bishop of Argyle, the Bishop of the Isles, and seven priests were sometimes present; but a Bishop was always present.' The real meaning would seem to be that, if it were possible, seven Priests were present, among whom, if it were also possible, were the Bishops of Argyle and of the Isles, but in any case, some one Bishop. No Bishop seems to have been present at the 'Ordination' of Aidan M'Gabhraín, or, at any rate, if he were, he did not take the chief part. The number *seven* is a very fixed point, and seems to imply that the 'blessing' of the Prince was divided into

seven distinct forms, which were, if possible, uttered respectively by seven separate Priests. If one or more Bishops were present, then he or they would take place among the seven. It cannot be believed that there was a greater or smaller number of Blessings, from one to nine, according to the number of Bishops or Priests who might happen to be available. And similarly, if fewer Priests than seven were present, one or more of them must have had the duty of uttering two or more of the seven Blessings.

10. 'When they were dismissed, the Lord of the Isles feasted them for a week thereafter, and gave liberally to the monks, poets, bards, and musicians.' This is what is represented by the Coronation largesse and Banquet of England and France. In Scotland, we know that Coronation Feasts were given at least upon some occasions. That of Alexander II. in 1214, lasted from the Friday, on which he was enthroned, over the following Saturday and Sunday. Charles I. is the only King of Scots of whom a Coronation largesse is recorded. It may therefore have been perhaps an imitation of an English custom. Charles II. evidently hoped to do the like, but was obliged by the necessities of the exchequer to content himself with the private distribution of a few Coronation pieces as memorials.

It is now time to turn to the question of the religious ceremony which accompanied the inauguration of the earliest Kings of Scots. Capt. Thomas remarks as to the different points which are numbered above from 1 to 8, that 'this formed what may be styled the civil part of the inauguration; but the heads of the great religious societies, who seem to have always been of noble descent, had also great power.' It has been well observed by the late Dean Stauley in his *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 42, that the ceremony of the Coronation of a Christian Monarch is generally resolvable into two elements. These are what are termed by the French the *Couronnement* or Coronation, and the *Sacre* or Consecration. To keep this distinction clearly in view is essential to anything like a scientific comprehension of the Rituals drawn up for the purpose of this ceremony. The Coronation is so called because

it now generally centres in the act of placing the crown upon the King's head, and it consists in the investiture with the insignia of Royalty, and other acts, such as the Oath, Homage, etc., which are of a more or less secular or civil character. The word is sometimes applied generally to the whole ceremony of inauguration even including the Consecration, and also to the inaugural ceremony of a Sovereign even although he may not be invested at it with a material crown. It is in this latter sense that the present writer has set it at the head of this article. The ceremonies of the Coronation greatly vary according to different races, but there is a certain similarity among them, at least among peoples of the Aryan race, which seems to refer them to some very remote period before the branches of this race became as widely divided as they at present are. That they date from long before the Christian era it is needless to remark. They consist in such things as the Oath, dressing up of the Prince, investiture with staff and sword, enthronization and homage. The use of the crown has, on the other hand, some claim to be regarded as of Shemitic origin, though the Aryan chiefs may not improbably have had some distinctive head-dress. But the real origin of the rites called collectively the Coronation is buried in the darkness of antiquity, when they must have been first generated from the necessities and then shaped amid the customs of savages whose very habitat is a subject of dispute among the learned.

The *Consecration*, on the other hand, is purely religious and distinctively Christian. It must have arisen at some period when nations, becoming Christian, invited the ministers of that faith to offer prayer at the inauguration of their monarchs. When such a custom began is uncertain; the earliest recorded instance is that of Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, officiating at the Coronation of the Eastern Emperor, Leo I., in 457, although it seems probable that this was not the first occasion. To a Christian minister who was a student of Scripture, it would not be long before the question, 'What had I better do to the man on such occasion?' would have received the answer 'Anoint him.' Accordingly, we find that Gildas, who was born in 516 and died in 570, speaking of the kings

ruling in Britain after the withdrawal of the Romans, mentions their Unction (*De Excidio.*, xix.) as a kind of matter of course, and Gregory the Great, who died in 604, remarks in his commentary on 1st Kings, (Sam.) x. i., that it is the custom of the Church to anoint Kings. When it began to be so, is not known: we have no individually recorded case earlier than that of Wamba, King of the Goths, at Toledo, in 673. The term *Consecration* came to be applied to this ceremony because the anointing and other features gave it an external resemblance to the Consecration of a Bishop, but the word may be applied as a technical term to indicate the religious part of the inauguration of a Christian King, even when there is no actual anointing. In England, however, in early times it was called the 'Benediction,' and among the Dalriad Scots the 'Ordination,' because of its external resemblance to the ceremonial of the Ordination of a Priest. It seems most probable that this ceremony was of native, that is, of Hiberno-Celtic growth. Patrick came to Ireland, at the very latest, about the year 450, when rites of this sort had hardly assumed any such shape upon the continent as to enable him to import a ritual of the kind with him.\* The form used among the Dalriad Scots must have originated during the century which succeeded the arrival of Patrick, as the accession of Christian Princes made such a rite necessary or desirable.

With regard to the religious ceremony employed at the inauguration of the Kings of Dalriada, the Scottish writer is in a singularly fortunate position, in marked contrast with the usual scantiness of material which unhappily distinguishes our own historical field as compared to those of England and

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\* Dr. Lingard, in his *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 232-236, 510, 511, expresses the opinion that the religious rites used at the inaugurations of the Irish as well as of the British Princes were imitated from those of the Roman Emperors. The present writer has not had an opportunity of reading the text of the Prayers, etc., used at the Coronations of the Eastern Emperors, but as far as he has seen the Western forms, they contain nothing in common with the Egbertine Coronation Service proper, except the fact of the unction, and therefore, until further arguments are brought forward, he most respectfully differs from Dr. Lingard, especially as regards the Irish forms.



France. Here, on the contrary, the Scottish historian actually enjoys an advantage, for the narrative in question, if not the very first, is at least among the very earliest records of any such ceremony. There exists a minute account of the circumstances attending the religious inauguration of Aidan M'Gabhrain, the first of the Dalriad Kings whose accession took place after the immigration of Columba. It seems singularly appropriate that the record should be associated with the name of that great Prince from whom not only is our present Royal Family descended and in right of whom they may be said to reign, but who undoubtedly was the first monarch who proclaimed the national independence of the Scottish kingdom, and who is regarded by Dr. Skene as the founder of the Scottish monarchy more really than even Fergus Mac Erca, while he also seems to have been the last man who actually represented the Roman Emperors as commanding the united forces of all Christian Britain. The half-supernatural halo which falls around the narrative, lends a kind of sacred majesty to the event. And yet it is not of that kind which repels the reader of so many of the Lives of the Saints. The night-visions of a man of highly nervous temperament and exalted imagination, when distracted between duty and inclination, as was Columba, and the outburst of warning and forecast at the climax of the national ceremony in which he was officiating, can be explained on grounds other than those of a supernatural vision or of the gift of prophecy. The inauguration of Aidan took place in 574. The account of it is double. It is first found in the *Life of Columba* written by Cuimine the Fair,\* Abbat of Iona, who died in 669, and then in an enlarged form in the famous *Life of Columba* by Adamnan, also Abbat of Iona, who died in 704. It is, therefore, more than probable that Cuimine had conversed, at least as a child, with persons who had been present at the ceremony, and it is even possible that he may have been able to re-

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\* It is here assumed that the Bollandists are correct in identifying the shorter life printed by them with the book *De virtutibus sancti Columbæ* mentioned by Adamnan. Such seems to be the unanimous judgment of all critics. See Dr. Reeves' Adamnan, p. 199-200.

member Aidan himself, who did not die till 606. His account is as follows :—

‘ At another time, when he (Columba) was dwelling in the Isle Himba,\* on a certain night, he was rapt into a mental ecstasy, and saw the Angel of the Lord sent unto him, carrying before him in his hands a glass book of the Ordination of Kings. He took it from the hand of the Angel and began to read it. But when he refused to ordain Aidan King according to the command of the Angel, because he loved his brother better, he was suddenly smitten with a scourge by the hand of the Angel, the mark of the bruise (*livor*) whereof remained in his side all the days of his life. The Angel also uttered this word : Know for a surety that I am sent from God, that thou mayest ordain Aidan King, and if thou wilt not, I will smite thee again. When, therefore, the Angel had given the same commandment for three nights successively as to the ordination of Aidan, the Saint of God passed over into the Island of Iona, and there ordained Aidan King by the laying-on-of-hands. Also, amidst the words of ordination, he prophesied things to come concerning his sons, and his grandsons, and his great-grandsons, uttering these words : O Aidan, believe thou without doubt that no adversary will be able to withstand thee until thou first shalt have dealt falsely with me and with them that shall come after me. Speak thou in these very words unto thy sons, lest they lose the kingdom ; and if they will not listen and obey, the scourge which for thy cause I have borne from the Angel, will be turned upon them. The which hath so befallen them that transgressed the commandment of the man of God.’

Adamnan’s account is as follows :—

‘ At another time, when the worshipful man was dwelling in the Isle Himba, on a certain night, he saw, in a mental ecstasy, an Angel of the Lord sent unto him, who had in his hand a glass book of the Ordination of Kings. The venerable man took it from the hand of the Angel, and began, at his com-

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\* Identified by Dr. Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, ii., 128-132), with *Eilean na Naomh* among the Garveloch Isles.

mand, to read it. And when he refused to ordain Aidan King according to that which was enjoined unto him in the book, the Angel suddenly stretched forth his hand, and smote the Saint with a scourge, the mark of the bruise whereof remained in his side all the days of his life. And [the Angel] uttered this word, saying: Know for a surety that I am sent unto thee from God with a book of glass that thou mayest ordain Aidan King according to the words which thou hast read therein. But if thou wilt not obey this command, I will smite thee again. When therefore this Angel of the Lord had appeared on three nights successively, having in his hand the same glass book, and enjoining the same commandments of the Lord concerning the ordination of the same King, the Saint, following the word of the Lord, passed over to the Island of I, and there he ordained Aidan King, as he had been commanded, as he chanced to come \* there in the same days. And amid the words of ordination, he prophesied things to come concerning his sons, and his grandsons, and his great-grandsons; and he laid his hand upon his head, and ordained him with Benediction (*ordinans benedixit*).

‘Cuimine the Fair, in the book which he wrote of the excellencies (*virtutibus*) of holy Columba, hath thus said that the holy Columba began to prophecy concerning Aidan, and his descendants, and his kingdom, saying: O Aidan, believe thou without doubt that none of thine adversaries will be able to withstand thee until thou first shalt have wrought falsehood against me and against them that shall come after me. Wherefore then do thou command unto thy sons, and let them command unto their sons and descendants, lest by their evil counsels they should lose the sceptre of this kingdom out of their hands. For at what time soever they shall act against me or against my kinsmen who are in Ireland, the scourge which for thy cause I have borne from the Angel by the hand of God shall be turned upon them for a great disgrace, and the heart of men shall be taken away from them, and their enemies shall be mightily strengthened over them.

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\* *Adventantem*. The use of this Frequentative seems to imply that it was his habit often to come there.

‘And this prophecy hath been fulfilled in our times, at the battle of Roth, when Domnail Brecc, the grandson of Aidan, wasted without a cause the province of Domnill, the grandson of Ainmuireg. And from that day even unto this day they are going downward before strangers: which maketh the breast to sigh with sorrow.’

It will be remarked above that the Sceptre is spoken of as the emblem of Royal power.

A question has arisen among commentators as to the precise meaning of the words ‘glass book of the Ordination of Kings’ (*liber vitreus ordinationis regum*) which is aggravated by the poverty of the Latin language in not possessing a Definite Article. Martene, in his work *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, ii. 10, says that the description implies that a religious ceremony at the inauguration of Kings was already a fully recognized custom, as the Angel is represented as holding the book of Ordination of Kings in his hand; and Innes says of it ‘This ceremonial book is called by Adamnan *Liber Vitreus*, because, perhaps, the cover of it was encrusted with glass or crystal,’ and supposes the contents to have been ‘the prayers and ceremonies of the Ordination or Inauguration of Kings.’ Dr. Reeves, on the other hand, while citing these opinions, (*Adamnan*, p. 199, 197), himself continues ‘From the context, however, it may be inferred that the present expression is not intended as a proper name, but rather as descriptive, and that the idea conveyed is “a book of glass,” containing heaven’s decrees concerning the succession of earthly monarchs, among whose names that of Aidan was expressly entered, as the individual destined to govern Dalriada.’ He cites in support two other passages\* from Adamnan, in one of which (Bk. i., ch. 1,) he says that Oswald was ‘ordained by God Emperor of All Britain,’ and in the other (Bk. i., ch. 36,) he speaks of Diarmait Mac Cerbhaill as ‘ordained by God’s Providence

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\* He cites also another passage from Bede in which Angels in a vision are seen carrying a white book, and devils a black one; and a third passage from Adamnan (i. 14) in which ‘the prærogative of the monarchy of the Kingdom of All Ireland’ is spoken of as ‘predestinated by God’ for Aedh, the son of Diarmait. But there is here no mention of ordination.

(*Deo auctore*) monarch of All Ireland.' And then proceeds :—  
' This book of glass, "clear as crystal," was only presented to the Saint while in an *extasis mentis*, and on each occasion of its perusal was delivered by the Angel. It contained the fiat of Aidan's inauguration ; and the Saint's hesitation was, not an unwillingness to employ any formulas supposed to have been contained therein, but a reluctance to receive the object of heaven's choice instead of his own.'

With every deference for these authorities, the present writer ventures to suggest that the true explanation may lie between the two. The book was as immaterial as the Angel who bore it, and the notion of the substantial volume of some well-known old copy of a prayer-book with glass knobs on the binding is altogether inadmissible amid the airy fabric of a vision. Moreover, the fault of Columba was not a Ritualistic scruple about using some particular form of service, but a resistance to the ordination of Aidan in particular, whose name the book contained somewhere near the beginning. And this circumstance in itself shows that a common earthly copy of the Ritual cannot be meant, since in all Ritual books of this kind a blank (or rather, the letter *N* as initial of *Nomen*) occupies the place of the name of the King-elect, where the officiant is to insert it. It was in order that he might read the name there that the book was given to Columba, who cannot be supposed to have been ignorant of the forms of a well-known church service ; although it is also possible that it may be represented as now for the first time officially placed in his hands on this, the first occasion since his removal to Scotland, that a vacancy had occurred upon the Dalriadic Throne.

There is undoubtedly also an ambiguity in the meaning of the word *ordain*. When we say that Providence *ordained* that all Queen Anne's children should die young, we do not use the word in the same sense as when we say that John Knox was *ordained* Priest by Cardinal Betoun. In commenting on the passages of Cuimine and Adamnan the former is practically the sense assumed by Dr. Reeves, and the latter that accepted by Martene and Innes. But, were any author to write a Life of Knox, and head a sec-

tion by the title of his 'Ordination as Priest,' under which appeared the record of his having been so *ordained* by Cardinal Betoun, there surely could not be the slightest doubt as to the fact that the word *Ordination* referred to the earthly ceremony, and such an expression as 'book of the Ordination of Priests' to the Ordinal employed. Indeed, the chapters of Adamnan appealed to by Dr. Reeves, seem to the present writer rather to make against him. The first, in verbal accordance with the earlier narrative of the same circumstance given by Cuimine, relates incidentally that the Saxon (*sic*, not *English*,) King Oswald, on the night before the battle of Heavenfield, dreamt that he saw Columba and heard from him a God-sent promise of victory; and that when accordingly 'an happy and easy victory had been granted unto him by the Lord, and King Cathlon been slain, he returned a conqueror after the battle, and was afterwards ordained by God Emperor of all Britain.' Now, if by this *ordination* had been meant simply *predestination*, it would have formed part of the Eternal Mind, whereas Adamnan mentions it as an event which occurred at a particular and rather advanced point in Oswald's career; and moreover, if God had predestined him to be Emperor of all Britain, he would inevitably have become so, whereas he never was anything more than King of the Northumbrians. The meaning seems simply to be that at some date subsequent to the victory over Cadwalla (Cathlon), Oswald underwent a religious ceremony of inauguration as Monarch, at which he assumed the very Roman title of *Imperator totius Britanniaë*, a title the like of which others had borne before him, and of which 'Mr. Hallam very well observes that 'it seems more likely that Adamnan refers to a distinct title bestowed upon Oswald by his subjects, than that he means to assert as a fact that he truly ruled over all Britain.' As for the second passage quoted, the object of the whole of it is to describe the indignation of Columba that Aedh the Black, the murderer of Diarmait Mac Cerbhaill, the ordained Monarch of Ireland, should have afterwards obtained ordination himself as a Priest. The word 'ordained' is used of both of them in the same context, and the laying-on-of-hands is incidentally men-

tioned with regard to Aedh just as it is incidentally mentioned in iii. 5. with regard to Aidan. The whole tone used in speaking of the murder seems to assume that Diarmait had gone through some ceremony which imparted a sacred character to his person, just as writers of later ages since the Uction has been in use would speak of the sacriligious crime of laying murderous hands upon the Sacred Person of the Lord's Anointed. And in the narrative concerning the ordination of Aidan as King it certainly seems that the word is used in the narrow and technical sense of the ceremony of setting apart the King for his office by the laying on of hands in benediction. It is indeed said in as many words that it was not God Who was to ordain him, but Columba—'I am sent . . . that thou mayest ordain Aidan.' Had a 'Book of the Divine Decrees' altogether spiritual and heavenly like the 'Book of Life' of Rev. iii. 5, xiii. 8, xvii. 8, xx. 12, 15, xxi. 27, xxii. 19, etc., etc., been intended (which is what Dr. Reeves contends) some other expression, such as *decretum*, *prædestinatio*, or the like, would surely have been employed, instead of the one word *ordain* in two almost totally different senses, within the narrative of the same incident.

The very statement that Columba broke into prophecy while he was in the act of uttering 'the words of Ordination' seems to the present writer to place it beyond doubt that there was some form of words so called, and we learn that it consisted of a Benediction during which the Ordainer laid his hand on the head of the Ordinandus. Hence it seems to him impossible to understand the book mentioned as other than a visionary presentment of a copy of the Ordination Ritual, in whose letters of light the name of Aidan was inserted in the prayers. It was given to Columba to read, not only as charging him with the duty of performing the religious inauguration of the Kings of Dalriada, as a book is given at the ordination of ecclesiastical Lector or Exorcist, but also that he might see by reading in it, whose name he should first have to insert in it. The only question would be, how far it may not have been identical with the book mentioned by Keating, intituled the *Teagusc Riogh*, which was held by the historian of the tribe at the

civil inauguration, and which contained the laws and institutes of the tribe, together with promises of reward or punishment from God and man. It is unlikely that all the forms used on the occasion of the inauguration, albeit a double ceremony, should not be contained in the same volume. The epithet 'glassy' seems to the present writer merely to imply that it was not the substantial form of an actual book, but a glittering and semi-transparent phantasm of a book, immaterial as the filmy presentment of an Angel which bore it.

What is really to be gathered from the whole passage is, that there was already in existence a known religious service for the setting apart of Kings to their high office, and that it closely resembled the form of the Ordination of a Priest, the essential act being the laying-on-of-hands, although this imposition was made, not Sacramentally, as with Priests, but, as Adamnan says, merely in Benediction. This act alone would in itself hardly be enough to make the resemblance of the two ceremonies so close as to give to the inauguration of a King the popular name of his 'Ordination,' just as, where the Regal Unction prevailed, the resemblance of the ceremony to that of the Consecration of a Bishop caused it to be called the Consecration of a King. It may be therefore conjectured with something like certainty that it must have been interlarded into the Mass in the same way as is the Ordination of a Priest. Hence, since it is known from Adamnan, iii., 17, that it was not the custom for the Celebrant to enter the Church till after the Gospel, the so-called Ordination must have taken place after the Gospel and before the Offertory.

The civil rite, consisting in the investiture with the sceptre, etc., was a matter with which the ecclesiastical ceremony had nothing to do. It would appear from the investigations of Capt. Thomas that it was performed at Dunadd, whereas, at least in the case of Aidan, the Church ceremony took place in Iona. It is to be implied, however, that the Church ceremony was the determining one, and that it must have taken place either on an occasion preceding that of the civil, as was evidently the case with Aidan, whose succession was secured by it, or on the same occasion, as with the Lords of the Isles, where the Mass was celebrated as forming the latter part of one continuous ceremony.



This point is illustrated by quotations from Keating and others to be found in the treatise of O'Donovan. Keating says that after the Christianization of Ireland the election of the Princes lay with the Bishops and tribal historians, and the celebration of Mass appears to have been commonly associated, as in other countries, with the forms of inauguration. At the same time there was a separation, which sometimes at least extended even to time and place, between the religious benediction and the investiture with the symbols of royalty, and consequently the 'words of Ordination' of a Dalriad King in Columba's day would contain nothing directly regarding the delivery of the symbols, such, for instances, as the hortatory addresses which form so material a part of the Roman Coronation Service.

Putting together all these different indications, and supposing that the civil and religious ceremonies were usually performed, as was the case with the Lords of the Isles, at the same place and time, it follows that the ceremony of the inauguration of our earliest monarchs must have been somewhat as follows. On the death of the preceding King, there was a gathering at Dunadd of all the principal people of the nation, and, if possible, seven Priests, among whom were included the successor (Coarb) of Columba, bishops, and other ecclesiastics as distinguished as possible. The successor was then elected, unless the Tanist, or successor previously elected, were living, in which case he succeeded by right, and only a new Tanist was elected. The new King was then clad in white, and a Mass was celebrated, up to the Gospel inclusive. After the Gospel the King was brought out and made to set his right foot in the engraven footprint of Fergus Mor Mac Erca. Here he took an oath to preserve all the antient customs of the country inviolate, and to leave the succession peaceably to the Tanist. His father's sword, or some other sword, was then placed in one of his hands, and a white rod in the other, with some suitable exhortations. After this a poet, or some such person, panegyrically rehearsed his genealogy. He then returned to the Church, where seven prayers were recited over him by, if possible, as many Priests, one at least of these prayers being called the Benediction, and during which he who offered it laid his hand upon the King's

head. After this, the Mass was proceeded with, and it may be assumed that the King communicated. On the conclusion of the whole he gave a feast and distributed a largesse.

It is pointed out by O'Donovan that among some at least of the antient Irish clans, 'when a superior chief was inaugurated by an inferior chief, the latter put on his shoe or slipper.' It is also stated that in inaugurating the chief of the O'Neill family, 'O'Kane threw a shoe or slipper over the head of the Prince. . . . in token of good luck or prosperity.' There is no indication of these acts having formed part of the Coronation ceremonial of the Kings of Dalriada. The second may indeed have been done informally, from good will, as is still our custom at weddings, but there is no trace of it as a solemn rite. The putting on of the shoe could hardly have taken place, since there was no inferior chief, as far as we know, thus to acknowledge his dependence. At the same time, it may be remembered that Fergus Mor Mac Erca's foot is represented on Dunadd as clothed in a shoe, and that the putting on of the buskins and sandals (as well as spurs) formed part of the Mediæval Coronation Rituals of France and England, while we also find that the feet of Charles I. were solemnly clothed in sandals by the Bishop of Dunblane at his Coronation at Holyrood in 1633.

It is plain that in any countries evangelized from Iona, while the ceremonies of investiture with the insignia of royalty would have remained as in pre-Christian times, only purified from any essentially heathen elements, the new Christian religious ceremonial would have been, *mutatis mutandis*, the same as among the Scots of Dalriada. This remark applies to the Pictish Kingdom, converted under the direction of Columba himself. On this something will be said hereafter. It would apply also to the Kingdom of Northumberland. Now, the Coronation Service of the Northumbrian Kings is still extant in the Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York from 732 to 766. Of this there exist several MS. copies, including one in the Missal of Leofric, Bishop of Exter, 1042-1060. They differ in the rubrical directions accompanying the prayers, and in this respect the Leofric edition bears some signs of being taken from an earlier text than that of the Egbert Pontifical. How much earlier than the time

of Egbert the Northumbrian Coronation Service as it stands, may be, it is hard to say.\* The present writer desires here to bring forward some grounds for supposing that it embodies the seven Prayers or Blessings uttered by the seven Priests at the inauguration of the Dalriad Kings, including the form of Benediction during which Columba laid his hand upon Aidan's head.

The first of these arguments is the ecclesiastical history of the Northumbrian Kingdom. A certain amount of Cymric Christianity probably remained from Roman and British times even in Deira, the English province of the kingdom, and when Paulinus, the companion of Augustine of Canterbury, was consecrated to the antient see of York in 625, and sent to Aeduin of Northumbria along with that Prince's Christian bride Aedilberga, and in 627 induced Aeduin to be baptized, the baptism was administered, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, by Run the son of Urbgen. Aeduin was killed at Hatfield in 633, upon which Osric succeeded in Deira, the English, and Eanfrid in Bernicia, the Scottish province. If either Aeduin, Osric, or Eanfrid ever underwent a Christian religious ceremony of inauguration, it must therefore have been of the Roman or Romano-British type, and this, as we learn from Gregory the Great and Gildas, consisted essentially in the anointing. Both Osric and Eanfrid apostatized. Paulinus thought best to take his departure for the South, leaving a representative in the shape of a Deacon, called James, who, however, seems to have kept very quiet. In 635, Osric and Eanfrid having both been killed, were succeeded in the double kingdom by Oswald, afterwards martyred. Oswald, an exile in Scotland

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\* There is at least a strong probability that it was well known in England earlier than the year 716, for the following reasons. It is found entire, embedded in the Coronation Service of the Kings of France. The most probable occasion of its introduction into that country is the Coronation of Pepin at Soissons in 752, which was performed by the Englishman Winfrid (otherwise called Boniface) and is now usually regarded as the earliest of French Coronations. Winfrid was born in Devonshire about 680, and passed over to the Continent in 716. He must either then have had a copy of these prayers with him, or must have been familiar with the fact of their existence, so as to know where to send for them when he wanted them.

from childhood, had been baptized and brought up at Iona. He was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of that island and spoke Gaelic fluently. He was enthusiastically Christian and his first desire was to convert all his subjects to Christianity in its Columban form. For this purpose he sent for a Bishop to Iona. The first who came proved a failure, on account of his temper, but the second was Aidan, who was the veritable Apostle of the Northumbrian Kingdom. As already remarked, we learn from Cuimine and Adamnan that after Oswald's victory over Cadwalla, he received a monarchical ordination, with the title of *Imperator totius Britannicæ*. This extremely Roman appellation, along with the preceding Romano-British custom, seems to render it most likely that, like the Roman and Romano-British Princes, he was anointed. On the other hand, his intense devotion to Iona makes it probable that he would have sought for the seven prayers, and have had the combined ceremony performed by Aidan, or by that Prelate's unnamed predecessor. Oswald was killed on Aug. 5, 642, and was succeeded by Osuiu in Bernicia and Osuini in Deira. Aidan died on the last day of the same month, and was succeeded by Finan, another monk from Iona, by whom the Scoto-Celtic Church received very wide extension in other parts of England. In 651 Osuiu murdered Osuini and seized his kingdom of Deira. Ten years later, in 661, Finan died, and was succeeded by a third monk from Iona, namely, Colman. The wretched Paschal controversy was now at its height, and the Canterbury party, obeying a characteristic instinct which has found frequent expression down to the present days of Lord Penzance's Court, called on the lay and temporal Sovereign to decide a purely ecclesiastical question. This Osuiu did at the Synod of Whitby in 664, in favour of the New or Egyptian Cycle of 19 years as opposed to the Old or Gallo-Roman Cycle of 84. Colman, unable to stand it, left the country, followed by a good many English as well as Scottish disciples. Many Scottish ecclesiastics still remained, but this was, roundly speaking, the end of the dominion of Iona in the Northumbrian Church. The subsequent events it is unnecessary here to follow. Osuiu and his successors had imbibed the taste for Church Government; they re-arranged and divided the Episcopal Sees, and put the

Bishops in and out of them, a good deal; and when Bede closes his history in 731, in the reign of Ceoluulf, he mentions four Bishops within the Northumbrian dominions, viz., Wilfrid (second of that name) at York, Ediluald at Lindisfarne, Acca at Hexham, and Pecthelm in the then newly established English See of Galloway. Acca was expelled from his See in the same year, and in the following Wilfrid was succeeded at York by Egbert, whose Pontifical is here treated. It has already been remarked that how much older than his time the Coronation Service which it contains may be, it is impossible to say. He was himself a first cousin of Ceoluulf, and so entirely Roman in his training that he was almost a naturalized Italian. Brought up in a Benedictine Monastery from his infancy, he was ordained Deacon at Rome, and, after being made Bishop of York in 732, he went to Rome again, and received the Pallium in 735, with the title of Archbishopric for his See, which it had not enjoyed since the time of Paulinus. Hence it is not surprising to find his Coronation Service interlarded into a slightly adapted form of a Mass for the Emperors of Rome—the Mass-prayers being the same as those '*Pro Imperatore*' which are printed in Roman Missals at the present day—and that the now famous anthem, '*Zadok the Priest*,' which is an extract from the Benedictine Breviary, is prefixed to the Prayer of Unction. It may indeed be assumed as certain that the Canterbury school introduced the Roman Liturgy, or at least propagated it, to the entire suppression of the Ephesine rite or any elements of the same, which Aidan may have brought from Iona, although they did not, as far as is recorded, lay any stress upon such points in their controversy with the three Columban Bishops. But the ceremonial of the religious Benediction of Kings would stand upon a different footing. National rather than theological in character, it could hardly fall within the sphere of a desire for uniformity of worship within the Universal Church. Associated with the traditions of the monarchy, it would be unlikely to yield to a movement of theological opinion with which it was unconnected. The Reformation itself has shown how small is the power of such revolutions to affect it. Profound as were the changes which the XVIth Century made in the government and worship of the Established

Church of England, the Coronation Service remains practically unchanged, and was much the same for Queen Victoria as for the Edwards, and if Cardinal Manning, whose ecclesiastical tastes are known to be as Roman as those of Nectan MacDerili, were called on to-morrow to crown a King of England, no one could imagine that he would think for a moment of introducing the Roman Coronation Service. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the old Northumbrian rite had an additional element of strength derived from its association with the revered memory of the holy Martyr Oswald. With this *à priori* probability that the Coronation Service of Egbert's Pontifical is, or rather, embodies, the original Coronation Rite of the Kings of Northumbria—that is to say, the same Rite as that of the Kings of Scots in Dalriada—it is well to take in detail the internal arguments which an examination of the Ritual in question suggests towards the same conclusion. The history of Christian Northumbria prepares us to find in this form a series of seven prayers, including a Benediction, and added to these, a ceremony of Uction. As a matter of fact, this is exactly what we do find.

(a) Had the Northumbrian Coronation service been derived from any external source except Iona, that source would have been either Canterbury or, less probably, the usages of the Romanized Britons. These would in either case have been Roman in character. Now, although imbedded in an absolutely Roman Mass, there is nothing Roman in it whatever, except the anointing.\* This ritual and the ritual of the Roman Pontifical have literally no one single formula in common. The difference actually extends from detail to general scope. The Roman rite largely consists of horta-

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\* The last prayer in the Coronation Service of the present Roman Pontifical, viz., that which begins 'O God, the unspeakable Creator of the world,' contains a mangled extract from the Egbertine 'Benediction,' but this is only one proof among others that the Roman Coronation Service as it stands is not in its primitive condition. As far as the present writer knows, this prayer 'O God, the unspeakable' is first found in a form for blessing the Kings of France on occasions other than that of their Coronations, printed by Martene from a MS. believed by him to be of the Xth century, and which belonged to the monastery of St. Theodoric near Rheims.

tory addresses made to the King in presenting him with the emblems of Royalty : but among the Scoto-Irish Celts the investiture with these emblems formed no part of the religious, but merely of the civil rite, and the Egbertine service likewise has no such addresses, but merely a series of prayers, and the language of these prayers in themselves has no reference to the insignia. Moreover, the Egbertine form has nothing analogous to the series of acclamations which were imported into the Roman rite from the ceremonial of the Roman Imperial Court and have passed gradually into the Litany at present to be found in the Roman Coronation Service.

(b) In accordance with the Iona expression 'Ordination,' the Egbertine form is inserted into the Mass, like the form for the ordination of a priest. Moreover, it is to be remarked that it does not occur partly before and partly in the Mass like the Roman Coronation Service, but entirely within it. And there is also the farther feature that it does not occur before the Gospel like the ordination of a Roman Priest, but after it, the point at which, as we know from Adamnan iii. 17, it was the custom for the Columban Celebrant to enter the church.

(c) It consists of eight prayers, the fourth of which is the Prayer of Unction, and is preceded by the anthem 'Zadok the Priest,' extracted from the Benedictine Breviary. But it is a remarkable and striking fact that in the Egbert Pontifical the *eighth* or *last* prayer is especially said to be the *seventh*. The rubrical direction is this:—*Tunc dicunt orationem septimam supra regem*—'Then they say the seventh prayer over the King.' Hence it follows that one of the preceding must be an interpolation. Now, the Kings of Scots were not anointed. What we should have therefore to omit would be the Prayer of Unction with its preparatory anthem. The series then exactly assumed the number of seven required for the seven Priests who uttered the sevenfold benediction in the Dalriad ceremony. It is a curious fact that the Leofric Missal, noticing, as it would seem, that the prayers were seven, and being unable, from their customs, to omit the Prayer of Unction, obtained the desired number by omitting the second.

(d) It has been already remarked that the religious ceremony

of ordaining the King of Scots by the Priestly Benediction was entirely apart from his investiture with the insignia of Royalty; and that the Seven Prayers of the Egbert Pontifical accordingly contain no reference to these insignia; and this fact is strongly brought out by the circumstance that in the Egbert Pontifical (though not in the Leofric Missal) they are interlarded with several rubrical directions directing the giving of the insignia. Had they been originally intended to be accompanied by the ceremony of investiture they would undoubtedly have been conceived with some reference to it as were the later compositions of mediæval times. Another detail which clearly shows that when these prayers were composed, they were not intended to be accompanied by the investiture.

(e) Columba 'laid his hand upon Aidan's head, and ordained him with Benediction.' Now, in the Leofric Missal, the Fourth\* or Central Prayer is actually headed 'The Benediction.' It begins with the word 'Bless' and in both texts is broken up into a number of clauses by the word 'Amen' which was evidently intended to be uttered by the bystanders after each clause, as the officiant proceeded. There is also a curious indication that it was originally accompanied by the laying-on-of-hands. In the English MS. Coronation Service of about A.D. 800, preserved at Rouen, and in all subsequent editions, it is preceded by another Benediction, evidently composed in imitation of it, and commencing with the words 'May the Lord Almighty stretch forth the hand of His own Benediction.' The explanation would seem to be that after the anointing, with which it was hoped that the Divine Benediction had already been given, it was naturally looked on as incongruous that any merely human hand should be immediately laid in blessing upon the Royal head, and accordingly, while the words of the old form were at least partially retained, this new form was composed and inserted before it, praying that God's Own hand might be stretched out to bless, in place of any other.

(f) There are some small pieces of internal evidence. Besides the

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\* That is, omitting the Prayer of Unction, which is not one of the seven here discussed.



general tone of the Latinity, the First Prayer contains a coinage from the Greek, viz., *plasmatum* (from *πλάσσω, πλάσμα,*) instead of *formatum* or *creatum*, in the sense of 'shapen.' Such coinages from the Greek are very characteristic of the Irish writers. Again, when Columba began to read the Book of Ordination, he quickly came upon the name of the Prince. Now, according to this form, the name of the Prince would be inserted as the thirteenth word. In the Second Prayer, we find the expression *populis*, in the Plural, as though the country in which it was composed consisted of several nations or clans; and it is prayed that the Sovereign may receive the spirit of wisdom as well as the *guidance of instruction* (*regimen disciplinæ*), a curious coincidence with the title of the *Instruction of the King* (*Teagusc Ríogh*), the code in accordance with which the rights and duties of the Irish Princes were defined at their inauguration. The Fourth Prayer, or Benediction, has two very curious expressions. One of these is *lorica*, 'breast-plate.' This is a thoroughly Scoto-Irish expression, and is familiar as the name given to the prayers for the Divine protection, of which the *Lorica* attributed to Patrick is perhaps the most famous, and of which it is said, 'And this is a corslet of faith for the protection of body and soul against demons, and men, and vices,' although almost equally celebrated in the same character are the *Lorica* of Columba against fire, and his great Latin poetical work, the *Altus*. The other expression is the use of the rare and technical word *tripudians*, meaning to *dance as an act of religious worship*. This very expression occurs in chapter Y of the *Altus*, where the word is applied to angels.

(g.) It appears from the state of the text in the Egbert Pontifical that at least that of the Fourth Prayer, or 'Benediction,' is older than the date of the MS., for the second clause is corrupted by the copyist into absolute nonsense, and has to be restored from the text, evidently derived from some earlier copy, used at the Coronation of the Kings of France.

(h.) It is a singular circumstance that in the Leofric Missal, which appears to offer a comparatively pure text, throughout the whole of these Seven Prayers, the word *King* is never applied to the person around whom the action centres, although the rubrics so designate him. In the Egbert copy it occurs once, in the

Sixth Prayer, where the Leofric reads 'Prince.' The Mediæval English and French editions substitute it for *Prince*, at the beginning of the Fourth, but this looks like an adaptation to their own circumstances. The inference seems to be that when these prayers were composed, the person over whom they were to be used was a ruler of men such as the chief of an Irish or Scottish clan of whom the words *Princeps* or *Præsul* may fairly be used, but who was in such a position that the expression *Rex* might be inappropriate. And it is expressly stated by Keating \* that the same forms were used by the antient Irish for the inauguration of these Princes who were called *triath*, *tighearna*, and *flaith*, as for those termed *righ*.

The main argument against such a conclusion would be drawn from the dissimilarity of the prayers in question one to the other, but this amounts to nothing more than that they may have been the compositions of different eminent ecclesiastics in Ireland itself, and possibly elsewhere, and perhaps also at different periods and occasions. It is indeed likely enough that such may have been the case. There may be an indication of such a variety in the fact that in the First Prayer the King is described as 'rejoicing in the flower of his youth,' and in the Seventh, as 'approved in war;' but the age at which a young Irish chief might already have had experience of battles might have been, and doubtless was, very early. The Prayers undoubtedly differ in structure. The Fifth is a mere adapted quotation from Gen. xxvii. 28, 29., xlix. 25, 26, and the Sixth a similar adaptation from Deut. xxxiii. 11, 13-17, 24, 26, with the addition of the usual termination. A similar formal termination is found in all the others except the Fourth, being given at full length in the Second and Third, and abbreviated in the First and Seventh. Much stress cannot however be laid upon this formality. It is a termination common to Christian prayers. The Fourth or Benediction Prayer has a special termination of its own. The First, Second, and Seventh are by far the most conventional in their composition. It must be conceded also that

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\* Quoted by O'Donovan, *Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach*, pp. 428, 429, 430.

the arguments adduced in favour of the hypothesis that this series emanates from Dalriada apply with most force to the Fourth. It makes nothing however against this hypothesis to assume, as has been already remarked, that the series were compositions of different persons and possibly of different dates. All that is suggested is that such as they are they were imported from Dalriada into Northumbria, and it might be well maintained that, even if one or more of the others were of English origin, we have, in all probability, in the Fourth some, if not all, of the 'words of the Ordination of Kings' uttered by Columba.

Upon these grounds the present writer offers the hypothesis that the Coronation Service of Egbert's Pontifical is, as far as concerns the Seven Prayers, that of the Kings of Dalriada. When imported into Northumbria or at some subsequent period it underwent only some additions. The Kings were to be anointed, probably in imitation of the British and Continental Kings, and accordingly that ceremony, with an appropriate prayer, was inserted after the three first prayers and before the Benediction. To this was at some time joined, after the introduction of English monks, the Anthem from the Benedictine Breviary. Perhaps the latter period was subsequent to the Synod of Whitby, as the Egbertine rubrics speak of several Bishops coöperating in the Unction, and the Northumbrian kingdom was then first divided into more than one See. The Northumbrian Kings also desired to be invested with the insignia of their temporal power amid the recitation of the prayers. Hence we find the rubrics to that effect in the Pontifical of Egbert, in such remarkable contrast with the silence of the prayers themselves regarding these symbols.

The present writer considers that this hypothesis rests upon considerations so respectable that he thinks it best here to give a translation of the Seven Prayers at full length.

#### I.

(It will be noticed that this prayer must have been originally composed for the inauguration of a child, lad, or very young man. Perhaps students of Irish history may be able to offer some conjecture as to his identity. It cannot have been Aidan, who was

certainly no longer rejoicing in the flower of his youth, as he was 42 years old. But the prayer has gone on being used steadily over monarchs of all ages.)\*

‘O Holy Lord, Father Almighty, Eternal God! we beseech Thee for this Thy servant —, who in his beginning was shapen by the Providence of Thy Divine dispensation, and unto whom Thou hast granted to grow even until this present day rejoicing in the flower of his youth, that Thou wouldest make him ever to go on from day to day unto all such things as are better in the sight both of God and man, enriched by the gift of Thy Fatherly love and full of grace and truth, that by the bounty of grace from on high he may joyfully take the seat of supreme government, and, being defended on all sides by the wall of Thy mercy against the assaults of his enemies, may be worthy to rule happily in the peace of mercy and the power of victory the people committed unto him. Through Christ our Lord. [Amen.]’

## II.

(This is the prayer omitted in the Leofric Missal. It is however, contained not only in the Pontifical of Egbert, but also in the Rouen MS. of about A.D. 800, and in the Mediæval English and French rites).

‘O God, who providest for Thy peoples† with power and rulest them in love, give unto this Thy servant — the spirit of wisdom with the guidance of instruction, that he may be devoted to Thee with all his heart, may ever remain capable in the guidance of the kingdom, and that by thy gift safety may be granted to the Church in his times and Christian devotion abide in peace, that, persevering in good works, he may be able by Thy leading to reach an eternal kingdom. Through our Lord Jesus

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\* In the translations of the Coronation Service used in England since the Reformation it has been modified, and on some occasions (as on that of William and Mary, of George IV., and of the present Queen) altered into a sort of consecration prayer over the oil, without any allusion to youthfulness.

† Plural, as though the nation in which it was written consisted of different clans or tribes.

Christ Thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with Thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, for ever and ever. Amen.'

### III.

'In his days may there arise righteousness and justice unto all, unto his friends help, unto his enemies hindrance, unto the lowly comfort, unto the lofty correction, unto the rich instruction, unto the poor fatherly love, unto strangers help, unto his own in his fatherland peace and safety; gently governing every man according to the measure of each, may he carefully learn to govern himself, and so be saturated with the fear of Thee that he may be able to set to all the people such examples as please Thee, and going onward by the way of truth along with the people subject unto him, may he abundantly acquire perishable riches, and at the same time receive for all the health not only of bodies but of hearts, which is given by Thee. And thus casting upon Thee all the care of his mind and all his counsel, may he ever be seen to learn how to govern his people both with peace and wisdom. And by Thine help may he receive length of this present life, and pass through good times unto extreme old age, and being by the gift of Thy fatherly love set free from all bonds of shortcoming, may he receive a perfected end to this state of frailty, and the everlasting rewards of blessedness without limits, and the eternal fellowship of Angels. Through our Lord Jesus Christ Thy Son, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, for ever and ever. Amen.'

(It is after this that the Egbert Pontifical inserts the ceremony of the Unction, along with the Benedictine Anthem 'Zadok' and Psalm xxi, 'The King shall joy,' and the accompanying prayer, 'O God, the Strength of the elect.' The Leofric Missal gives the Prayer, but omits the rubric, Anthem, and Psalm.)

### IV.

(This central Prayer is the most important, and may be conjectured to be the same which Columba offered while his hand rested upon the head of Aidan. The Leofric Missal gives it the heading 'The Benediction' and says no more. The Egbert Pontifical precedes it by the rubric, 'Here all the Pontiffs along

with the Princes give him the sceptre in his hand.' The text of the Egbert Pontifical is corrupted in places, showing that the form was then already an old one. In the French Coronation Service, however, it seems well preserved as far as it goes, but both in that Service and in the English Mediæval Service it is cut short about the middle. In the Rouen MS. it is cut down to the opening clauses. The *Amens* with which it is broken are of course responses to be made by the bystanders.) \*

'Lord! Who from everlasting governest the kingdoms of all kings, bless Thou this ruling prince †—Amen.

'And glorify him with such a blessing that he may hold the sceptre of salvation in the exaltation of David and be found rich with the gift of sanctifying mercy—Amen.

'Grant unto him by Thine inspiration even so to rule the people in meekness as Thou didst cause Solomon to obtain a kingdom of peace—Amen.

'May he ever be subject unto Thee in fear, and fight for Thee in quietness; may he be protected by Thy shield along with his nobles, and remain ever a conqueror without a combat—Amen.

'Be Thou unto him a breastplate against the array of his enemies, an helmet in adversity, temperance in prosperity, and in protection an everlasting shield—Amen. ‡

'May he live noble among the tribes of the nations. May he have an eminent righteousness in his judgments—Amen.

May Thy right hand, which is rich above all, make him to be wealthy, may he have a fatherland abounding in fruits, and may he leave things profitable unto his children—Amen.

\* It is perhaps fanciful to point out that the number of clauses is 16, like that of the Knights of the Thistle, and may possibly be so for the same reason, viz., to correspond to that of the Apostles and Evangelists together. The Irish were fond of the number 12, in honour of the Apostles.

† *Præsulem principem*. So both Egbert and Leofric, and also the Rouen MS., but the Mediæval English and French substitute *regem nostrum*, "our King."

‡ The French and English Mediæval forms here insert the following words, adapted to Kings only, 'Honour him in the sight of all the Kings of the nations; may he rule happily over peoples, and happily let nations bow down before him.'

‘Grant him length of life through many times, and in his days let righteousness arise—Amen.

‘May he hold from Thee a strong seat of government, that with gladness and righteousness he may glory in an eternal kingdom—Amen.

‘And grant Thou that the nations may keep faith with him, that his nobles may have peace and love charity—Amen.

‘Do Thou in graciousness enter into his mind, that he may fear Thee in love, and love Thee in fear—Amen.

‘Be Thou his honour, Thou his joy, Thou his will, Thou his comfort in sorrow, his counsel in doubt, his strength in the way—Amen.

‘Thou his defender in injuries, his patience in tribulation, his medicine in sickness—Amen.

‘In Thee may he have all his counsel, through Thee may he learn that wisdom which is given by Thee to guide the helm of the kingdom, that, happy ever, ever glad in Thee, he may be worthy to rejoice because of Thy benefits, and may be able to be joined in the eternal fellowship—Amen.

‘That as it hath pleased Thee this day in Thy mercy to set him comely \* before us, so Thou wouldest make him safe under Thy protection for the rounds of many years—Amen.

‘And so taking root by an enduring blessing, may he grow before the peoples, that he may ever leap for joy,† triumphant in peace—Amen.

‘Which do Thou Thyself be pleased to grant Who livest and reignest with the Eternal Father, together with the Holy Ghost, one God, for ever and ever. Amen.’

V.

(To the following the Egbert Pontifical prefixes the direction ‘Here the staff (*baculum*) is given into his hand.’ The Leofric Missal only has ‘Also over the King.’

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\* This allusion to the personal beauty of the Prince shows that this prayer was originally composed for some particular person, very possibly the same as the young monarch ‘rejoicing in the flower of his youth’ of Prayer I.

† Tripudiantem.

‘Almighty God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine. Let people serve thee and nations bow down to thee; be lord over thy brethren and let thy mother’s sons bow down to thee; and blessed be he that blesseth thee. God shall be thine helper, and the Almighty shall bless thee with blessings of heaven above, on the mountains and on the hills, blessings of the deep that lieth under, blessings of the breasts, and of grapes, and apples. The blessings of the antient fathers, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, be confirmed upon thee.’

## VI.

(To the following the Egbert Pontifical prefixes the direction ‘Here let all the Pontiffs take the helmet (*galeum*) and put it upon his head.’ The Leofric Missal only says ‘Another.’)

\* ‘Bless, O Lord, the substance of our prince, and accept the work of his hands; and blessed of Thee be his land, for the precious things of heaven, for the dew, and for the deep that coucheth beneath, and for the precious fruits brought forth by the sun, and for the precious things put forth by the moon, and for the chief things of the ancient mountains, and for the precious things of the lasting hills, and for the precious things

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\* This prayer is mainly quoted from Deut. xxxiii. 11, 13-17, 24, 26. The words of the translation are taken from the A. V., as those which will be most familiar to the reader, but the Latin text does not entirely agree with the Vulgate. At first the present writer was inclined to regard this as a proof that the prayer was composed before the introduction of the Hieronyman revision into Ireland by Finnian, during the earlier part of Columba’s life. He has, however, failed to obtain any proof that this particular passage was altered by Jerome, and the variations are of such a kind as might be produced by the mere errors of copyists. They are however worth giving here in a footnote.

*Text of the Coronation Prayer.*

— benedictione Tua terra repleatur, de fructu cœli et rore atque abyssi subjacentis, de fructu solis ac lunæ, de vertice antiquorum montium, de pompis æternorum collium, et de frugibus terræ et plenitudine ejus —

*Vulgate.*

— de benedictione Domini terra ejus, de pomis cœli, et rore, atque abyssu subjacente. De pomis fructuum solis ac lunæ. De vertice antiquorum montium, de pomis collium æternorum: et de frugibus terræ, et de plenitudine ejus —



of the earth, and fulness thereof: the blessing of Him that appeared in the bush come upon the head of — ; and let the blessing of the Lord be full upon his children ; and let him dip his foot in oil ; let his horns be like the horns of unicorns, with them he shall push the people together to the ends of the earth, for let Him Who rideth upon the heaven be his help for ever. Through our Lord Jesus Christ Thy Son, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, for ever and ever. Amen.’

(After this follows in each of the MSS. a rubric which varies but which seems everywhere to be corrupt. The sense is that the King should now be placed on the throne, amid constant shouts of ‘God save King —’ (*Vivat Rex N. in sempiternum*) from the Bishops, clergy, and people. Then he is to be kissed, after which the Egbert Pontifical ends ‘Then they say the Seventh Prayer over the King.’ That the enthronization was an interpellation not contemplated when the prayer was written, is evident from the fact that it describes the Prince particularly not as seated upon a throne but as bowing down in prayer.)

## VII.

‘O God, Who alone makest to abide (*perpetuitatis Auctor*), Commander of all forces and Conqueror of all enemies, bless this Thy servant who is bowing down his head before Thee. Pour forth upon him abiding grace, and in the warfare wherein he standeth approved, preserve him in long-continuing health and in happy prosperity, and wheresoever or whereforesoever he shall call for Thine help, be Thou straightway present with him, shield and protect him.\* Through Christ our Lord. [Amen.]’

Before leaving the subject of the Northumbrian Coronation Service, it is as well here to give a form which is the subject of a sort of note there appended to the Mass. This note em-

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\*The French text here inserts ‘Grant unto him, O Lord, we beseech Thee, the riches of Thy glory, satisfy his desire with good things, crown him with mercy and loving-kindness, and let him ever serve Thee, O God, in devout earnestness.’

employs the peculiar expression *Ordination*, as do Cuimine and Adamnan; and it is at least probable that, like the prayers, this form may have come from Dalriada. The passage is as follows:—

‘Thou mayest see here the first commandment of the King to the people.

‘It is right that when a King hath been newly ordained and lifted up upon his throne, he should command these three commandments to the Christian people subject unto him :

‘First, that the Church of God and all Christian people keep true peace at every time. Amen.

‘The Second is, that he forbid robberies and all iniquities unto all degrees. Amen.

‘The Third is, that he command righteousness and mercy in all judgments, that hereby the compassionate and merciful God may grant His mercy unto us. Amen.’

It is an interesting fact that these three clauses formed the body of the Coronation Oath of the Mediæval Kings both of England\* and of France. They seem to have done so also in Scotland, as they are embedded in the Scottish Coronation Oath sanctioned by Parliament in 1567. It is plain, however, that when originally introduced into Northumbria, they cannot have been the inaugural Oath of the Dalriads, which, according to the parallel instances, must have been an obligation to observe the antient former customs of the tribe, and to respect the rights of the Tanist, and so on, a series of promises represented by the earlier part of the formula of 1567. These three clauses, if employed, as is most probable, in Dalriada, must have been used as they are given in the Egbertine Pontifical, that is, as a kind of proclamation which it was considered right that the new King should issue immediately after his inauguration, as the first of his public edicts.

The same observations as to the influence of Iona which apply to the kingdom of the Northumbrians, apply with still greater force to that of the Picts. They were converted to

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\* Biden, in his *History and Antiquities of Kingston-upon-Thames*, p. 10, states that this Coronation Oath was first administered, to St. Edward the Martyr, by St. Dunstan, assisted by Oswald, Archbishop of York, in 975.

Christianity by Columba himself, and remained under the exclusive pastorate of the Columban clergy till 717, when Nectan expelled them from his dominions for refusing to accept the Egyptian Paschal Cycle, which had been adopted in Iona itself in the preceding year. Great as was the desire of Nectan to imitate, even in such a detail as church architecture, the customs of Rome, it is even less likely in his case than in that of Osuiu, that he should have altered the now traditional religious ceremonial which had for something like a century and an half accompanied the inauguration of the Kings of his race. There is even a sort of indication of the probable employment of seven ecclesiastics, in the mention of the seven legendary Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Subdeacons, Acolytes, Exorcists, Readers, and Doorkeepers who figure in the tale of the mythical Boniface, although this may again be connected with the Seven Provinces and the later Seven Earldoms. Any reaction of a Celtic character could only have had the effect of strengthening the customs derived from Iona, and in 844 Kenneth McAlpin, himself a descendant of Aidan McGabhraín, after reigning at Dunadd, finally possessed himself of the throne of the Picts.

It is this Prince who, according to the general assertion of early writers, brought the Fatal Stone to Scone. The object of these pages is the history of a ceremonial, and it is therefore irrelevant to enter here upon any discussion of the history of this celebrated stone. It has been discussed with his usual profound learning by Dr. Skene. It may, however, be permitted to say here that the geological argument is in favour of its being indigenous to Scone. It is beside the mark to argue that it is not of the formation of Iona, since it was not Iona but Dunadd which was the scene of the civil inauguration of the Scottish Kings, but Dunadd is thus described in a letter with which the present writer has been favoured by a gentleman upon the spot who has had the goodness specially to examine it at his request, 'The footprint is intact and not likely to be injured: it is deeply cut in the rock, which is what we commonly call whinstone, but which is more of a mica slate formation. It is not basaltic

rock. And there is no red sandstone in the locality, nor any pieces of it in the ruins on Dunadd.' While the earliest history of the Fatal Stone is involved in the obscurity of ages, everything seems to point to its having been simply a local stone at Scone upon which it became at some period the custom for the Pictish Kings to be enthroned at their accession, just as it was the custom for the Scottish Kings to be made to stand in the footprint of Fergus.

Absolutely nothing more is known as to the special inauguration ceremonial of the Kings of the Picts. The first light which is thrown upon it—if indeed any light can be said to be so thrown upon it at all—is after the seat of the united Scottish and Pictish monarchy had been long settled at Scone. It is then found that the enthronization upon the Fatal Stone is invariably spoken of as the essential feature. The duty of so placing the King was a lay one. It is said by Bower to have been granted by Malcolm Canmore as an hereditary right in the family of the MacDuffs, Earls of Fife, and, however originated, was certainly recognized as pertaining to that Earldom. All else, the election, the investiture with the sword and sceptre, the association with the celebration of High Mass, as they gradually appear in history in the character of the immemorial usages of Scone, are exactly the same as those which have been above assigned with more or less of conjecture, to the Kings of Dalriada, with the exception of the fact that, according to the statement made by Robert Bruce to Pope John XXI., the investiture with the insignia of Royalty was always performed by the Bishop of St. Andrew's. Even allowing that Robert Bruce could be admitted as an unexceptionable authority upon questions of Liturgical Archæology, this only carries us back into some period of uncertain antiquity which may or may not be older than the establishment of the Bishopric of Alban at St. Andrews, about the beginning of the Xth century. The questions involved now belong, not to the earliest Coronations of Kings of Scots, but to a later period, which may form the subject of a subsequent paper.

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## ART. IV.—THE PEASANT IN NORTH ITALY.

1. *Atti della Giunta per Inchiesta agraria e sulle condizioni della classe agricola.* Rome: 1881 and 1882.
2. *Proprietà fondiaria e le popolazioni agricole in Lombardia.* Studi economici, di STEFANO JACINI. Milan: 1854.
3. *I contadini del circondario di Cremona.* Appunti di LEONIDA BISSOLATI. Cremona: 1886.
4. *Nouvelles Lettres d'Italie.* Par EMILE de LAVELAYE. Paris: 1884.
5. *Italy Present and Future.* By A. GALLENGA. London: 1887.

IN the course of this century the population of Italy has very nearly doubled. In 1800 it was estimated at less than fifteen millions: statisticians confidently predict that at the next census it will be found to fall little short of thirty millions. The fact is important and on the whole consoling. It might even be called the bow of promise in a sky which if not actually dark, is nevertheless by no means without clouds. It is better for a nation to increase than to decrease or to stand still, as Italy's immediate neighbour is doing; a people may hope whose vital statistics show thirty-eight births as against twenty-six deaths. It is above all, welcome news that in the last quarter of the century human life has gained four years, that is to say, that whereas in 1862 there was one death to every twenty-two inhabitants, there was in 1883 only one death to every twenty-six inhabitants. But if there is reason for congratulation in this rapid rise, it should not be ignored among the factors which have led to the present disturbance in the economic state of Italy. A large population may ultimately be a source of wealth, but a nation can scarcely double its numbers without experiencing at least a temporary strain on its resources. The recent extraordinary rate

of emigration has plainly a certain natural relation to this increase. The prevailing feeling in Italy in regard to the outgoing tide is one of regret. It was reported lately in political circles in Rome that when the Brazilian minister asked King Humbert to use his influence towards removing the obstacles placed in the way of the emigrants, the King replied: 'But you carry off my good peasants, my best soldiers.' 'True your Majesty' was the rejoinder, 'but I carry them off to fare better than at home.' The sad stories circulated from time to time of cruel deception practised on the more ignorant of the emigrants by agents and speculators, and the bad treatment which they have occasionally received in their adopted countries, have made more impression than the more favourable accounts, which show the remark of the Brazilian minister to be in a great measure borne out by facts. The quarter of a million Italians in the Argentine Republic form a thriving community, which is rapidly gaining on the native population in consequence of the superior capacity and energy of its members, and also of the greater prolificness of the Italians, among whom the births stand as 60 to 19 of the native Argentines. In all the other South American States there is a large sprinkling of Italians, and a great part of the trade of the cities and ports is in their hands. On the whole, in the absence of colonies worthy of the name under her own political sway, Italy may look with satisfaction rather than with sorrow upon those which her sons have spontaneously planted on the other side of the Atlantic. How far can she feel a like satisfaction in contemplating the great mass of her people who remain behind?

The condition of the cultivators of the soil—for these form the mass of the Italian people—is, we are afraid, sad enough, if not altogether so desperate as it has been painted. Before going into particulars, it will be useful to quote a few figures connected with the agricultural population as a whole. According to a computation carefully and recently made by order of Government, almost fifteen million Italians draw their means of living directly from the land. They have been classified as follows:

CLASS OF CULTIVATORS.	Individuals of over 15 years of age engaged in agriculture.			Total of every age and sex constituting the entire families of the groups indicated.
	MEN.	WOMEN.	TOTAL.	
<i>Salaried Cultivators.</i>				
Labourers in fixed employment, - - - -	1,164,368	1,288,152	2,452,520	3,451,888
Gardeners, horticulturists, - - - -	55,926	12,670	69,596	165,798
Labourers not in fixed employment, - - - -	1,562,109	831,471	2,393,580	4,631,031
Herdsmen, shepherds (dependent), - - - -	132,642	15,936	148,578	393,231
Woodcutters, charcoal burners, - - - -	50,716	5,961	56,672	150,353
Total, - - - -	2,965,761	2,155,190	5,120,951	8,792,301
<i>Other Classes of Cultivators.</i>				
Peasants working their own land, - - - -	973,672	330,909	1,304,581	2,886,550
Metayers, - - - -	712,003	279,248	991,251	2,110,805
Tenant farmers, - - - -	313,514	78,770	390,284	929,444
Agents, factors, - - - -	22,878	962	23,840	67,824
Master herdsmen and shepherds, - - - -	36,998	1,903	38,901	109,684
Total, - - - -	2,059,065	689,792	2,748,857	6,104,307
Grand Total, - - - -	5,024,826	2,844,982	7,869,808	14,896,608

Interesting and instructive as this table is, it fails to give a full idea of the complicated nature of Italian cultivation, or of the variety of principles upon which the land is held and tilled. The forms of contract in Lombardy alone, are so numerous and so involved that it would need a long work to treat them exhaustively. All that can be done here is to take a general view. The amount of payment in money differs according to locality and even were the average correctly drawn, the idea conveyed might not be correct because, in the case of labourers in fixed employment, no account would be taken of payment in kind, and in the case of day labourers no indication would be given of the degree of permanency of work on which they may reckon. The men hired by day are of two classes: the first comprising those who live in or near the place where they get work, the second consisting of gangs of men who come from more or less distant provinces for the performance of particular tasks which require especial knowledge, such as that of gathering the mulberry leaves and after-

wards trimming the trees. These last are the best paid, but the duration of their employment is very brief and when it is over they return to their homes where many of them are small proprietors. The day-labourers who live near the place where they work are paid from 1s. 2d. to 1s. 8d. per day (taking the Italian *lira* to represent 10d.); they may find employment for about five months in the year, but in the winter they are mostly out of work: hence their position is extremely precarious. The labourers in fixed employment are also of two kinds. There are the farm servants: these receive rations of maize and wheat, lodging, fire wood, and a fourth, fifth, or sixth part (according to agreement) of the maize they hoe in the summer. They are paid £4 per annum in money in the Lower Bresciano, and this is about the usual wage. Then there are the *braccianti*, who, like the farm servants, have a share of the maize and wheat, and are generally provided with firewood, but they have no rations and they pay rent—7d. a week for four rooms. They receive from 5d. to 7d. a day in the six winter months and from 7d. to 8½d. in the summer. The houses have often a bit of kitchen garden, and sometimes the men are allowed the use of a plot on the farm where they sow vegetables. The farm servants keep chickens, and both they and the *braccianti* cultivate silk-worms, the profits on which have always been divided half-and-half. The present depression in the Italian silk trade has had a disastrous effect on the Lombard peasant, whose wages, low as they are, have yet risen fifty per cent in the last twenty-five years, but it is very doubtful if this rise compensates for his loss on the sale of the cocoons. At one time the silk-worms reared by the women and children of a single family might bring in £8 or even £12. Again the women formerly earned something by spinning the silk which was done at home on every farm; now this exists no longer as a village industry, the cocoons being all sent to silk factories.

We pass on to the class of *mezzajuoli* (metayers) which presents to the student of agricultural economy by far the most interesting picture in Italian cultivation. It has been asserted that the system of *mezzeria* is not really practised except in Tuscany—that in other parts of Italy it is replaced by spurious imitations. What is true is, that in Tuscany it is more diffused



as well as more successful than elsewhere; climate, soil, the character of the people, the comparative moderation of the taxes (which as is well known are unequally distributed) all having favoured its development and continuance. But it is inaccurate to say that the system has not been fairly tried out of Tuscany. In Lombardy there are, and have been for a very long period, a considerable number of pure mezzajuoli, *i.e.*, cultivators between whom and the proprietor the value of the whole farm produce is, or is supposed to be, evenly divided, the peasants in most, though not in all cases, furnishing the oxen and the implements, and the master repairing the buildings and paying the land tax. A fairer system than this, on the face of things, was surely never invented, or to be more exact, grew, for *mezzeria* is essentially a thing of growth, whose beginning is lost in obscurity. Its great attraction is that it gives the peasant nearly all the advantages of possession without the risks. Wherever the *mezzeria* has flourished it has been accompanied by a great fixity of tenure, as well as, on the whole, by mutual goodwill and confidence between the masters and the workers.

It is painful to have to admit that, at all events in North Italy, this system, admirable if not in actually forcing from the earth all that it can produce, at least in contributing in a high degree to human happiness, is beginning to show signs of incapacity to bear the strain imposed on it by the existing depression. To illustrate in what way it is breaking down a particular case may be cited. A family named Bonzanini work about fifteen acres of a farm on the lake of Garda. The land grows olives, vines, maize, and vegetables. The peasants also rear silk-worms, and keep a cow, a goat, and some dozen fowls. The master in this instance furnishes the oxen, and if the maize grown is not sufficient for the family, he makes good the deficiency. One would say that these peasants ought to be well off, but they are unable to keep out of debt to the master, and if their cow dies a new one is bought which is booked to the debt, and there is an end of the matter. After paying the taxes the proprietor's half of the profits completely disappears, and had he no other source of income than property such as this, it is plain that he would starve. As a matter of fact, hundreds of land-

lords have been reduced to beggary by their perseverance in the attempt to maintain their mezzajuoli when, what with the falling off of profits and putting on of taxes, that attempt was a hopeless one.

It is not useless to point out that in the case above stated, and in thousands like it, had the mezzajuolo been a small proprietor, had he been obliged to pay the taxes, to provide the oxen, to replace his own cow, borrowing from usurers at a ruinous rate of interest, he must have inevitably gone to the wall long ago. The Bonzanini, were in fact small proprietors who had failed before they came to their present abode. All mezzeria property is not in such straits as this, but that any of it, in the North, is in a flourishing state may well be doubted. For the system to answer two things seem necessary : moderate taxation and good profits on at least one article of produce. The last condition was for a long time fulfilled by the silk-worms. The landlord willingly advanced even considerable sums on the understanding that they were to be refunded after the sale of the cocoons ; and the debt was invariably paid. Now the landlord still sometimes lends money to his peasants but it is doubtful if he ever gets it back. And this, not because the peasants are dishonest and will not pay, but because they cannot. Two other things are wanted to make the mezzajuolo really prosperous ; an intense power of work, and a primitive conception of life. Men cannot do such tasks as they did once. It is not a question of industry or idleness : the faculty of getting through work seems to have notably decreased. Now in any system of small cultivation, whether dependent or independent, this faculty is most essential. The Italian peasant works unceasingly enough ; at three in the summer mornings he is at his post. But the feats of swift, triumphant labour that were heard of once, are heard of no more.

Then as to primitive manners. The falling off of respect to the head of the house is a noticeable fact among all classes in Italy. Children are beginning to have very little reverence for their parents or for any authority whatsoever. Lads of thirteen or fourteen wish to go forth and enter employment as day-labourers or bricklayers' assistants, etc., so that they may call their poor earnings their own. This is in harmony with the

spirit of the time but not with the exigencies of small cultivation. The old co-*op*erative plan used to be practised in Lombardy even among the farm servants, and here and there it is so still. On an estate at Roccafranca a family of seventeen farm servants live together; the wife of the oldest member is Massaja, and her eldest son (not her husband), is Regissore: these two rule the rest with a benevolent despotism. One of the main advantages of such a state of things is the security which it gives against pauperism; if one of the household falls ill, he can be nursed at home, at the common expense, and misfortunes such as the loss of cattle can be remedied out of the common funds. But for this patriarchal institution to succeed requires the prevalence of an antique conservatism which is daily being undermined by elementary education and military service. Grown-up men and women will not long be content to ask leave of the house-mother before they buy themselves a new pair of shoes, especially when the shoes are to be paid for out of money earned by their own labour. A thing which must have struck any one who has personal knowledge of the working of small cultivation in any form, is that while the theory of small holdings has become an article of faith with the advanced party all over Europe, the chiefest moral need of the small holder is that he should be what would be esteemed now-a-days, a somewhat backward person. The typical peasant of fifty years ago, whom old agriculturists would fain recall, was a man of great intelligence within his own limits, but these limits were narrow. This man had no ambition to be better or wiser than his fathers were, he resented novelties as the invention of the evil one, he had his beasts blessed by the parish priest on St. Anthony's day, and he would have cut off his right hand sooner than plant potatoes when the moon was on the wane, or cut down firewood when it was in its first quarter.

It may be affirmed that were the small cultivators more enlightened, they would be able to introduce better and newer methods of land-culture. There is some truth in this, but it is evident that the principles of improved farming are more applicable to large holdings than to small. It is open to doubt whether the peasants' methods, the fruits of immemorial experience, may

not be actually the best adapted to the semi-mountainous regions of which so great a part of Italy is composed.

As we have seen, the prospects of the mezzajuolo have been affected by the present crisis not less than those of other Italian agriculturists; yet we would not take leave of him without suggesting that the experiment be tried of introducing the mezzeria system into England. There are rich capitalists who would not be greatly the worse if the venture failed. The English labourer's adaptability as a peasant-holder is almost an unknown quantity: this would be an excellent way of testing it. And since English soil yields threefold the crops produced in Italy, the experiment might succeed well, even in these hard times.

The personal administration of such property is troublesome—that is one of its drawbacks from the landlord's point of view. Probably the best plan in England, as it has proved in Italy, would be the appointment of the most trusted of the peasants as intermediary between the contracting parties. It may happen that a man in this position cheats his master and tyrannizes over his fellow-mezzajuoli, but the trust reposed in the Italian *fattori* is as a rule justified, while the existence of such a post is not without its value as offering a legitimate object to the ambition of the steady and intelligent peasant who may hope to rise to be a factor in his turn.

Besides mezzeria pure and simple, there are in North Italy contracts, by which the peasant draws only a third of the profits, or by which one article of produce is divided by half, another by a third, others by a fourth or fifth. All these are evidently less favourable to the cultivators than pure mezzeria. They arise from the poverty of the peasant preventing his making any contribution towards covering the common expenses which are exceptionally heavy in the plains, where irrigation is necessary; or it may be, from the superior quality of the soil, which inspires the proprietors with the desire to appropriate more than half the profits. Another form of contract much in use in the low-lying lands is the *contratto misto*, by which rent is paid partly in money and partly in a stated quantity of wheat. Of small tenants paying wholly in money and small proprietors working their own

land, the North of Italy still affords many examples, though the number, especially of the second, is reduced year by year, as is the case, more or less throughout the whole country. From 1878 to 1879, thirty-five thousand small Italian proprietors ceased to exist. It need not be inferred that even now, all the small holders are on the brink of ruin; with good fortune and unflagging industry they may still enjoy a fair degree of prosperity. While all goes well they possess a two-fold superiority over the large proprietor, in the smallness of their expenses, and the fewness of their wants. An unlooked for gain which would be inappreciable to a large landowner, suffices to raise a poor man, for the time being, from strained into easy circumstances. But if good luck exercises an immediate influence on the lot of the small tenant or proprietor, the same in a yet stronger sense is true of bad luck. Herein lies his weakness,—a weakness nowhere felt more than in Lombardy, where on nearly every summer day there is a thunderstorm in one place or another, accompanied by hail, the dreaded *grandine* which frequently destroys the entire standing crops on a farm, in the space of ten minutes. When once things begin to go wrong through a hail-storm, the loss of his beasts which are much more subject to disease than formerly, the failure of his silkworms, the blight of his vines, it is almost impossible for the peasant to recover himself. The profits that he used to make were sufficient to enable him to lay by something for an evil day, and he could borrow at a low interest because it was reasonably probable that he would be in a position to pay at an early date. Now all this is changed. The peasant who begins to go down hill does not stop till he has reached the bottom.

For the rest, the small peasant-holder has a triad of evil genii always waiting to devour him, the usurer, the tax-gatherer, and the lawyer. The usurer lends at a ruinous interest the money which too often is needed to pay the tax-gatherer. With the taxes standing at their present figure, the last-named functionary becomes an instrument of cruel oppression. ‘L’Italia agricola,’ said Senator Jacini, ‘è completamente schiacciata e annienta dalle imposte.’ Nor is it to the tax-gatherer’s advantage to show mercy even when he has it in his power. He is praised and

promoted if the taxes are well 'got in,' and if he can fine some wretched peasant for backwardness in payment or even for an involuntary irregularity, half the amount of the fine goes into his own pocket. Here is a story to the point. The Government issued an edict, which remained unknown to the bulk of the rural population, directing that the salt used for agricultural purposes should be consumed within a stated period of its purchase. A tax-gatherer went to a peasant and asked: 'Have you any *sale nero* in the house?' 'Yes,' answered the peasant, 'it is not quite all used.' 'Let me see the ticket you had on receiving it?' The ticket showed a date anterior to the prescribed term, and the result was the exaction of a fine of fifty francs.

Next to the tax-gatherer and the usurer comes the lawyer. The Italian Bar can boast of many highly honourable and distinguished members, but it is not likely that any one will contradict the assertion that there are too many lawyers in Italy. Every second man you meet is an *avvocato*. They spring from every social class, and stretch from the little bourgeois, just aspiring to gentility, to the impoverished noble. All these men must live. It is a common saying that two-thirds of the law-suits, often of the most painful kind, which arise out of disputes as to the division of property on the death of the heads of families, are instigated by lawyers in their own interest. This of the rich: it stands to sense that the advocate of the poor is not the most scrupulous of his order. A peasant tenant was incited by a lawyer to embark in a suit with his landlord which only ended last summer after sixteen years' proceedings. Again and again the case was given against him, again and again it went the rounds of the Tribunals, Court of Appeal and Court of Cassation, but the plaintiff was only induced to acknowledge himself beaten after the period named. He started with being well-off and ended in poverty, not to speak of the trouble and expense he had caused his landlord. The peasant owners are still more litigious than the tenants: 'Chi ha terra, ha guerra' runs the proverb. This characteristic combined with the obligatory division of property, leads to the parcelling out of the land into pieces not so big as a lawn tennis court. As every transfer is heavily taxed, it is easy

to see how the perpetual process of division and subdivision tends both directly and indirectly to impoverish the people.

With all his woes the peasant still sticks to his scrap with a desperate tenacity, which seems to show, that as far as sentiment goes, a rood which a man can call his own is after all the chief of earthly treasures. It is curious to note how the possession even of a field breeds the essentially aristocratic feeling which scorns outward signs of superiority. This has its good but it has also its bad side, since it makes the prosperous peasant proprietor often unduly tolerant of a most unsanitary and unlovely dwelling.

When property is sold by order of the State to cover arrears of taxes, an auction takes place of which the many expenses must be paid out of what remains of the sum realised after the deduction of the amount standing due; very little therefore falls to the late owner to help him to set up again in life. When a man dies each of his heirs fondly hopes to be able to exist on his part of the division, however small it be. Thus the minute sub-dividing, which is the grave of peasant properties, goes on unchecked. In France the peasants have few children and the problem has been solved in that way. In Italy they have many ('indeed,' said one observer, 'they have nothing else'), and at a moderate computation the grand-children of a man who has ten acres may find themselves reduced to half an acre a piece. The best chance for peasant proprietorships might be a stringent law of primogeniture.

In spite of the suffering which does certainly exist amongst the peasants of all sorts and conditions, they have not the appearance or the manners of people whose life possesses no brighter side. They are brave in adversity, and a little makes them happy. On Sundays the roads are thronged with country folk, the men wearing a clean white shirt, and the women a bright handkerchief about their necks. The practice of passing the winter evenings in a swept corner of the stable is going out, but it never indicated extreme misery; the hours so passed were some of the pleasantest in the peasants' lives: it was the time when the old ones gossiped and the young ones made love, the time when folk-stories and folk-songs were told and sung. Only in exceptional cases was the stable ever used as a sleeping place. Most of the Lombard cottages contain a tolerable amount of

accommodation; in this, as in other respects, the cultivation of silkworms has had a good effect, because many rooms are needed for the disposal of the trays of *bachi* which also require a scrupulous attention to cleanliness. The walls are often white-washed before the breeding season begins. In summer many of the men sleep out of doors, nor can they be broken of the habit which much conduces to the prevalence of fever. Even in good houses a defect which is almost always present is the gloominess of the kitchen or keeping room; to which it seems to be thought that the door gives enough light and ventilation. The upper rooms have pretty large windows with outside shutters; glass is often partly and sometimes wholly lacking, paper being gummed into the frames in its stead. If the windows are not fastened back, during the summer storms, a precaution often neglected, the glass is destroyed wholesale, and the landlords get tired of replacing the broken panes.

The worst houses are those which belong to very poor proprietors, or again, to rich proprietors who rarely visit their estates. Absenteeism, it has often been said, is the curse of Italy, but it is more easy to point out the evil than to suggest a cure. Apart from the other causes that contribute to make country life unpopular in Italy, causes which may gradually disappear, there is the insurmountable fact that a large proportion of the rural districts do not answer to the requirements of an agreeable or desirable place of residence. Forty out of the seventy-seven communes of Lombardy are officially declared to be malarious. Only a high sense of duty could urge a proprietor who could go elsewhere, to spend much of his time in these localities.

A falling off in stamina has been noted among agricultural labourers in other countries besides Italy, and various explanations have been offered, but its particular cause in the Italian northern provinces probably lies in the increased cost and inferior quality of the common wine. The light, pure wine, which before the vine-disease cost next to nothing, and acted as a corrective to all the defects of diet, has been succeeded by wine which is more heady and less wholesome, and of which the price places it out of the reach of the peasant as a daily beverage.



On a feast-day he may drink a glass or two at the *osteria*, but being unaccustomed to it, it does him more harm than good, and violent quarrels are the consequence. The Italian navy is still a prodigious worker, nearly all the greatest engineering feats of modern times are the work of his hand. But then, it must be remembered, that he eats and drinks better than the peasant. The rural poor cannot afford coffee, which is heavily taxed, their drink is water and not always pure water, and their staple food is maize-flour, either prepared as *polenta* or made into a very indigestible kind of bread. The former is the usual and the less objectionable way of eating it. Maize matures so late that in wet seasons it does not harden naturally; most of the rich proprietors have introduced stoves for drying the grain, but the peasants are careless and often leave it out in the rain till it becomes mouldy. Polenta forms the unfailing morning meal; for dinner there is sometimes a minestra or soup made of rice or of the coarser Italian pastes, with cabbages or turnips and a little lard. On fast-days linseed oil is substituted for the lard. Sausages, generally of a home-made kind, and raw vegetables with or without oil and vinegar, are added when they can be got, and eggs, cheese, and dried fish, are luxuries. On dairy-farms the peasants get a little milk or butter-milk, and mezzajuoli who keep a cow reserve a small portion of the milk for the children. Those who keep chickens eat one now and then, but butcher's meat is hardly ever bought except for a marriage or for a sick person. If a horse has to be shot, the peasants are very glad to eat the flesh, and some are said to also eat that of animals which die of disease. Hedgehogs, frogs, and snails, are esteemed great delicacies.

The death-rate in North Italy is lower than in the South; in the province of Udine it stands at 22 in the thousand, in that of Brescia at 27, while in the provinces of Ancona and of Foggia the mortality is estimated respectively at 31 and 33 per thousand. Notwithstanding the sudden changes of temperature, consumption and rheumatism claim fewer victims than in England, but inflammatory attacks on the lungs are as common as they are fatal. Malarious fevers either chronic, when they slowly wear the life out of the patient, or acute ('*perniciosa*') when they kill in a few

days, are frequent over all the plains, and most of all in the districts where rice is cultivated. But the most terrible disease of the North Italian peasant is the pellagra, a sort of leprosy leading to madness, which was not heard of till about a century ago, but which within the last fifty years has assumed alarming proportions. There are a few who still adhere to the early impression that pellagra was the direct result of the consumption of maize, but in the higher lands a maize diet does not cause pellagra. The ill-fed do not suffer from it in the mountains, nor do the well-fed suffer from it in the plains; hence it is now generally believed that pellagra is developed by the agency of insufficiently nutritious food taken in connection with certain climatic conditions. The official statistics show that the deaths due to this cause have decreased by half since 1880; according to the latest figures they had fallen to 1695 in twelve months. But it is to be feared that the diminution of fatal cases proves rather that the sick are better cared for than that the disease is being stamped out. There is a growing tendency at the hospitals to keep patients for longer and longer periods, because it is seen that however perfect is the appearance of their cure, they almost always fall ill again when they return to their former life. The cure for pellagra (and it is a sure one in the earlier stages) is simply meat and wine: in their own homes the sufferers can have neither. The relapse is often accompanied by suicidal mania. Last year Don Antonio Gavioli, parish priest of the village of Villagrossa, who had been treated for pellagra in the hospital at Mantua, and afterwards discharged, drowned himself in a ditch at the age of sixty-six years. It is no wonder if the clergy fall victims to the 'hunger disease' in common with their flock in a country where, till last December, there were many priests receiving less than £15 per annum. The minimum stipend is now raised to 500 lire or £20.

It is certain that the prevention of the pellagra might be effected to a great extent by the adoption of good wheaten bread as a general article of food. Maize (when sound), may be perfectly wholesome, but it cannot be denied that it is poor in nutritious qualities. The three chief reasons why the North Italian peasant eats but little bread, may be summed up as

follows: (1.) Wheat, though now selling at a price so low as to be ruinous to the farmer, is still slightly dearer than maize, which is moreover, as has been seen, given under certain circumstances in part payment of wages. (2.) Baker's bread is not so cheap as the price of wheat would make one expect, because by a strange anomaly, though corn, till lately, entered the country practically duty free, and is even now but lightly taxed; bread is subject to local impositions which, besides the actual difference, serve as an excuse to the bakers for keeping up their prices. (3.) In rural districts, bread is commonly so badly made that the peasant greatly prefers his polenta. To remedy this defect a movement has been set on foot which has already borne good fruits. Its originator, the Rev. Cav. Rinaldo Anelli, is a member of a distinguished Milanese family, and has a brother who is a missionary in China, while he himself has devoted his life to an object no less unselfish. Struck by the ill-nourished state of the rural poor, he established a co-operative bakery in the village of which he had the spiritual charge, where the people could get their bread made at a trifling cost and in the best manner. The trial met with complete success, and Forni Anelli have been introduced into many other districts. An *Esposizione di Panificazione* was held at Milan in the summer of 1887, with the express purpose of advancing the cause of bread-reform.

E. MARTINENGO-CESARESCO.

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ART. V.—THE SCOTTISH HISTORICAL NOVELS OF  
JAMES GRANT.

THE able and popular novelist who passed away from us less than a year ago was, more absolutely than any other writer of the day, the novelist of war. Connected by descent with the Veitches of Dawyck, there was a fine old strain of fiery Border blood in his veins; and had he been born in the neighbourhood of the Border, three or four centuries ago, there would probably have been cursing and wailing on the English side

thereof; hard work cut out for the Wardens of the Marches; and much celebration of the hero in Border Ballads. Right gladly would he doubtless have accepted the invitation of Jock o' the Scroof—we quote from memory:—

‘So ride with me to merry Bowhill,  
And join auld Veitch and his company’—

safe of a kinsman's welcome and a right royal raid on somebody, or something. Being doomed to exist in what he was himself somewhat viciously designated, ‘these our jog trot days of peace societies, and Sabbatarian twaddle,’ instead of carrying out the romance of war with his good broad sword, he was fain to content himself with depicting the romance of war with his pen. He is the very stormy petrel of novelists, delighting in tempest and turmoil, in daring deeds, and reckless heroism, with a keen enjoyment calculated to cause an ague fit to pale blooded members of peace societies, contentedly enjoying the safety and security purchased for them with blood and fire and sword by their heroic forefathers, and railing alike at them and the noble profession behind whose fearless heroism and dauntless courage they may yet be glad, one day, to skulk in cowardly security.

Most ably Mr. Grant has carried out that part of his life-work which is the special subject of the present paper, the delineation, in fiction, of that wildest of all wild romances, the stormy turbulent history of his native country. Romantic the history of Scotland began to be from its first emergence out of the dim mists of antiquity; and romantic it never ceased to be until the hapless Charles Edward, after wandering about the Highlands for five months with a price of £30,000 on his head, escaped in September, 1745, to France. It is difficult to speak too highly of the amount of labour and research which Mr. Grant has brought to bear upon his task of illustrating, in fiction, various episodes of this romantic, often tragic history. A staunch admirer and adherent of the House of Stuart, it is not always possible to accept his opinions or conclusions; but his partizanship is that of honest conviction, and is held back from fanaticism by a manly straightforwardness of sentiment, and honesty of purpose, which prevent him from

ever being wilfully blind, or disingenuously prejudiced against opponents.

Six of Mr. Grant's novels, which are, in chronological order, *The Captain of the Guard*, *The Yellow Frigate*, *Jane Seton*, *Mary of Lorraine*, *Bothwell*, and *The Scottish Cavalier*, treat of some of the most noteworthy scenes and incidents of Scotland's history; and while all present graphic pictures of the general political and social conditions of the country, throughout a period of nearly two hundred and thirty years, each brings prominently forward some one or other of those special features of Scottish character or circumstances which have largely aided in making that history so wildly romantic.

*The Captain of the Guard* gives us a vivid picture of the extraordinary power of the great hereditary families of Scotland; a power more potent for evil than for good, and to which has been due the stormy character of Scottish history. From the earliest ages, the existence of great independent chieftains, like the Lords of Galloway, was a source of weakness and danger to the Scottish throne; and from the date (1370) when William, Earl of Douglas, disputed the sovereignty with Robert Stuart, the son of Bruce's daughter Marjory, until the day when the death of Elizabeth added all the weight and influence of the English to the Scottish Crown, the history of the Stuarts is that of one long and not always successful conflict with these turbulent nobles, to whom in point of power and authority, Mr. Grant has rightly said the King himself, in some instances, was but a laird.

The most romantic part of the history of the great House of Douglas forms the plot of *The Captain of the Guard*. One of those historic races which now, as Lord Bute has pointed out, 'are very largely represented by Commoners.' He says; 'There can be little question that the most remarkable family in the Scotch Peerage is that of Douglas. This race can indeed be hardly said to draw distinction from its position in the aristocracies of Europe; Europe itself is rather rendered remarkable by possessing it. As to Scotland, to write a history of the Douglasses would be almost the same thing as to write the history of the country, and that, not so much because they largely appear in it, as because they made it. To chronicle their alliances and

descents would be to give a manual of nearly all the distinguished families in it, including the Royal House itself. . . This family also possesses a remarkably clear, compact, and close history, from the very assumption of the territorial name by William of Douglas, son of Theobald the Fleming, in the Twelfth Century. His grand-children, William and Andrew, divided the race into the two well-known branches of the Black and the Red. Both alike have continued to hold the highest places in history and in society, both alike were allied with the most illustrious persons, whom our history names, both alike soaked the sod of Flodden with their blood, but the Red Douglasses do not present such striking spectacles both of splendour and of tragedy as the Black. . . On that side the descents are from William Douglas, the friend of Wallace, who died a prisoner in York Castle in 1302. His son James, when he expired upon Bruce's heart at Theba, left no lawful issue, but physiology and gratitude alike demanded that a breed so heroic should be preserved anyhow to serve Scotland in high places, and his son Archibald succeeded as third Earl of Douglas, and was progenitor of that Ducal House of Touraine in whom the glory of their tribe reached its zenith, only to be eclipsed in blood, (not tears—they were not a crying race) in a series of tragedies which almost transcends the imagination.'

*The Captain of the Guard* opens with the first scene of these tragedies, the infamous Black Dinner of 1440, when Earl William, a boy in his seventeenth year, and his younger brother, David, lured by the treachery of Livingston and Crichton to visit their boy King, James II., were murdered in Edinburgh Castle. But here Mr. Grant has curiously mixed relationships. He introduces the famous Margaret, the Fair Maid of Galloway, as wife of the young Earl William, and as afterwards marrying his immediate successor. She was in fact Earl William's sister, and at the time of the murder of her two brothers was a child of eight years old. She became the immense heiress she was in consequence of their death. Earl William's immediate successor was James, Earl of Avondale,

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\* See 'Scottish Peerages' *Scottish Review*, January, 1886.

his great uncle; he lived little more than two years after the murder of his nephews, and was succeeded by another William, his son. This was the *first* husband of the Fair Maid of Galloway, who was only twelve years of age at the date of her marriage to him (1444). By this marriage, the policy of Livingston and Crichton was frustrated, and the power of the Black Douglas line restored through the reunion of their immense possessions. Again assassination was called into play. Lured to Stirling by a safe conduct, this Earl of Douglas fell, stabbed by the hand of the King himself. He was succeeded by his brother James, who married his widowed sister-in-law, the Fair Maid of Galloway. But the power of the great house had been broken by these repeated murders. Earl James was soon a fugitive, and in little more than three years after the assassination in Stirling Castle, Threave Castle, the great stronghold of the Black Douglases, built on the site of that of Alan the Great, the last independent Lord of Galloway, surrendered to the armies of the King, led by himself in person.

Apart from this confusion of persons and relationships, Mr. Grant has closely followed history, and has vividly portrayed the strange mingling of rude splendour and barbaric state, with ferocious cruelty and coarse brutality which characterised the lives of these powerful Scottish nobles. Possessing power of 'pit and gallows,' i.e., of hanging men and drowning women, within their heritable jurisdiction, for offences, real or imaginary, they were the terror of their less powerful neighbours, and the scourge or protection of the poor, as the fancy took them.\*

With historical accuracy Mr. Grant has also described the incident which immediately led to the treacherous murder of the Earl of Douglas at Stirling; the unlawful arrest, by him, of Sir Patrick Maclellan, and the intervention on his behalf of the King himself, by means of Sir Patrick Grey, Maclellan's uncle. 'When Gray appeared within the portal of Threave

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\* It was in consequence of the abuses to which this system of heritable jurisdiction gave rise that the College of Justice was established by James V. in 1532.

Castle, the Earl suspected his errand. "You have not dined," said he, without suffering him to open his commission, "it is ill talking between a full man and a fasting." While Gray was at meat, the unfortunate prisoner was, by Douglas's command, led forth to the court yard and beheaded. When the repast was finished, the King's letter was presented and opened. "Sir Patrick," says Douglas leading Gray to the court, "right glad had I been to honour the King's messenger, but you have come too late. Yonder lies your sister's son, without the head, you are welcome to his body." The defiance of Gray as he passed out of the castle, and the furious pursuit of Douglas, nearly to Edinburgh, suggested to Scott the episode of the escape of Marmion from Tantallon.

This bold defiance drew on the catastrophe, and this is one of the points on which it is impossible to admit Mr. Grant's conclusions. A thorough-going partizan of the Stuarts, he can see in them no guilt. 'How vain,' he says, 'were the wishes of the good young King, and how little could he or anyone foresee the terrible sequel to that long wished for interview.' Whether 'the good young King' did, in the first instance, intend to slay Douglas with his own hand may be doubtful; but that the Earl was lured to Stirling with full intent that he should never depart alive is hard to doubt even after reading the account of the transaction in Mr. Grant's own words.

Mr. Grant has also given in his novel the true history of Mons Meg. Few of those who inspect the great gun are probably aware that they are gazing on a silent witness to the power of the great House of Douglas, or of the connection between it and the grim old keep, visible from the railway, in the immediate neighbourhood of Castle Douglas. But all Galwegians know the facts. The mighty gun was forged for the reduction of Threave Castle, by Brawny Kim, the smith, and the forfeited lands of Mollance were given to him as a reward. For long the gun was known as 'Mollance Meg.' Not till some 150 years afterwards is the contraction 'Mons Meg' first found in history. The balls belonging to the gun are of Galloway granite, and exactly correspond with one



found at Threave Castle. Tradition says the first shot fired carried away the hand of the Fair Maid of Galloway, as she sat at table, and that thus 'the vengeance of the Almighty was evidently manifested in destroying the hand which had been given in wedlock to two brothers.'

The theme of *The Yellow Frigate*, the next in chronological order of Mr. Grant's novels, as fully set forth in the chapter entitled *The Bane of Scotland*, is still the powerful, turbulent nobility, but, in this instance, in their worst character, as intriguers with England, and recipients of English gold. Mr. Grant says: 'For many hundred years a curse, or rather a fell spirit, hovered over Scotland, and time seems never to have lessened its force. . . . This curse has been the mal-influence of a party within the Scottish nation, whose interests were separated from its common weal, who throve on its ruin and disgrace, and have ever been the ready instruments of oppression, neglect, and misrule: I mean that party distinguished in the darkest pages of our annals as *the English faction*—usually a band of paid traitors, whom even the Union could not abolish; men who surrendered themselves to work out the evil, disastrous, and insidious projects of the sister kingdom, for the purpose of weakening the power of the Scottish people; and thus, as Schiller says, "never has civil war embroiled the cities of Scotland, that an Englishman has not applied a brand to the walls." To the patricidal efforts of this faction, which for many hundred years proved the bane of Scotland, our historians lay the blame of every dark and disastrous transaction that blackens the page of Scottish history.'

Again, in these pages, we find the great House of Douglas towering above all other competitors for power, in the person of the Earl of Angus, better known by his soubriquet of Archibald Bell-the-cat, the head of the Red Douglas line, who rose to power after the Black Douglases fell. The history of the unhappy James III. is given from the point of view of a staunch supporter. The man whom other historians represent as somewhat weak, vacillating, and parsimonious, alienating the nobles by his partiality for, and advancement to high rank

of low-born favourites, appears as the friend of the poor, a man of learning and cultivated taste, delighting in the society of men of scholarship, literary attainment, and scientific ability, to the disgust of an arrogant but rude unlettered aristocracy, in whose eyes ‘Robert Cochran, the eminent architect, was but a stone-cutter, Sir William Rogers, who composed many fine airs, but a fiddler, Leonard the engineer was but a smith, and Torphichen, the fencing master, a miserable fletcher.’ But Mr. Grant omits from the list Hommel, *the tailor*, who was one of the royal favourites.

Very graphically in this novel are depicted the last sad scenes of the life of the unhappy monarch, heart broken by the fact that his son was among the ranks of his enemies, not perhaps altogether of his own free will, though the famous penance-girdle, the iron belt he wore throughout his reign, in memory of his father's death, seems to indicate the remorse of conscious guilt. It was never laid aside until the day, thirty-five years later, when he died in the field of Flodden. The fatal fight of Sauchieburn is vividly described, and the assassination of the fugitive king, brought to his death by the gift of the splendid charger intended to insure his safety. But Mr. Grant makes no note of one extremely romantic incident. On his way to this last fatal battle James visited the aged Earl of Douglas (whose brother had died by the hand of the King's own father, sixteen years before, at Stirling) in the Abbey of Lindores, to which James III. had himself consigned him, after the downfall of his house. Then, in the hour of his own sore need, he sought the aid of the man whom he had crushed—surely there is Stuart meanness in the action—making him ‘tempting offers if he would leave his retirement, and withdraw such of the ancient vassals of his family as still remembered his former greatness, from the ranks of the rebel peers. But the Earl, loaded with years and infirmities, and tired of the vanities of the world, replied: “Ah! Sir, you have kept me and your black coffer (in allusion to the chest in which he kept his treasures) too long shut up: neither of us can now do you any good; I, because my friends and followers have forsaken me, and have betaken themselves to other masters;

and your black chest is too far from you, and your enemies are between you and it.”’

These incidents are, however, but the scenery of the story, the true theme of which is the secret marriage of the young Duke of Rothesay, afterwards James IV., the victim of Flodden, to the beautiful Margaret Drummond; the intrigues of ‘the English faction’ with Henry VIII. to secure the marriage of the young Duke to Margaret Tudor; and the ‘removal’ of Margaret Drummond, to make way for the English Princess. The fair young wife, with the two beautiful sisters who perished with her, lie sleeping amid the ruins of the old Cathedral of Dunblane; but on the day when the wiles of the English king and the intrigues of the Scottish traitors who took his gold were crowned with success, and Margaret Tudor became the wife of James IV., small thought had they of what the result was to be. Henry schemed to make Scotland a province of England: he succeeded in placing a Scottish king on his own throne, and, but for her superior size and wealth, would have made England a province of Scotland. The traitorous English faction among the Scottish nobles schemed for their own wealth and advancement; they succeeded in sealing the fate of their tribe, by enormously increasing the power of, and removing far from the reach of their intrigues, a line of sovereigns who had been rarely thoroughly their masters, often mere tools in their hands.

Just about half a century after his grandfather, a fugitive from the field of Sauchieburn, perished by the assassin’s dagger, James V. brought to Edinburgh his fair and short-lived first wife, Magdalene of Valois, the beautiful daughter of the good Queen Claud. It is with this incident that *Jane Seton* opens, giving us a vivid picture of the brilliancy of the Scottish Court, in the days when constant association with France had imparted to it a splendour and polish second only to that of the great original. It is a curiously blended picture, and one hardly credible, as fact, did not history bear ample testimony to its verisimilitude. A gay and splendid Court, and every man going in peril of his life, exposed to open attack or

treacherous assassination in the very streets of the capital; and a rampant superstition dominant, which rendered those who were comparatively safe from dagger and sword thrust liable to the worse horrors of the torture chamber and the stake. Roland Vipont runs an antagonist through the body, and goes off forthwith to visit his betrothed, as if nothing had happened: the beautiful high-born Jane Seton dances one night with the King himself, and, ere long, is in prison on suspicion of witchcraft, and sentenced to be burned at the stake, on confessions *extorted by the rack*. Truly the splendour had an evil background, but even darker days were at hand for Scotland. In *Jane Seton* we read for the first time of 'heretics.' The time was drawing nigh when to all the fiery passions which made such havoc in Scotland was to be added that worst and most unquenchable one, religious animosity. Nine years before the opening of *Jane Seton*, Patrick Hamilton had suffered at the stake, in St. Andrews. But to Galloway belongs the credit of being the cradle of the Reformation in Scotland; a reformation the methods of which Mr. Grant, of course, disapproves; but which, in some form or other, he would have been the first to admit was sorely needed, and which with all his usual candour, he admits was brought about by the loose lives of the clergy. Prior to Hamilton's death, disciples of Wickliffe had found shelter and protection in Galloway, from the Gordons, predecessors of the Gordons of Earlston, who also obtained a copy of the New Testament, and held secret meetings for its study; in consequence of which the Roman faith had been secretly adjoined by many inhabitants of the district. James V. is much maligned if he did not, himself, vacillate between the two parties, as interest dictated. France influenced him in favour of the ancient faith; but his uncle, Henry VIII., held out lures, and he promised to meet him at York. Then, 'to avert the impending danger, the clergy promised James an annuity of fifty thousand crowns, and held out some prospects from the property of condemned heretics, if he would remain firm to his religious tenets.' So the visit to York was abandoned; the disasters of Solway Moss resulted, and James died of chagrin at Falkland,

leaving his distracted country to an infant Queen, only a few days old.

So far as these events, however, *Jane Seton* does not carry us. The horrors resulting from a universal belief in witchcraft, form the main theme of the story—horrors which, certainly, the Reformation did nothing to diminish. Cruelty and fanaticism under the new faith but put on other of their Protean forms. It is, however, a little curious to find Mr. Grant affirming that ‘before the epoch of John Knox, sorcery was almost unknown among us,’ then presenting us with the witch pricker as a regularly established functionary in 1537; and following up the assertion with a full report of the speech he attributes to Sir Adam Otterburn, the King’s Advocate, at the trial of Jane Seton, in which, to say nothing of the example of St. Patrick, and events in the reign of William the Lion, he cites the case of ‘our own King Duff, in the year 980, who pined under a grievous illness in Morayshire, and was rescued from death when the witch was burned, and her images broken.’ In truth neither Roman Catholics nor Protestants can afford to throw stones, and the history of Jane Seton is but a horrible picture of a horrible possibility of the age, irrespective of which creed held sway.

*Mary of Lorraine* might almost be held to be, historically, a continuation of *Jane Seton*, for it opens in 1447, only ten years after poor Magdalene’s short reign of two months as Queen Consort in Scotland. But there had been marvellous changes in those few years. James V. himself had been dead close on five years; the Earl of Arran was Regent; the hapless Mary, Queen of Scots, was the infant sovereign. Mr. Grant is at one with Protestant writers in the character he gives to Mary of Lorraine, whom they, equally with him, depict as gentle and moderate in disposition, and averse to harsh measures against the rapidly advancing Reformation. But the influence of Cardinal Beaton, and of the Regent Arran, after his renunciation of the reformed doctrines were too strong for her; and even after her own assumption of the Regency, her brothers of the House of Guise were probably chiefly responsible for a line of action at variance with her natural disposition. The main historical theme of the story lies in the reckless intrigues arising out of the struggle

between France and England to obtain possession of the baby Scottish Queen; intrigues which England, at least, might have spared, for the young King Edward was in his grave ere Mary of Scotland had completed her eleventh year. 'The times were wild and perilous,' chiefly in consequence of the weakness of the regency, the feebleness of the law, and the conflicts between the old and the new faith. Mr. Grant's description of the state of the country is admirably graphic. 'Outrages, feuds, raids, and combats, the siege and storm of castles and towers, were mere matters of every day life, and a fight of a few hundred men-at-arms a side, with lance and buckler, sword and arquebusque, in the streets of Edinburgh, Perth, or Aberdeen, occasioned less excitement among their warlike citizens, than an election row, a casual fire, or a runaway horse, in these our jog-trot days of peace societies, and Sabbatarian twaddle.'

It is not, however, so much to these historical facts that *Mary of Lorraine* owes its interest for us, as to the admirable delineation of an institution which would seem to have been purely and exclusively Scottish—the hereditary blood feud. As has been lately remarked by a writer in the *Scottish Review* 'In that wild and unbridled age, the possession of one good healthy well developed feud at least was as much the outward and visible sign of "the gentry" of a family, as the family ghost was in the century which succeeded it.' Mr. Grant's description of such a feud is so perfect, and so thoroughly representative of Scottish hereditary feuds in general, that it merits to be cited at length. William of Fawside, it appears, had, for services rendered, received from David I. a most laconic charter.

'*David Dei Gratia Rex Scottorum*, to all his people greeting. Know ye that I have granted unto William, son of Adam, son of John of Fawside, the right of pasturage on Gladsmuir, in perpetual gift, until the Day of Doom.'

'Now, in future years, long after the Saintly David and the mailed knight who fought by his stirrup at Northallerton had been gathered to their fathers, there sprang up the Hamiltons, whose tower of Preston was adjacent to this muir or waste land; and the charter of the Fawsides was deemed sufficiently vague to make them claim the right of having the pasturage in common. Scotsmen required little excuse for unsheathing the sword in those sturdy old times; and hence, about this miserable tract

of ground, which was covered with broom, whin, heather, and huge black boulder stones, the rebel barons quarrelled and fought from generation to generation, carrying their cause of feud even to the foot of the throne. More than once, in the time of James IV., Fawside and Preston, with their armed followers, had fought a desperate combat at the Market Cross of Edinburgh. . . . Again and again they had been forfeited by Parliament, outlawed by the King, and excommunicated by the Abbot of Holyrood ; but each maintained himself in his strong old tower, and seemed never a whit the worse.

‘When the Court of Session was established by James V., their dispute “Anent Meithes and Marches” was brought forward, and their case was first on the roll ; but during its discussion (which sorely puzzled lawyers who were unable to sign their names) they so beset the lords with fire and sword on the highway and in their own residences, each threatening to cut off all who were friendly to the other, that the plea was indignantly thrust aside, and they were left to settle it by the old Scottish arbiter of justice, the broadsword.

‘They were the terror of East Lothian ; they fought whenever they met, and each houghed, killed, or captured the cattle of the other, whenever they were found straying on the disputed territory.

‘About twenty years before the period of our story, Sir John Fawside and Claude Hamilton of Preston, (both of whom had fought valiantly at Flodden, and rendered each other good services on that disastrous field), accompanied by several gentlemen, their friends, at the particular request of the good King James V.—the King of the Commons and Father of the Poor, as he loved to style himself—met on Gladsmuir, with the solemn intention of peacefully adjusting the long vexed question of their boundaries, and setting march stones upon the common. They were attended by certain learned notaries . . . but the tedium and technicalities of these legal pundits proved too dreary for such “stoute and prettie men,” as an old diarist terms our two feudatories ; and, in short, Sir John and Hamilton soon came to high words. In the dispute, Roger of Westmains closed up beside his leader, and on drawing his sword, received a stroke from the truncheon of an adversary. Roger ran him through the body, and on the instant, all came to blows in wild *melée*. Every sword was out of its scabbard, every hand uplifted, and every tongue shouting taunts and adverse cries—

‘A Hamilton ! a Hamilton !’

‘Fawside—“Forth and fear nocht !”’

‘The notaries tucked up the skirts of their long black gowns, and fled, while the clash of swords continued on the grassy common, where many a man and horse went down ; but the Hamiltons proved the most powerful, being assisted by the vassals of their kinsman, the Earl of Yarrow. Fawside was slain, and all his followers were routed, and pursued by the exulting victors up the grassy brae to the gates of the tower, on the iron bars of

which the Hamiltons struck with their sword blades, in token of triumph and contempt."

This is a thoroughly typical account, and more than one of those blood feuds has found a place in history; notably the famous encounter between the Maxwells and Johnstones at Drife Sands, in 1593. It would almost seem as if Mr. Grant had drawn the character of the grim Dame Alison Fawside from that of the Lady of Lockerby, affirmed in family tradition to have brained Lord Maxwell with the keys of the tower, when she found him lying wounded on the battlefield, after that memorable fight. The blood feud between the Veitches of Dawyck and the Tweedies of Drummelzier, lingered on into the Seventeenth Century, and was a source of perplexity to James VI., after his accession to the English throne.

*Mary of Lorraine* closes with an excellent description of the fatal battle of Pinkie, and its immediate result; the removal of the child Queen to France. 'Thus England discovered that the idea that a free country was to be compelled into a pacific matrimonial alliance, amid the groans of its dying citizens, and the flames of its cities and sea-ports, was revolting and absurd.' Quoting from a writer who was present on the field of Pinkie, Mr. Grant incidentally shows that the splendid physique, so often to be found now among the lowland Scotch, was equally observable in the Sixteenth Century. 'It was a wonder to see how soon the dead bodies of the slain were stripped quite naked, whereby the persons of the enemy' (the writer is English) 'might be easily viewed. For tallness of stature, cleanness of skin, largeness of bone, and due proportion, I could not have believed there were so many in all their country.'

*Bothwell, or the Days of Mary Queen of Scots*, is perhaps, in some respects, the most interesting of Mr. Grant's historical novels, because the subject lends itself so admirably to the purposes of romance. For any light on the vexed questions of those stormy days it is valueless. Mr. Grant is too ardent an admirer of the beautiful Mary Stuart to allow his evidence to be worth much, when she is in question. In fact his claims for her can only raise a smile. He invites us to see in those indiscretions,



which are not to be disputed, the mere thoughtlessness of a guileless unsophisticated nature, full of girlish light heartedness, and thinking no evil. But we know what the Court of Catharine de' Medici was, and we know that that Court had been the home of Mary, from her sixth to her nineteenth year. It is rather too much to ask us to believe that a woman thus brought up, and a wife for the second time, was quite such an unsophisticated being. Common place prosaic justice is a more powerful champion for Mary Stuart than the ardour of romantic partizanship, as it demands that action and moral sentiment in the Sixteenth Century should not be measured by the standards of the Nineteenth Century. With respect to the murder of Darnley, Mr. Grant's fervent devotion seems wholly to have run away with his judgment. Every action of Mary's, which he cites as proof of her indisputable innocence, is equally the action which complicity in the crime would have suggested; her refusal of the divorce; her 'preventing him committing himself to the dangers of the ocean when about to become an exile in another land;' her sudden resumption of tenderness and assiduity. And all the while, at least in his capacity as novelist, he could easily have made her position almost impregnable. He had only to represent her as having had her suspicions excited that some plot against Darnley was in existence, which she was resolved to thwart, and her whole action is easily explained. Every suspicious circumstance in connection with the actual commission of the crime finds natural solution in the precautions necessary, on the part of the conspirators, to prevent all risk of her sharing her husband's fate; and further, most powerful dramatic situations would have been created. Both as champion and novelist Mr. Grant seems to have lost admirable weapons by failing to make use of this natural and easily sustainable hypothesis.

The delineation of Bothwell is probably a more correct one, though we doubt if history warrants the imputation to him of such a soft vein in character as to lead him to risk the whole success of his ambitious projects through amorous weakness. Unconsciously, perchance, Mr. Grant has been led to depict him as utterly despicable, in order to render it so impossible that Mary could have regarded him with favour, that it may seem the

more credible that she was the victim of his ambitious violence, rather than of her own ill regulated passions. The imputation of insanity to the ill-used Lady Janet Gordon is hardly compatible with her future career. She became, after her divorce from Bothwell, the wife of the Earl of Sutherland; her son, Sir Robert Gordon, was a man of some eminence, the founder of the Morayshire family of Gordonstoun, and the first created baronet of Nova Scotia.

\**The Scottish Cavalier* carries us forward a century, to the last tragic scenes of Scotland's independent history; and Mr. Grant's mastery of his subject is admirably shown in the thorough change that a century has made in his characters. They are profligate, licentious, turbulent, lawless, but they are different from the corresponding characters of a hundred years earlier; more nearly approximating to, though still far removed from the types of our own time. There are people still living in Scotland who will be able to remember men in whom there were at least lingering suggestions of the possibilities of such characters as Clermistonlee and Mersington; still more women of the type of Lady Grizel Napier. Everyone, too, who knows the line of descent, must be aware that almost to the present day the descendants of the far-famed Annie Laurie, have been, in unusual number, remarkable for personal beauty. There are not probably very many who will feel inclined to endorse Mr. Grant's view of the character of James II. (VII. of Scotland), the most worthless scion of a race who, by fault or ill fate, wrought their country more woe than perhaps any other line of sovereigns in the world. He gives a terrible account of the atrocities which accompanied the violent tumults in Edinburgh, on the downfall of the Stuart dynasty. The reverse of the picture is beyond his subject, but ought not to be forgotten by those who read history. To any who study the history of the South-Western districts of Scotland, from the Restoration in 1666, to the Revolution in 1688, the conduct of the Presbyterians, when their hour of triumph came, must appear little short of the miraculous. In few, if any, cases did retaliation exceed hooting, insulting language, and burning of the gowns and effigies of Episcopalian clergymen; while Grierson of Lag, in no way specially protected, lived and died unmolested in

the neighbourhood of Dumfries. In face of this stern logic of facts it is difficult to accept Mr. Grant's assertion that the new faith was one 'which, from its grim novelty, the people neither loved nor respected at heart.'

No true born Scot will read unmoved the fifty-third chapter of *The Scottish Cavalier*; the pathetic account of that noble band of 'beggared outlawed men' who

' — bore within their breasts the grief  
That time can never heal,  
The deep unutterable woe  
That only exiles feel,'

and who bled and died, often in rags and destitution, on almost every battlefield of Europe, leaving on every one a lasting memory of Scottish valour, and Scottish endurance; while the selfish bigot, for whom they sacrificed country, friends, all that can brighten life, and whose whole personality was not worth one drop of their priceless blood, lived comfortably on French bounty, and solaced himself with the pleasures of the chase.

It is hardly possible to read in chronological order these six novels of Mr. Grant's, without being forcibly struck by the extraordinary destiny of the House of Stuart. Robert II., son of Bruce's daughter Marjory, the first of the Stuart line, came to the throne in 1370. Thenceforward, for over three hundred years, with the brief exception of the Commonwealth, the Stuarts reigned uninterruptedly over Scotland, eventually over Britain. Of that luckless succession of twelve Sovereigns it is not too much to say that only three died in peace. Robert II., James VI., (I. of England), and Charles II. Of the remaining nine, two died borne down by grief and misfortune, two were assassinated, two perished on the scaffold, one in battle, one was killed by an accident, and the last died exiled, and dependent on the bounty of a foreign court. Moreover, in the course of the three centuries which elapsed from the death of Alexander III., to the majority of James VI., through more than two of which the Stuarts were on the throne, the length of time, at intermittent periods, during which the Scottish sovereign was either a minor or a captive, amounted, in all, to one hundred and thirty-four years; a surely unique record in the history of any nation!

The extraordinary power of the turbulent nobility was doubtless, in some measure, both cause and effect of this strange condition of the country. More Norman than Scottish in blood, their intriguing with England was, perhaps, a thing less surprising than disastrous; but nothing can be stronger proof of the in-born stubborn tenacity of purpose of the Scots, than that all the power of England, aided by the treachery of 'the English faction' should have failed to gain any permanent hold upon the country. The Scottish nobles were hardly trustworthy traitors. Archibald Bell-the-Cat, Earl of Angus had done a good deal of intriguing with England in his time; but none the less, though an insulting remark of James's sent him home just before the battle of Flodden, his two sons, and two hundred of his house, fell fighting round their wounded King on that fatal field. The hereditary blood feuds had also that peculiar feature, that men who fought and slew each other whenever they chanced to meet in time of peace, fought valiantly side by side against the hereditary foe, and would risk their lives in each other's defence.

Mr. Grant dwells with evident regret on the days when Scotland's King lived and reigned among his Scottish subjects, and Scotland's beautiful capital had its own splendid court. Every genuine Scot must, to some extent, share that feeling, even while admitting that the loss is sentimental, the gain practical. The nobles who, taking them all in all, did but little for Scotland, were the losers, the mass of the people, always the strength and stay of their country, were the gainers. The Union of the Crowns, in 1603, broke the power of the turbulent factious nobility, by adding the power of the King of England to that of the King of Scotland; and the Union of the Executive, in 1703, gave to the nation at large all the advantages of free participation in the greatly superior wealth of the sister kingdom. Stuart intrigues, in the first half of the Eighteenth Century, doubtless delayed for long Scotland's full enjoyment of these advantages; but her almost incredible advance in wealth, refinement, and prosperity, during the last half of the Eighteenth, and first half of the Nineteenth Centuries, remains the monument of the ultimate results of the incorporation of the two kingdoms in one. Finally, in contemplating the stormy history of our

country in bygone ages, it is impossible not to feel that the men whose names stand out so clear amidst the turmoil, who lived by the sword, and rarely died in their beds, were giants in their way; tyrants perhaps, but tyrants for whose masterful methods it may be the mean tyranny of a democracy may yet bring us to sigh. And they were men. They did not ask, 'Is life worth living?' They had quite enough to do in securing the possibility of living at all. It would be extremely interesting could we know what the result would have been of that sapient question being put to, for instance, one of the great chieftains of the Black Douglases. The questioner would probably have been instantly provided, at the Gallows Knob of Threave, with an opportunity of personally ascertaining if death were worth risking?

Mr. Grant's keen sympathy with the manliness, vigour, and reckless daring of these giants of old, though by no means always with the special action to which, in the circumstances of the times, these qualities gave rise, enables him to depict them as living with a force and distinctness which, united to the clearness and accuracy of his delineations of their surrounding social and political conditions, render his historical novels, for ordinary readers, very valuable contributions to their chances of picturing vividly to themselves what a wildly romantic drama of history was, for centuries, enacted amidst the romantic scenery of Scotland.

SOPHIE F. F. VEITCH.

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ART. VI.—SCOTTISH UNIVERSITY REFORM.

No. I.

THE Editor of *The Scottish Review* has asked me to contribute to a discussion on the subject of University Reform.

I assume (1) that our Universities, like all other National Institutions, stand in need of periodical reform; (2) that the end to be aimed at is to bring them into more vital relations with the country, and to make them increasingly useful to the

people; (3) that with a view to this—and that the reform may be wise and lasting—there should be no sudden break with the past, and no sweeping changes introduced into Institutions which have had so great an ancestry, and which have done so much for the people of Scotland; (4) that the reform should be thorough at every point, and that the Universities should, if possible, be put into such a position that they may subsequently reform themselves on minor points, and move on to fresh developments, without requiring a new Act of Parliament in every generation to set them right.

The reforms which are now necessary, or expedient, in Scotland may be considered under four heads; (1) Reform in the Government, the Patronage, and the external administration of the Universities; (2) Reform in the Teaching, and all the internal arrangements of the Universities; (3) Reform in the Degrees, which are granted to students after study at the Universities; (4) Reform in the relations of the Universities to the Schools of the country, and to the wants of the country at large, including the whole subject of University Extension.

As to the first of these, viz., reform in the Government, Patronage, and external administration of Universities, it is impossible to avoid reference to the proposals already submitted to the country in the University Bills which have been introduced—but unhappily not yet passed—during recent years, and the discussions carried on in University Councils and elsewhere. Scotland owes a debt of gratitude to the framers of the Constitution, and especially of the Ordinances, under which her Universities are at present administered. The reforms of the Commission of 1858 were admirable, and have worked well. The constitution of the University Court, and the powers granted to it were excellent; but all the recent University Bills have admitted that some change is needed now. The most important function which a University Court is called upon to discharge is its patronage; and as the efficiency of the Universities of the future depends upon the ability, the learning, and the character of the professoriate, it is of vital importance that the body which elects to the vacant professorial chairs should be the fittest possible. The patrons of

the Chairs should invariably be men likely to elect the best candidates from a crowd of competitors, men therefore who will command the confidence of the whole country, by subordinating every personal or partizan interest to the public weal, and who are able to *guide*, rather than to *follow*, the opinion of the country. In order to this, the electoral body should be representative of all interests; but it should not be so large that its responsibility is weakened by diffusion. Responsibility is always deepened when it is concentrated. I cannot therefore see the need for a large extension of the membership of the University Court. On the contrary, it seems to me quite large enough at present. Sir William Hamilton, if I remember rightly, used to say that *five* was the ideal number of such an electoral body, *thirteen* is the number proposed in the last Universities' (Scotland) Bill. Before speaking of the membership of the Court, I would advocate the transference to that Court, not only of all the patronage of Chairs, now in private hands, but also of all patronage at present exercised by the Crown. The reason for this is not, of course, any distrust of the Crown, or of the wisdom of the advice which the Crown receives in this matter from its responsible Ministers; but it is the inevitableness of party motives entering into the very best political administration; and, if not dominating over, at least mingling with academical and educational interests. The Ministers of the Crown have, as a rule, risen above party in their nominations; but it would sometimes have been a relief to them had they been exempted from the responsibility of making an appointment, when besieged by applications from all sorts of quarters in favour of particular candidates. It would be every way better for the nation if these appointments were invariably in the hands of a small, select, responsible body of men specially selected for the purpose. Suppose, then, that this duty is to devolve on the Scottish University Courts of the future, it is all important that the constitution of the Court should adequately represent every existing interest. But it does not follow that, if you enlarge a Court, you get greater efficiency, or run less risk of partisanship in an election,

The University Court in one of the Universities at present consists of the Rector, and his Assessor, the Vice-Chancellor, the Chancellor's Assessor, an Assessor elected by the University Council, and one selected by the *Senatus Academicus*—six persons in all. (There are slight differences in the other three Universities). But it was proposed, in the last Universities Bill to enlarge the Court by more than doubling the electoral body, and this was done mainly by giving to the University Council—which consists of all the graduates of the University—the power to elect four members, and to the *Senatus Academicus* a similar power of extended suffrage, and by adding an assessor to be elected by the Town Councils of the cities in which the four Universities are placed. I do not see the wisdom of this. I think that an enlargement by giving one additional member to the Council and one to the *Senatus* quite sufficient. These members would probably always attend the meetings of the Court. But if eight members—a working majority of the whole Court—be sent up *from the Senate and the Council together* they would have too great a power in the deliberations and decisions of the Court. For four members of *Senatus*—or five (as the Principal is to be *ex-officio* a member)—to have a voice in the election of every member to be added to their own body, would be a return to the old abuse of intra-nural, or intra-professorial election. Doubtless the professoriate may be expected to be jealous of its own honour, and to be always on the outlook for the best men; but the experience of the past does not warrant the belief that their decisions would be invariably wise unless influenced by the judgment of outsiders. Doubtless if the University Council is to have this large additional power given to it, it would be necessary to give the Senate a proportional power. But the power is too great in both instances. Half of it is quite sufficient. And it is doubtful whether, if 16 assessors are to be elected by the University Councils of Scotland, and 16 by the *Senates*, the electoral bodies will be as select and efficient as they have hitherto been. On the other hand, a doubling of the present representation, that is to say, letting each Council elect two members, and each Senate two, would



add to the interest which these bodies now take in the work of their University Courts, and would increase the efficiency of the latter.

The radical question is, how to make the Court most representative and most efficient—a Court possessing the confidence of the whole country, and of all classes within the country of the old *alumni* of the Universities, the graduates, the teachers of the primary and the secondary schools, the parents of the future students, the members of the various professions, the clergy, the lawyers, and the medical men of the country. Every one must acknowledge that in order to secure this some elements should be fixed, and some variable. The Principal, as Vice-Chancellor, and the Chancellor's assessor are fixed; the Rector and his assessor, the representatives of the Senate and Council are variable. If the Court consists of eight members, as now suggested, two of them will be permanent officials, and six will be elected for terms of three or four years. I think it would also be wise if the re-election of the variable elements were possible only for a second term of years in succession. As to the Town Councils having a right to elect a representative, I consider that a mistake. These most useful institutions have no nearer relation to the Universities (or so near a relation) as some other institutions of the country. I would rather see an Association of Secondary Schoolmasters, or the Educational Institute of Scotland, invested with such powers; or power given to the Education Department at Whitehall to nominate some distinguished educationalist in Scotland to represent the schools of the country in its University Courts. It might perhaps be a wise arrangement if the election to the Principalships of the Universities were in the hands of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The second element in the University Reform of the immediate future, concerns the teaching and internal administration of the Universities. This is however so intimately upbound with the third element, viz., Reform in the Degrees which follow up and crown the University teaching, that the two may be considered together. There is no doubt that new subjects should be taught in all our Universities, new Chairs should be

founded, and the scope of existing ones enlarged. New Faculties even might be instituted. In *all* our Universities there should be a Chair devoted to History, another to Political Economy, another to Modern Languages and Literatures, another to Art, and another to Education. A Faculty of Science, distinct from the Arts Faculty, and from the Medical, Legal, and Theological Faculties, might be created; although, from the overlapping and inter-connection of the Sciences the occupants of some of the Chairs might belong to more than one Faculty, e.g., Hebrew would be a class both in the Faculty of Language and of Theology; Botany would be both in that of Science and Medicine; and Political Economy in the Faculties of Arts and of Law.

Every university reformer is agreed—and all the University Bills of recent years have recognised—that changes must be introduced in the Arts course and the Arts degree. The progress of the sciences, and their sub-divisions have necessitated this. But while it rests with the Legislature and with the University Commissioners to frame the curriculum, or the course of study which shall lead up to the University degrees, it must be borne in mind that it partly rests with other bodies in the country whether these degrees will be used, or taken advantage of. Our Scottish students who take the Arts course at present do so for the most part with the view of qualifying either for the clerical, the legal, the medical, or the educational professions. The Churches have agreed in accepting our present M.A. degree, as a certificate of general or liberal education; but it does not follow that they will continue to do so, were the University reforms of the future to include, e.g., the dethronement of the old disciplines of language and philosophy, or the permission to graduate as M.A. *exclusively* in science. The same is true of the legal professions, and it needs no further illustration. It is enough to observe that the cordial sympathy of those now working in the various professions throughout the country into which our students enter, is necessary to secure a reform that will be either lasting or temporarily useful. There is no doubt that, in the re-arrangement of the University curriculum, more attention will be paid to the

sciences of observation and experiment; but the professions in Scotland are not likely to dispense with some knowledge of the ancient Languages and Literatures, or with Philosophy. What is needed is a fresh grouping of subjects, and the opening up of several distinct lines, or optional tracks to the final University degree. Efforts have been already made—and made successfully—to encourage and to honour Science by the founding of a special University degree for itself alone; and if science is to be included within the M.A. degree of the future, it is clear that we must abolish the existing B. Sc. degree. We should either have *one* University degree, which may be taken along two, three, four, or even five lines—the classical, the philosophical, the mathematical, the historical, the scientific—or keep to the present arrangement of separate degrees for separate subjects. Of the two alternatives I myself prefer the latter. But certainly no subject should have a monopoly. It would be a narrow and an illiberal policy—in no sense a *national* or a *University* policy—which specially favoured any one department. It has been said that we must have some common root in University teaching, whence all the branches of the tree of subsequent knowledge spring; and that we should keep to the classical languages, and to mathematics, as having from time immemorial formed that root. With all our progress in science, it is unquestionable that these ancient disciplines still form the best introduction to University study; but it seems to me to be only fair that if we are to have a single University degree, and a fresh grouping of all the subjects that qualify for it, we should allow a student to graduate in any two groups, omitting the others. Thus, the degree might be taken either in Languages and Science, omitting Philosophy; or in Language and Philosophy, omitting Science; or in Philosophy and Science, omitting Language. And then it must be remembered that, in thus allowing a student of the future to ignore a whole department hitherto incumbent, it is because we give him a new subject in place of it; and also—and more important—we do not really slight the departments omitted, because, if we insist on a far more stringent entrance examination to the Universities, we shall secure that

the elementary parts of the subjects now taught within University walls are acquired in the secondary schools of the country, before the students come up to the University at all.

To formulate a comprehensive plan of University graduation would involve a new arrangement, or fresh mapping out of all the sciences ; and that would demand not a brief paper, but a long article, or even a treatise for its discussion. In brief, it may be said, that the departments might be arranged either in three, or in five sections. If in three, they should be the departments of Language, Philosophy, and Science ; if in five they might be those of Language, of Mathematics and Physics, of Philosophy, of History, and of Science. In the former case, I. *Language* would include (1) Latin, (2) Greek, (3) French and German, (4) Hebrew and Oriental Languages. (It would be inexpedient at present to have separate chairs for French and German). II. *Philosophy* would include (1) Logic, (2) Ethics, (3) Political Economy, (4) History, (5) Art. III. *Science* would include (1) Mathematics, (2) Natural Philosophy, (3) Chemistry, (4) Biology.\*

The next important point in connection with the internal arrangements of the Universities is the length of the Session and the courses of tuition which the students must attend. No University course of lectures should be fewer than a hundred ; and were the Session to begin a little earlier the professors might be able to give two courses in each subject, with a somewhat

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\* Suppose, again, that there were only four groups (viz., the Departments of Language, of Philosophy, of Science, of History,) and that attendance in *all the classes in any two of these groups* were made obligatory for the M.A. Degree Examinations, then there might be six different alternative pathways to the degree, from the way in which the departments might be combined. The student might take either (1.) Language and Philosophy, or (2.) Language and Science, or (3.) Language and History, or (4.) Philosophy and Science, or (5.) Philosophy and History, or (6.) Science and History. If the alternative lines towards the M.A. degree were thus divided out, that degree might be subsequently followed by a Doctor's degree, in the several departments. These, however, might be limited to four : viz., a doctorate in Language, in Philosophy, in Science, and in History. But the discussion of this large question cannot be begun in a footnote.

longer break at mid-term than at present exists at Christmas. But a much more important point is the institution of a *Summer Session in Arts*, as well as in Medicine. It could not be expected that the existing professorial staff, or the ordinary Professors at any time in Scotland could take full charge of these summer classes; but why should our national class-rooms on that account stand empty for six months of the year? It is bad political economy to allow this to continue any longer. Whether we are to be governed in the future by the aristocracy of intellect, or the democracy of toil, we may be sure that our rulers will demand the utilisation of these national class-rooms in some way during the summer months; and why should not classes in Arts and Science—meeting during May, June, and July—be established at once in all our Universities, and be taught by ‘Professors extraordinary,’ or those who have graduated with honours, and obtained a licence to teach? It would be an excellent stimulus, alike to the ordinary professors, to the students, and to the public. A very ignorant charge is sometimes brought against the Scottish University professors that they have six months’ work, and six months’ holiday. Whatever may be the case elsewhere, the six summer months are no holiday to the Professors in the University to which I belong. Nevertheless, I would like not less work, but more. Let a summer session be started, and let the University Court appoint the special lecturers, who might hold office, not for life, but for a term of years; and let volunteers from amongst our graduates come forward, and have an opportunity of exercising their gifts of tuition, under the sanction of the University Courts. It would be an admirable arrangement both for them and for the students; although, perhaps, *two* summer courses of three months each might be required as an equivalent to the existing winter course of six months. Such details could easily be adjusted.

Above all, let a summer session be instituted without delay for Women. This leads to the large question of women’s education, on which I need only say, let all our classes, and all our degrees, in Arts and Science, be at once thrown open to them. It will do nothing but good to them, and to our

male students; although I think that a special degree of their own will be found to be of greater use to the majority of women than the ordinary M.A. degree now is, a degree with a large number of options, and which may be taken in sections, and in any order of time, and open to all wherever they may have been educated. It is just possible, however, that coming reforms in the M.A. curriculum may make *that* degree more suitable for women than it now is.

I am also in favour of a common fee-fund for each University, and an equal division of revenue; but that when a professor has more than a certain minimum number of students, out of the revenue accruing from the increase, an assistant to him should be appointed. This would equalise salaries, and reduce the immense disproportion that now exists, while the salary would be proportionate to the amount of work done.

The fourth and last point is the relation of the Universities to the Schools of the country, and their popularisation by an extension of their influence in the larger towns. There is no doubt that, national as our Universities are—Universities of the people in comparison with those of England—they are in some points less in touch with the general feeling of the country, and more outside the streams of tendency which are at work around them, than either Oxford or Cambridge are, or than the London and Victoria Universities are. Oxford and Cambridge have a close and vital relation to the great English public schools; and there certainly ought to be a far closer tie between our Scottish Universities and *all the secondary schools of Scotland which feed them*, and between the rectors and teachers of these schools and the University professoriate, than now exists. It is for this reason that I would rather entrust the Head Masters of these schools than the Town Councils of the four cities in which the Universities happen to be located, with the power of electing a delegate to sit in the University Court. But there should be some way by which all the abler youths, who are educated in our High Schools and Academies, may be certain to find their way to the Universities by means of exhibitions, scholarships, or bursaries. If private beneficence does not provide these, why should not the State do it, or the

municipalities? Why should not each municipality have its own special bursaries in connection with the University nearest to it?

But there is another way by which the Universities may strike their roots still deeper in the national soil. It is by Courses of University Lectures delivered, for a trifling fee, in all our larger towns by accredited representatives of the Universities. I do not think that there is room in Scotland for the establishment of any more 'University Colleges.' If Inverness were to wish one for the North, or Oban for the West, why not Dumfries for the South, and Greenock for the South-West. The reason against establishing these provincial colleges is that they would certainly languish. We may learn from experiments made elsewhere; and even had the success of all the English and Welsh Colleges—planted in large centres of population—been far greater than it has been, there is no exact analogy between the wants of these southern towns and our own. It would be a sheer waste of educational machinery to plant new colleges in Scotland, a prodigal expenditure of means that might be far better spent in other ways; and such colleges would interfere, not only with the work of the existing Universities, but with that of our secondary schools. What is much more wanted is that Courses of University Lectures, under the strict guidance of the Universities, should bring the higher instruction within the reach of those who could not otherwise share in it. The provincial Colleges of England were the outcome of a movement similar to this; but the establishment of these colleges has not made the work of University extension unnecessary. It is still needed outside and beyond them all. The professors in our Scottish Universities could not carry on this work of University extension, during the winter session at least, except in the case of the younger and stronger men; but, even for the youngest and the strongest it would be a distraction, and a dissipation of energy. In summer they might start such courses, and help them in various ways; but the main work should be done by men whom the Universities licence for the purpose, and Scotland could easily be divided into four sections or areas, within

which the work of each of its four Universities would be confined. Wisdom, as well as enthusiasm, however, will be needed in the carrying out of this movement for University extension in Scotland. If the term is not to be a complete misnomer it must be carried on under the authority, and actual eye, as it were, of the University. That the Universities of the future are to be 'itinerant' ones is absurd, and no one who thinks so could be safely entrusted with the work of University extension; but the sphere for this extension is wide, the want of it is great, and the time for its realisation is ripe.

One thing more. To bring the schools of the country and the Universities more closely together, our 'Local Examinations' should be centralised. Why not have one Board for all Scotland, with a large staff of examiners—a staff selected from the Schools, as well as from the Universities of the country? This would popularise as well as centralise the movement, and give scope for special ability in the work of examination, while it would bring the schools and the Universities of the country into a still closer and more intimate relationship.

WILLIAM KNIGHT.

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No. II.

THE Scottish Universities are managed each by its own Senate, under control of a University Court. The Glasgow University Court consists of seven persons: (1) a Rector elected by the students; (2) an Assessor appointed by the Rector; (3) the Principal who as president of the Senate has there a deliberative and casting vote; (4) an Assessor returned by the Senate, always one of its own number; (5) a Dean of Faculties elected by the Senate; (6) an Assessor elected by the General University Council; and (7) one nominated by the Chancellor who is not himself a member of Court. Thus the graduates have one representative, the students none, for their faithful adherence to tradition makes them elect a Rector who cannot attend the meetings and who as a stranger is dependent in the selection of his



Assessor on the advice of some person or persons in Glasgow. A student cannot approach the Court save through the Senate ; and if he appeals against the Senate's decision, he appeals to a body of six, it may even be of five, of whom the Senate contributes three, and where the two members of Senate may secure that the Court shall confirm the decision appealed against, they having already voted on that side in the Senate. It is of less consequence that the same result may follow an appeal by a professor. The Court is in truth too small for deliberative as well as for appellate purposes. At present the city is unrepresented, so are the professions of Divinity, Medicine, and Law. The Lord Provost, the President of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, the Dean of the Faculty of Procurators, and a member of Presbytery or Synod are desirable additions to a body having the control of that education in which the citizens at large and the professions in particular are deeply interested, while the Chairmen of the School Board and of the Technical College have a very direct title to share in discussions likely to affect vitally the schemes they administer. The addition of six might be compensated by the reduction of one, a member of Senate. The Principalship is an honour conferred on a stranger because of his scientific or other eminence, or on a professor whose distinction as a teacher is thus the means of terminating his educational career. The office is a sinecure from the teaching point of view, and there is no past or present incumbent whose loss as a teacher is not a matter of regret. A professor once gave clear emphatic evidence against the continuance of the Principalship and shortly after accepted the office ; I hold to his opinion and am not likely to be tempted as he was. The salary of the Principalship would provide the endowment of at least two new chairs, while the presidency of the Senate might be conferred, by election of the Senate, on one of its own number who should hold office for a term of years, and in respect of it occupy a seat in the Court. The election would fall on those whom the Crown would probably promote and thus the teaching staff might be extended, success be rewarded with honour and the professor who conferred lustre on the University retained in his useful work. The twelve members of this new Court would, with one more change, represent

each a separate interest. The Dean of Faculties had it as his original duty to watch the examinations for degrees, while the Rector with four procurators, one from each nation, sat judicially. I would gladly see the two offices combined and the election placed in the hands of the students. The Rectorship is now a purely honorary office and is the occasion of triennial disorder at the beginning, the most important part of a session for junior students. It is a screaming political farce in which first year's lads are taught to believe themselves possessed of political convictions while they are only being initiated into the mean details of political warfare. Prescription is probably too strong even for the restriction of the rectorial vote to senior students. But if the students could have an active member of the Court as their representative, the Students' Representative Council, a new body, might become a useful institution; without such representation there is little it can do but talk unprofitably. If an absentee Rector continues to be elected by the students and the Senate has still a second representative in the Court, there is no one on whose attention the undergraduates have a direct claim: true, the professors are the students' guardians, but one can imagine cases where academic prejudice might be with advantage broken down if the students' views were fairly set forth before an impartial body of arbitrators. I strongly object to increased representation of the General Council: an incoherent body cannot be made coherent, or trained to the comprehension of academic details by the mere process of electing two or three assessors instead of one. The Council is practically in the hands of a few resident members, and should not be entrusted with more power so long as it is so. Every interest its members can devise would be protected by the larger Court I propose, and as in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred the professional men in the new Court would be themselves members of General Council, that body would really have a greater representation in the best sense than the Senate. The half-yearly meetings would suffice for the airing of opinions, and the proposed court is not such an one as would neglect any suggestion for which a plausible case had been set up.

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leges, three belonging to the Free and one to the United Presbyterian Church. If the heads of these institutions were allowed a voice in University management, it is likely that some economy of teaching might be secured and so opportunity given for the better distribution, at least for the enlargement of professorial work : there would at least result greater uniformity in the educational standard for our clergy.

I do not enter on the details whereby the Court of each University might be widened and popularised. The scheme here sketched for Glasgow illustrates the principle on which the new Court might be so constituted as to be serviceable for other functions. In Glasgow there once existed an institution whose restoration in some form is desirable ; its moral weight was more useful than its executive power, though it did not by any means neglect that side of its duty. The Visitors had extensive powers, of which it behoved the Faculty (the then professorial body), to have a constant remembrance. Decisions arrived at even by the best and wisest are not likely to be less good and wise when they may be enquired into by a superior body before whom they must be justified, by whom they may be reversed. Such an external power would give satisfaction to the country, but it is not needed for one University alone. The truth is that the independence of each other of which Scottish Universities are so tenacious must ere long come to an end. There is need, not for a State Board or Committee of Council, but for a supreme governing body in intimate relations with each of the University centres. The proposed new Courts contain the elements of such a body. Leaving to each Court the control of its own University, four committees, one from each Court, would constitute a permanent Commission, not sitting in one town, but periodically meeting at each centre, and so kept in constant familiar contact with the doings, opinions and needs of each place. Such a peripatetic Commission is the ideal University Republic ; uniformity would not be secured *ab extra*, such uniformity is apt to be neither judicious nor plastic, but would be the result of mutual concessions among those who knew what the country required, and how these wants might be met consistently with proper academic management. It is not to be denied that the Universities have

somehow lost grip of the country as agents of general education. It is immaterial whether this is the fault of the Universities who begin their teaching too low, or of the payment by results which makes the school teaching end too low, or of the absurd popular demand for 'practical' education ('technical' is usually the very elastic shibboleth of the unpractical 'practical' dreamers), whatever the cause is, we need more voices in the discussion of University plans. For this a State Board is quite unsuitable; a well selected Council from the enlarged University Courts, a Council on which the non-academic element is properly represented, would secure the confidence and co-operation of the country. Schemes of University Extension have been devised as a means of regaining the former footing. The Universities themselves are doing something in this direction; the residents in various localities are trying to meet their own wants, while certain irresponsible volunteers are sending out missionaries among the heathen. If such schemes are to do permanent work, they must ultimately be under University management. To economise time and labour, to prevent undue competition, and to secure uniformity of method, the proposed peripatetic Commission would be a most suitable governing body. It would be a better patron than a Senate, which naturally is guided in the selection of lecturers by the professors in each department. The opinions of these gentlemen would no doubt be ascertained, but the less patronage a Senate has, the better for itself. But University Extension is extramural teaching under an alias: the fate of the one is bound up with that of the other. To what extent are the University Extension lecturers to participate in University privileges? Are their pupils to get certificates, to be admitted to degrees, or merely to have their studies recognised as part of the training for degrees, a certain amount of University attendance being further required? I should have strong hope that the proposed Commission would, by dealing liberally with the first question, attach graduates to their University; would answer the second and third so as to meet the case of women who had earned a right to a degree: and under the fourth head make suitable conditions for those who can and ought to seek honours

inside the University. No single Senate can deal with these matters: there is no agreement among the Universities, no power which can enforce it, nor, even if there were an agreement, would a joint University Board (meaning thereby a committee of professors) be sufficiently outside of the question to give a reliable decision. If outside teaching in Arts were granted tomorrow, a Senate alone is not the best judge of the fitness of applicants for recognition. Were the professors of the same department as the applicant made advisers of the Commission and invited to give written opinions, the grounds for granting or refusing recognition would at least be precise and judicial: their value the Commission would estimate. There has been no demonstration in favour of entrance examinations, but all who desire the old standard of the Scottish M.A. restored, anxiously await the enforcement of some preliminary test. It is not desirable to shut out men from the class rooms: Edinburgh has obtained, Glasgow now seeks permission from the Privy Council (which will send the application to each University Court which will send it on to its Senate, which will report to its Court which will report to the Privy Council, such is the elegant machinery of the Act), permission to admit auditors to specially authorised courses on payment of 5s. instead of a £1 matriculation, no privilege of library or the like going with the smaller fee. These, and those who became full students for the sake of a certificate of attendance but not of a degree, should be encouraged, the number has sadly diminished in the last thirty years. They may be as ignorant as they please, but the professors' time and energy need not be wasted on them, but reserved for those who, seeking academic honours, start at academic level, *i.e.*, above the standard of the secondary schools. Here again a joint University (professorial) Committee is quite insufficient. The proposed Commission would have the power to adjust differences and to frame a scheme to be enforced rigidly and equally. I urged before the last University Commission (Q. 1736) that the entrance examination should, like that in medicine, be a registration one, he who passes it not receiving a degree till after the lapse of a certain time; but this is a detail, the main point is to

elevate and protect the degree standard without discouraging the attendance of young men who come only for instruction.

Neither of these objects can be secured without further changes. The session in Arts is too brief, the whole summer is lost. The day is past when the students earned in summer the money needed for the winter session. The medical students (and professors) work for ten months: why should there be so much loss of time enforced on the Arts' students? Summer work must come, and with it, as in Medicine, recognition of attendance on summer classes as counting towards a degree.

More subjects too must be taught. Our students go to England and Germany, because there is too little taught in some departments here. There is no teacher of Philology, only in Edinburgh is Sanskrit taught: no teaching in Archæology, in Anglo-Saxon, nor save in Edinburgh in Keltic languages: the Scandinavian languages, and (German excepted, in Glasgow) the modern languages might as well not exist. Some object to unendowed lectureships: there may be reason for this in the case of some subjects; for the majority there are young men who would be glad to teach even small classes in the hope of thereby earning experience and reputation. That there is no time for these 'extras' is an unfortunate admission that there is no taste for them: nor can a taste be fostered so long as short sessions, incessant examinations, minutely prescribed subjects are the rule. Nor is it an objection worth considering that there should be no competition in the higher subjects, as if in these of all others the student should be compelled to restrict himself to one set of opinions! this is making the tree grow downwards. I have mentioned new subjects: there are several, as History, Pathology, Geology, Mineralogy, Organic Chemistry, Embryology, already taught under difficulties: for these an extension of the staff is needed: for these money is required, the others demand considerable modifications of our system as well. My plea is for the graduate: give him an inducement to stay at his University, to undertake new work for his own sake and so to benefit the school. In the Bull of Pope Nicholas it is said,

(I quote at second hand), 'those who have been so examined and approved in the University of the city of Glasgow, and have obtained the freedom and honour of teaching as above, shall from henceforth without any further examination, have full and free power of directing and instructing, as well in the same city as in every other University in which they shall choose to teach and instruct, according to the statutes and customs of apostolic confirmation.'

In 400 years we have not improved on this lofty ideal. The Act of 1858 stamped out the graduates as teachers, and by abolishing the old curriculum \* and the B.A., destroyed some of the best features of the M.A. degree. Such encouragement of capable and ambitious graduates, such widening of the teaching and of the staff, cannot be gained by putting the volunteers under the control of the professors: they must be independent. The General Council has had before it a scheme for breaking up the large classes, which involves the creation of a fee fund. This is a method which works well elsewhere, and will doubtless come to be adopted in Scotland also. But as in the case of many other reforms, the vested interests of the professors stand in the way. The alternatives to be offered to a professor are compulsory retirement or the acceptance of a new commission: there is no other way of introducing a new system. However introduced, any scheme will be welcome which stimulates ambition, encourages original work, and permits of competition. In the struggle the weak will go to the wall, a process of selection which will soon extinguish the unsuccessful, to whom formal senatorial recognition (accorded before trial) might give a prolonged lease of life. But for the prejudices which help to perpetuate endowments, unsuccessful, unwise, or unsuitable by change of conditions, I would suggest the consolidation of some bursaries, so as to form scholarships, like the George A. Clark which has increased the teaching in my own department. The scholar does not assist me, but teaches what I cannot undertake, and does it in his own way.

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\* The evidence of Prof. R. Buchanan before the Commission of 1836 throws curious light on this.

A large sum thus given to encourage hard study and original work is better for the University and the recipient, than small sums which induce lads to enter College, but give them no help at the end of their course.

I cannot enter on the question of equality (not uniformity) of examinations in the different Universities, nor on the means by which the proposed Commission might secure equality. If the area of non-professorial teaching is extended, the present ordinances must be extensively altered, so as to give students greater opportunity of seeking the best teaching they can get. The only competition in Scotland is between Universities, not, as it should be, between teachers.\*

JOHN YOUNG.

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No. III.

It is a fortunate characteristic of this country that changes in the administration of any time-honoured institution are not hurriedly made, but only after full consideration and discussion. In this respect the development of our national institutions is a copy of nature, where we see the animal form not suddenly modified by rude and apparently accidental causes, but becoming adapted to new conditions by the play of forces working so as to conserve the life and well being of the organism or of the race, whilst they gradually remove or alter those parts that are unsuitable to the new state of things. In social matters, temperate discussion precedes reform, and this can probably be better secured in the pages of a Review than in speech-making at a public meeting, where natural excitement is apt to warp the judgment, and to commit one to

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\* It may surprise some who talk of the Senate's undue influence in the Council to learn that all members of Court and Senate are not on the General Council Register. Further, the Chancellor, the Rector, the Senate, and the students may give, and have frequently given, the right of registration to persons who could not get in under the Act, but who thus enter in spite of it.



forms of expression at once regretted in calm and unimpassioned moments. With these feelings I gladly assent to the request of the Editor to make a small contribution to the discussion of the great question of University reform, and I shall strictly limit myself to those aspects of University administration that have come under my direct observation during an experience of nearly twenty years.

I would point out in the first place that the desire for University reform has arisen in large measure from the marked success of our Scotch Universities during the past two decades. It is true that this success may be measured chiefly by the great increase that has taken place in the number of students, but in addition to this no one will deny that the Universities during these years have been centres of intellectual life, that a vast amount of energy has been expended in devising new modes of teaching, and that the teachers have taken a fair share in the general progress of science. At no time in the previous history of our country have the Universities been so popular. From the crowded city as well as from the quiet country village, youths have trooped in increasing numbers to our class rooms, either for purposes of general education or for the more special education of one of the professions. Nor is the reputation of our Scotch Universities limited to our own country. From across the Border, Englishmen have come in large numbers to obtain in a Scotch University those advantages which, until recently, were denied to them in their own land, and the sons of our colonists have come across the sea with representatives from our Indian Empire, and with men of foreign race, to pursue their studies in our old Universities. There is then no cry for reform because our Universities are in a dormant state, or because the work of education is neglected or slurred over, or because there is any glaring instance of neglect of duty on the part of those answerable for the management of the Universities, but the cry has arisen on account of their very success. The Universities now labour under an accumulation of work which, with the ever-increasing demands of a broader and deeper national intellectual life, they cannot be expected, under present arrangements, to over-

take. To meet these demands and to carry out a higher programme of work, the Universities from time to time require readjustment, both as regards the machinery for conducting their general affairs, and as regards the duties and the status of their teachers.

To illustrate the view I take of this matter, let me briefly describe the general duties and position of a Scotch Professor. These duties may be grouped under four heads: *First*,—He is engaged in the teaching of his class; *Second*,—As a Member of Senate he is expected to take a share of the work of managing the affairs of the University; *Third*,—He is believed to be a contributor, by original research, to the advancement of his own subject; and *Fourth*,—His position carries with it a considerable amount of public work, and as he is almost universally supposed to be a man with a fair amount of leisure, probably a larger share of public work falls to his share than to individuals in any other class of the community. Now it is clear that these four classes of duties are sufficient to fill the life of any man, and that if he pays special attention to any one of them, it is more than likely he will neglect the others. The first and most important of all is undoubtedly the efficient teaching of his class. It is for this that he receives by far the larger part of his emoluments, and as he receives the whole of the fee payable by each student, he is bound to teach that student to the best of his ability. If then the number of students is so great as to require the development of new methods of teaching, involving the expenditure of more time and energy, it is evident that the teacher will not be able to devote to the other three departments of duty the amount of time and energy which he would have devoted when the number of students was much smaller. Now that is exactly the state of matters at the present time in our Universities, more especially with regard to the teaching of the more strictly scientific subjects. I shall not advert to the teaching of classics or of philosophy, of which I have no practical experience, but my remarks apply to the teaching of anatomy, chemistry, natural philosophy,\* physiology, zoology, and botany. In all of these

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\* I should perhaps even exclude natural philosophy from the list to

a revolution has taken place in the mode of teaching the subject. What is now demanded is practical teaching and the training of the individual student in the arts of observation and often of experiment. Without disparaging the advantages of a systematic course of instruction by lecture, in which the student is led over the field of knowledge, and has his attention directed to this and that feature by the discriminating eye of his teacher, whilst at the same time he is helped systematically to see the drift and bearing of the whole subject, there can be no doubt that what is gained by practical teaching is of even greater value to the student. In the practical class, he is trained to educate his senses, to examine things for himself, to form his own opinions, and to become a worker in the field of scientific discovery. It is striking to notice how soon a student appreciates practical instruction. The idle lad who dawdles in the class benches, employing his time in pencilling his initials on the desk or sketching caricatures in his note book, in the practical room, with the microscope before him, or the test tube in his hand, often becomes all alert and eager for knowledge. Now practical teaching involves a large expenditure of time and energy, and if there are large numbers of students, as at present, there can be no doubt that the Professor, even with all the assistance he can obtain, has his hands full and has far too little time for other departments of duty.

It has often been said that these practical classes have been devised by professors for the purpose of increasing their emoluments. This can only be asserted by those who fail to appreciate the methods of modern teaching. It is quite true that the institution of such classes have increased the emoluments in certain departments, but no one will venture to say that practical teaching has been over-paid. It is infinitely more exhausting and more expensive than systematic teaching, and if a change is to be made it should be in the direction of curtailing systematic teaching, and in enlarging the scope of prac-

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give my remarks more weight, as I have had no experience in the teaching of this subject, although I can conceive of methods of teaching it practically, comparable to those now followed in chemistry and in the biological sciences.

tical work. The teachers of these subjects, however, whilst they have no doubt benefitted by the institution of practical classes have, in organizing these, only been following out the requirements of modern times; and I feel confident that a large measure of the success that has recently been conspicuous in the medical schools of our Scotch Universities, has been owing to this development of practical teaching. Here, however, the teacher has been almost strangled by success. The large numbers attending the Universities have necessitated the establishment of courses of practical instruction, requiring unremitting labour for five or six or seven hours daily. To teach anything thoroughly in a practical class requires, to a greater or less extent, according to the methods of the teacher, subdivision, so as to form comparatively small groups of students, and thus the laboratory may be full of students all day long. Even with assistants, the time of the professor (if he devotes himself to this work as he ought to do), and the resources of the laboratory are severely taxed. The satisfaction is, that work of an enduring character is accomplished, and none are more ready to admit this than those students who have acquired the observing eye and the ready hand by the work of the laboratory.

The department of professorial work which I believe has suffered most from the large influx of students and the development of practical teaching, is that of Original Research. This can only be done with comparative leisure and with untrammelled resources. A man can no more work out an original research in a crowded laboratory, and amidst the distractions of a large practical class, than he could compose a poem in the same circumstances. There is no brain-work more absorbing than when ideas are germinating in connection with a new field of research. I am quite aware that even leisure and any amount of endowment of research will not produce original work; and as my experience has accumulated in these years, I have less and less faith in the endowment of scientific research producing great results. No doubt whilst genius is the golden key that opens the door into new realms of science, there is still ample work to be done by the humbler gleaners,

who may not be so highly gifted. It has often seemed to me that in this country we have too much regarded original research as the prerogative of genius, and attached too little importance to patient steady work. No people are so fruitful in scientific work as the German people, and yet they would be the first to smile at the suggestion that all their workers are men of genius. No; their workers go to their laboratories as a matter of daily duty, and there, in patience, and often without much enthusiasm, they collect those vast stores of fact so characteristic of German science. What they have, however, is leisure, and the resources of an institution and laboratory specially adapted for the kind of work in which they are engaged. A German professor in a Scotch chair would do no more than the little his Scotch brother is able to do; and as a distinguished German physiologist remarked, when he saw the daily labours in teaching of an eminent English physiologist, and the crowded state of the laboratory, he would not hold the appointment for a week. Why? Because he would have no time for original work.

To remedy this condition of things, several important changes seem to me to be necessary, more especially in the direction (*First*) of making professors less dependent as regards emoluments on the number of students attending their classes. At present, so large a proportion of a professor's income is derived directly from students that any improvement he may suggest, say in the way of practical teaching, is viewed with suspicion as being in his own interest. Thus he is exposed to unworthy criticism, and rather than face this, he may keep on from year to year in time worn ruts. More independence would be secured by the institution of a common fee fund, or by guaranteeing a professor a certain minimum income, as was recommended by the late University Commissioners. In such an arrangement, due consideration of course should be given to the amount of work entailed by the duties of the chair; and in the case of medical chairs, the question would arise as to whether or not the professor is to be debarred from the active practice of his profession. (*Second*). A considerable amount both of systematic and of practical teaching, more es-

pecially the latter, might be relegated to younger men, by introducing the principle of freedom of intramural teaching under the control of a Board of Studies, and also by an extension of the recognition of extra-mural teachers. For my own part I am much more inclined to the development of intra than of extra-mural teaching, meaning by intra-mural not necessarily teaching within the walls of the University, but rather under the direct control, jurisdiction, and authority of the University. Such intra-mural teachers might be termed extra or additional professors, appointed by the University Court after careful enquiry as to their special fitness, and they might be paid out of the University fund in some proportion relative to the number of students they were able to attract, all fees paid by students attending such classes also going into the General University Fee Fund. Such an arrangement would I believe fulfil many excellent ends, and in particular, it would relieve the professors from some of their present labour in teaching, and thereby it would encourage research, whilst it would foster and encourage able young men and train them for the higher office of the professoriate. These advantages would be attained also without any loss to the student, who would be taught by men having every inducement, both of a financial character and due to the promptings of ambition, to teach in the most thorough and efficient manner. Such an evolution of our University system would in my opinion be far better than the multiplication of colleges and the unlimited extension of the extra-mural principle.

*Third.* After much consideration, I have also come to the opinion that the duties and obligations of the Senate might be much curtailed. In the old days, when the Universities were not the gigantic institutions they are at present, it was probably not difficult for the Members of Senate to manage its affairs without burdening themselves with an undue amount of work. Things, however, have altered so much, and the financial operations and the details of management of the University have become so great and complicated that were it not for the self-denying labours of certain members of Senate in each University, matters could not be conducted with the

efficiency that now characterizes them. There has been no mismanagement, financial or otherwise, but this result has been attained by spending the time and energies of able men on work that could have been done by those whose special business in life it is to manage business affairs. The result of course has undoubtedly been a loss to knowledge, for if the time and the ability spent on purely business matters connected with the University, had been devoted to the prosecution of knowledge, there can be no doubt that important contributions would have been made to learning. To suppose it otherwise is to make a very unfair estimate of the talent of those who have quietly and unostentatiously served the University in the management of her affairs. But clearly the time has come when this state of things must be changed, and I look forward with pleasure to the transference of a large portion of the work of the Senate to an enlarged University Court, leaving to the members of Senate the management of all matters relating to education and discipline.

Another obvious advantage of such a transference would be, that members of Senate would have a really capable and efficient body to which to refer on many matters of importance. Large as the Senates in our Universities are, they have still too much of the character of a select circle, in which matters of public importance are debated without the wholesome restraint ensured by publicity. For my own part, I do not see why the public affairs of our great Universities should be discussed with closed doors any more than the affairs of the Municipality, the Clyde Trust, or the School Boards. This could be carried out if the part of the work relating chiefly to business matters were transferred to an enlarged and democratic court, in which at least some of the business would be transacted in a public manner. Further, under the present system nothing strikes a newly appointed professor more than the difficult and delicate task of bringing the wants of his own department under the notice of his colleagues. In the Senate there is no initiative, unless the professor takes this upon himself, which it is of course his obvious business to do; but it is scarcely too much to say that a department might become impoverished of apparatus and of

means of teaching, without the Senate supplying or suggesting direct help. The reason of this is that it is a point of etiquette and good taste not to interfere in the province of any professor; and this feeling is carried to such an extent, that there is no more disagreeable duty than to make a demand involving the expenditure of money. In making such a request, one feels that if he obtains what he asks for, colleagues may be prevented from asking for something equally necessary to them in their own departments. The result is that professors frequently abstain from asking anything, even to the detriment of the departments under their charge, or they pay for what they want out of their own purse. All this would be on quite a different footing if the professor had to apply to a University Court having the management of finance, and by which the request would be considered on its merits and with reference to the resources of the University chest.

There is only one other point on which I would venture to make an observation. I am not competent to offer an opinion of value regarding the degree in arts, nor as to the advisability of opening up to the student a number of paths to that honour. This I leave to those whose experience is ripe, and whose judgment is therefore of weight. The one point which has forced itself on my notice is that if we regard the curriculum in the arts classes as the training specially fitted to make one in the true sense an educated man, I fail to see why the whole department of organic nature has been omitted. I am not one of those who, with I think a mistaken enthusiasm for science, decry the study of the classics or of philosophy. On the contrary, these are amongst our most precious heritages and probably are the most efficient instruments in the training of the human mind to that power of clear vision and of accurate thought that are the best products of a true education. I would therefore conserve them and guard their privileges. There is however a realm of nature from which the ordinary student is almost entirely excluded. All the wonderful phenomena of plant and of animal life, the problems in the life history of the humblest flower or of the zoophyte amongst the wrack on the beach, the laws that regulate the up-building of



organic structures, and the mysterious physiological processes by which man lives, moves, and has his being, are to him a sealed book. He goes forth as an educated man, with a general knowledge of natural philosophy, and possibly of astronomy, but with no knowledge of biological science. One consequence of this is a partial view of nature, a lack of sympathy with the progress of this department of science, and an inability to appreciate either its wants or its tendencies, too evident in our leading statesmen, our leading scholars and divines, and especially our leading lawyers. I do not think it worth while to uphold the educational value of the study of biological science, as it almost goes without saying that the human mind may be trained as an instrument to almost the same degree of refinement by diverse methods of education, but I contend that there is something wrong in any system of education that leaves out of the question so large a department of natural phenomena. To correct this deficiency I have long thought that each Arts student should be obliged to attend a course of one hundred lectures on general biology, of which fifty should be devoted to the phenomena of plant life, and fifty to the phenomena of animal life. This added to the otherwise excellent training of an Arts student would enrich his stores of knowledge, give him new views of things, and make him altogether a better educated man.\* In the course of years, the effects of adding biology to the Arts curriculum would be evident both in the encouragement given in our great public institutions to the pursuit of biological science, in a deeper insight into those perplexing social problems that depend on physiological causes, and in a calmer judgment on the great questions of sanitary science. Nothing at present is more evident than the risk there is of even the members of our Legislature being led astray on certain questions (compulsory vaccination, for example,) when a general knowledge of biological science would keep them right.

JOHN G. M'KENDRICK.

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\* I consider this suggestion better than urging the claims of a degree in science (B. Sc.) in room of the M.A. degree, as the more I think of it, the more I feel that the present curriculum of the Arts degree is on the right lines, *with the addition of biological science.*

## No. IV.

A VERY prominent Scottish characteristic is veneration for learning. Particularly since the time of John Knox this has been pronounced; so much so, that all critics of our national peculiarities refer to it, and even Dr. Johnson had to admit that in Scotland every man had a mouthful of knowledge, although his English prejudice caused him at the same time to declare, that no one here had a bellyful. This desire for education has not lessened in our time. The Scottish children at school, as shown by the Returns presented to Parliament, are more successful than children South of the Tweed: in the same period of time they acquire more knowledge, and they remain at school for a longer time than children in England. And this difference does not end with ordinary school life: the ambition for still greater educational attainment continues with our Scottish youth, and in a proportion far outnumbering their English compeers, they look around in quest of means for gratifying this most laudable ambition. To a casual observer it might appear that Scotland possesses amply the means of meeting even such exceptional educational demands. With a population of less than four millions, it has four Universities, while England with twenty-six millions has but five. And the fees of a Scotch University are such as to debar no one. For a six months' session of Latin in Edinburgh only four guineas are charged, and in Glasgow but three, and so with most of the other subjects of study. Indeed observers quite other than casual express satisfaction with our higher educational arrangements. Professors are continually boasting that the Universities here are for the people, and are suited to meet the people's wants. When Mr. Gladstone gave his Rectorial Address in Glasgow, he was supplied with statistics of the Latin Class that must have amazed newspaper readers all over the world. On the roll were shoemakers, tailors, weavers, colliers, ploughmen, postmen, ironworkers, clerks, printers, shopkeepers, and others from almost every calling known in the country, crowding in hundreds to be taught the language, literature, and history of ancient Rome. Mr. Glad-

stone was immensely astonished, as, through spectacles lent him for the occasion by Professor Ramsay, he beheld 'dear old Scotland' as an Aladdin's Magic Cave, where the choicest flowers and richest fruits of learning, all blooming and ripe, were being gathered by every passer-by from field and factory, work-shop and mine; he was in Wonderland. The string then played by Professor Ramsay is strummed on every opportunity. A right honourable gentleman, carried away by the rhetoric of the most eloquent Principal in the world, stated that the Scotch Universities, like no other Universities anywhere else, drew students from the gutter of the streets.

By such continued iteration quite erroneous ideas have come to be entertained concerning the Scottish Universities, and that not only by persons at a distance, but also generally by the public at home. The prevalent notion is that the Universities are fully equipped with teachers, college accommodation, libraries, laboratories, and all other teaching requirements requisite for the enormous demands made upon them, and that each one of the three thousand students at Edinburgh and the two thousand at Glasgow, has all his peculiar wants so met that if he fails, the fault is his, and his alone. Now, what are the actual facts of the case. A Glasgow Calendar shews but one professor of each subject of study,—for most of these, it shews one assistant, in some cases two, and in one case four; and on inquiry it may be further learned that in one or two instances where but two assistants are mentioned in the Calendar, the professor provides himself with a third or even a fourth either at his own cost, or by pressing into his service the holder of some scholarship. Now a student qualifying for a degree must be taught by the professor or by the professor and an assistant. He may know of outside teaching much better suited to his requirements, but this would not count for graduation, and whether he desires it or no, the professor's class he must fee and attend, even although such attendance should in his case be a mere waste of time, either from his being insufficiently prepared for the general class work, or so much ahead of it that all he hears is but barren repetition. Knowledge of a subject in a Scotch University is not knowledge

unless it comes from particular mouths, and the article supplied, be it good or bad, or even if good, suitable only to the few and useless to most, must be paid for in money, and, what is worse, in time also. Some five hundred students annually enter the Latin and Greek classes. A few, a very few have received a fair secondary school education, others have at Primary Schools or by private study acquired very varying knowledge of the subjects, while the greater number have but a smattering of the rudiments. For five hundred persons of such diverse attainments, five teachers are provided. What can be done? The mass is roughly knocked into three divisions, Junior, Middle, and Senior, into one or other of which each unit is perforce driven; the fact being that even thirty divisions would hardly meet the requirements of the case. The results, as might be expected, are appalling. From information laid before the Universities' Commission in 1877, it appears that in Glasgow, of some 6000 students who in the preceding 15 years entered on an Arts Curriculum, less than 500 obtained the Degree. The others fell by the wayside. That is a fact for the Scottish public to consider; it was not supplied to Mr. Gladstone with the statistics given him for his address. Scotland is eager for education. It turns to its Universities, and behold the outcome!

So long as matters remain as they are, no other results can be looked for. Except in Medicine, where a small and in certain instances unreal concession has been made, there are in all Scotland but four class-rooms where teaching in each subject of the curriculum qualifies for a University degree. There is not in this division of the Kingdom any other department of life and work where a monopoly so monstrous prevails. In England such a monopoly never existed. At Oxford or Cambridge a student may obtain his education from any one or more of almost numberless tutors. No Professor there is a monopolist, no Professor's class is compulsory, and most University classes are open to all students entirely without fee, other than the trifling sum paid at the beginning of each term as University dues. In Scotland, otherwise so entirely imbued with the doctrines and practice of Free Trade, a monopoly exists of unparalleled

narrowness at the very fountain head of the people's education; and the monopolists, with an assurance and a success until now most marvellous, trumpet forth that the Scottish Universities are the most popular in the world. Popular in the sense that all may come and pay, they undoubtedly are, but popular in the sense that they do, or, under the present constitutions, can impart the education that the country requires, they certainly are not.

On a recent occasion a professor argued before the General Council of the University of Glasgow that the University was analogous to a private business firm of which the college professors were the partners, and that no new college could be admitted to a share in the privileges or profits of the concern! This commercial view of the subject was homologated by about twenty other professors who voted with him. That statement from such a quarter, and so supported, is of the utmost consequence. Outside reformers have before now hinted that the members of Senate act not so much with a view to public benefit as for their own private interests, but until that occasion there was no articulate declaration on the part of professors that they concurred in such a view, and regarded themselves in the light of traders selling under a patent certain commodities for their own special and peculiar advantage. But such is the fact. It is indeed a huge trading monopoly with which University reformers have to contend. It is this mercantile conception of professorial functions that has narrowed the whole University life of Scotland; the professors for this reason oppose the affiliation of new Colleges, they object to the recognition of the teaching even of their most distinguished graduates, they maintain the curriculum on narrow and antiquated lines, as its expansion would mean some pecuniary loss to certain of their number. By the increase of population and the improvement of primary education, more and more students seek a college training; all the better for the Professors, their coffers overflow with fees—and the student, what of him? Well, he is but a student, and his interests don't count for much; pocket his fee, hustle him into the general crowd, and let him scramble as

best he can. To strangers this may appear incredible, but such is University life in Scotland.

The history of the Scottish Universities is the history of institutions founded on a liberal plan for the benefit of the whole people, but which in evil days fell into the hands of monopolists, whose successors at the present time with one or two exceptions, to the whole extent of their power, bar the way to any restoration of them to their true position and functions. That they shall be so restored the great body of Scottish Graduates are now fully determined, and by large associations in Edinburgh and Glasgow they have set themselves to bring about the needed reforms. Their task will not be light. They have to fight vested interests of long continuance and great pecuniary value, but in their efforts they have the sympathy and support of many influential Scottish members of Parliament on both sides of the House, and also of the leading daily newspapers in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee.

The great essential step in rescuing the Universities from the position into which they have fallen is to vest in each University the whole executive and administrative power in a body that will be above and independent of all sections of the University, but on which all University interests shall be adequately represented. To this body, named the University Court, the Senate on the one hand and the General Council on the other, should send an equal number of representatives, and a smaller number should be appointed directly by the students. But it is right that the chief local interests should also be adequately represented in the Court. Thus taking as an illustration the University of Glasgow, with which and its surroundings the writer is most familiar, from the great public bodies should come the Lord Provost, Dean of Guild, Deacon Convener, President of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, the Dean of the Faculty of Procurators, and the Chairman of the School Board. It might also be well to add the Lord Lieutenants of the Counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr and Dumbarton. The powers of this Court in the University should be absolute. All University buildings, revenues, monies, bursaries, museums, libraries and property of all kinds should be managed and

administered as the Court might direct. It should regulate and fix all students' fees, which ought to be paid into a common chest to be apportioned and expended at the direction of the Court. The Court should be autocratic as regards all University degrees and titles, the courses of instruction to be pursued, the regulations to be complied with, and the examinations to be undergone for obtaining them. The patronage of all University Chairs and Lectureships should be vested in it, with powers as to fixing the emoluments to be paid to each person appointed and the term for which he shall be appointed, and the duties he shall perform while he holds his office. Any endowments at present belonging to any Chair or Lectureship the Court should have power to partially or entirely withdraw from such Chair or Lectureship and to apply to any other University purpose at its discretion. It should have entire control over all teaching arrangements, and the right to appoint teachers, either within University or College buildings or outside of them, to give qualifying courses for degrees, on any subject or branch of a subject under whatever conditions it might determine. It should have the power also to create any new degree or title, and to abolish any existing degree or title, and to appoint as examiners for degrees any persons it might choose either from within or without the University. Power should be given to it to admit private students and students of any other College or University to degrees, and to affiliate any other new College or Colleges to the University under any conditions as to the individual internal government of such Colleges as it might after consideration decide on, and any such College might, in the case of Glasgow University, be in Glasgow, or any other town in the Western Counties. It should, further, have power to appoint committees of its own members or others, willing to act for any purpose it might see fit, such as that of the care of buildings, museums, libraries, etc. It should be absolutely independent of the procedure or resolutions of any other University or Corporation in the kingdom, and the power of supervision exercised by the Privy Council over the present Court should be abolished.

The Senate should consist of all professors, lecturers, and

teachers whose teaching may be recognised as qualifying for graduation. Its sole function should be a Board of Studies to consider and report to the Court upon all matters connected with study; and the Court, before deciding on any new regulations as to degree, curriculum, or examination, should be required to consult the Senate on the same, and to consider whatever the Senate might report to it regarding the proposed changes.

The General Council should consist of all Graduates of the University excepting such as are members of the Senate, and ought to have the power to discuss, and by resolution to express an opinion on any matter whatever connected with the University, and all such expressions of opinion the Court should be bound to consider and reply to. The Court should also be required to submit all proposed changes of University regulations of whatever kind to the Council and to receive and consider the Council's deliverances thereon, and the Court should annually submit to the Council a complete balance sheet of the entire income and expenditure of every department of the University. The Council should have four statutory meetings in each year, and should have the power of meeting as often at other times as it might consider necessary, with power to adjourn any meeting, and also to appoint Committees for any purpose it might consider desirable.

The changes thus briefly sketched amount to a revolution of the Scottish University system, but a prolonged consideration of the subject has led the writer to form the opinion that nothing short of such radical reform can meet the already enormously great and still rapidly growing educational requirements of Scotland. The Senate which at present virtually governs the University, will never advance of its own accord. Fifty Latin students have become five hundred. There was one Professor then, and there is but one now; and if the five hundred become five thousand, there will, so far as the Senate would move in the matter, be but one Latin Professor still. Just as the direction of the primary education of the country had to be taken out of the hands of the persons actually engaged in teaching, able and learned as many of these persons were, and put under the charge



of Boards independently appointed, so must the University education of the country in like manner pass from Professors to a Court placed high above them; and just as the School Board has improved almost beyond recognition the schools that were handed over to them, and has added new schools in accordance with the requirements of the community, so would the reconstituted Courts alter, extend, and adapt the existing Colleges to meet the ever-growing work that they have to do; and the Courts would also establish and affiliate new Colleges in localities where the public interest requires them. By such means our Scotch Universities would attain gradually to a footing of equality with the great Universities of England. They would be restored by the labours of large numbers of learned men to the high position in Europe that was theirs for a brief period in their early history; and their present phase of humiliation and degradation would soon be a thing of the past.

D. C. M'VAIL.

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No. V.

THE oft-told tale of University Extension in England needs no detailed repetition here; yet even the briefest discussion of the condition and prospects of the extension movement on this side of Tweed necessitates some general acquaintance with the older and larger one from which it has arisen. For the educational pessimist would have utterly laughed to scorn his optimistic brother, had he fifteen years ago dared to foretell that by this time Professor Stuart's small beginnings would not only have spread from Cambridge to Oxford, from London to Durham, but grown up into a vast and almost national organisation, which last year covered 160 towns, employed 80 lecturers, and delivered over 200 courses of lectures to about 25,000 students. And were the curve of progress between these two points drawn out by aid of the statistics of each past year, we should see from its increasingly rapid upward swing that the academic ideal—that of bringing the whole national life

within touch of the highest existing culture—is positively and rapidly coming within a measurable distance of being realised. Destitute of capital and unaided by any great public liberality, unhelpt by the existing educational machinery, unnoticed by Parliament, newspaper and pulpit alike, the movement has been quietly spreading like leaven: through it the new University Colleges of so many great towns have been founded, and from it even fuller developments are preparing to arise. Suddenly, however, one might say almost within the past year or two, public recognition of the services and still more of the possibilities of the extension movement has been awakening. Evidence there is of this on all hands: here our statesmen, like Mr. Goschen and Mr. Morley, are rivals only in recommending it to the public; there the press has become warmly interested, in a third place purse strings are being loosed; even the Universities themselves are officially recognising that educational work is going on; as is clearly shown in the Cambridge scheme for affiliation of extension centres by recognition of so many specified attendances as equivalent to a year's residence at the University.

The best appreciation, however, is always that of the historian, and happily we have a preliminary outline of this in the recent deliverance of Professor Seeley.\* He tells us how all over England a demand has been long steadily rising for the kind of instruction which is characteristic of Universities, and traces the many forms which this demand for knowledge has taken, and the modes of satisfying it which have been proposed, and lays down as the general drift of the movement that it is desirable greatly to increase in number, and to disperse over the country teachers of University type. He proclaims that 'we are forming a great teaching order which shall have its fixed lecture-rooms in every great town, and shall send out missions to the smaller ones; that this order shall be in touch with the people, yet also in touch with science'; and concludes his survey with the lofty prediction of a coming 'University of Universities, a University of England.' When we find that this, so far from being a mere rhetorical

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\* 'A Midland University.' *Fortnightly Review*. Nov. 1887.

finish, is a modest understatement of the aims of the English extension movement as laid down at the very outset of its leading prospectus—‘University Education of the whole nation, by an itinerant system connected with the old universities’—we see that our traditional formula of academic passivity, that the English Universities are exclusive, while our own are popular, can hardly much longer be regarded as an expression of either tendency or fact.

The fact that the Scottish Universities have not fully been covering the ground has of course been independently evidenced again and again; the spread of South Kensington Science Classes, the rise of Colleges of Science and Art in Glasgow and Edinburgh, the extraordinary success of popular lecture-courses like those furnished by the Combe or Gilchrist Trustees, and of course especially the foundation of a University College in Dundee—each of these has been a new reminder and a substantial protest that for every modern purpose more than our mediæval Faculties supply is demanded by the public, and will henceforth somehow be had. Weary of waiting for the established fountains to be unsealed, they not only seek such draughts of knowledge as they can readily draw from new sources, but far too generally have almost ceased to expect much from any of the traditional ones.

Just as it was three centuries ago however, although now in feebler measure, ‘St. Leonard’s Well’ first showed signs of abating frost; for it is six or seven years since extension courses were first given by Professors of St. Andrews in Dundee and other towns in their vicinity. Next a small association of Glasgow graduates commenced extension work in outlying districts of their city itself; while for the past two winters their labours have been extended to several neighbouring towns through alliance with the Queen Margaret Guild, a still unaccredited, but admirable agency of higher education. Recognition of these efforts having been urged upon the Glasgow Senatus and Court by the University Council, a scheme of University Extension proper has now been favourably considered by these bodies, and will doubtless be promulgated during the present session.

The southern Universities have however been of late beginning

to carry on the work of extension in unison, and although Oxford as yet fights for her own hand, the co-operation of Cambridge with London in the south, and with Durham in the north, is being found to present so many advantages over the original plan, which thirled each local centre to the lecturers of a single University, that a completer union cannot be far distant. Again the one essential weakness and admitted defect of the extension movement hitherto—its irregular supply and un-systematic arrangement of courses—is being faced and met; and energetic attempts are now being made to prepare for a greater continuity and permanence of higher teaching. With the idea, then, of not only carrying the extension movement in its ordinary form through the length and breadth of Scotland, but of securing these two advances, which the experience of England has shown to be so desirable, if possible from the very outset, a large committee was formed in the end of 1886, which beside a large number of educationists throughout the country, includes almost the entire professorial staff of St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Dundee. Steps for combined action with Glasgow so soon as her more advanced arrangements permitted were also provided for, and a propaganda in the eastern towns commenced early in 1887. Public meetings were held at Perth, Montrose, Brechin, and Dunfermline, and some publicity was also given to the scheme in Kirkcaldy. The immediate result exceeded anticipation: at Perth, Montrose, and Dunfermline, as later at Dumfries, University Extension Societies were formally constituted, while in other towns representative committees pledged themselves to a consideration of the scheme, which has only in a single case, that of Brechin, ended with a decision of postponement. At Dunfermline a course of botany held last summer which obtained about 70 students, is being followed up by one of zoology with upwards of 90; at Dumfries a course of geology, despite little publicity, and even the withdrawal through illness of the proposed lecturer, has obtained 70 students, a number certainly greater than that to be found in any University of the kingdom. At Perth, however, instead of these timid tentatives of single courses, the adoption of the larger scheme was boldly

entered on, and parallel courses of literature and science were arranged for from the first. Thanks to this completeness, well brought before the public by an active committee, and above all by the indefatigable enthusiasm of their secretary, the success of the initial courses has more than doubled the most sanguine anticipations; one course, that of English Literature, having obtained an audience of 150, the other, Physical Geography, of about 240; and each lecture has had to be repeated on the following day. The attendance has not only kept up, but increased, while an analysis of occupations shows that all classes of the community are genuinely represented. It is moreover a fact of peculiar encouragement that the small town of Blairgowrie has arranged for the repetition of one of the recent Perth courses (that on English Literature), and there is little fear that this example will be lost. The leaven is in fact spreading steadily; by autumn numerous new arrangements will be begun, and it may safely be predicted that before long many another town will be supplied, as well as Perth, with what we may fairly call its 'Extension College.'

It is hardly needful here to discuss the difficulties or meet the various criticisms which of course beset the organisation of such a movement, since these have been substantially the same everywhere since the movement first took shape fifteen years ago. The cultured minority in each town, to whom reference has first to be made, are always convinced of the unique and hopeless apathy of their own particular fellow-citizens; yet (although it is of course only too obvious that the best evidence of the need of higher education is furnished by the faintness of the demand for it) this state of things soon alters under the continuous stimulation of the one man needful, a judicious yet enthusiastic local organiser. The belief in payment by results, in examinations, certificates, and educational fetishes generally, is also by this time so deep-rooted in many minds that they experience an honest difficulty in grasping the possibility of an educational order in which the teacher has only more labour the larger his class, and in which teaching has recovered its natural precedence over the mere testing of it, though this also is provided for. The failure

of some former public course of lectures is also cited ; the students will fall away ; the lectures will not be equal to academic ones ; or perhaps they will be above the heads of the auditors, who will go away with a confused smattering. Here of course the facts of the case—the strikingly fresh and original lecture syllabuses, and the vivid and enthusiastic teaching and learning which lecturer and pupils mutually elicit—may be safely left to speak for themselves. Moreover, the permanent result of a course of lectures is not measured by whether one has heard one lecture weekly or five : it depends far more on having been made to keep the subject before one's mind for three months, and so to appreciate its main features. The smaller number of lectures, especially when supplemented by an hour's subsequent class-work, with weekly exercises, prescribed reading, &c., is by no means altogether a disadvantage. The means of keeping the students together, and continuing their development by means of students' societies, reading circles, correspondence classes, and vacation courses conducted in the University towns themselves (as so successfully at Edinburgh last summer) are also obvious enough ; and the solid formation in each extension centre of a nucleus of persons of academic culture in the best sense, is thus simply a question of very moderate time. Then we have the education of the teachers themselves, each of whom has to be far more fully on his mettle to keep his country audience well in hand, than in his class-room at the University ; for too many students of the latter seem like sullen and dispirited prisoners receiving punishment before trial, after one has had experience of the naïve and stimulating freshness of the other. And a yet more important side of the teacher's own education is in progress—the moral one—he learns that study can be well done for love, and without competition ; his every day's work goes towards righting the vicious modern subordination of teaching to examining ; while as to the noble incentive of payment by results—that ingenious combination of the essential principles of simony and baby-farming, which is perhaps our most singular legacy from 'the halcyon days of political economy'—he has to get on as best he may without a glimpse of it.

How he does get on, how from this substantial disinterestedness both the missionary enthusiasm and the rapid progress of the movement have so largely arisen, need not be descanted on; yet such kindred speculations can hardly be excluded as that had the existing generation of schoolmasters been denied all coarser incentives to exertion, their 'results' might by this time have been none the less remunerative to the community at large; or that had the existing generation of professors been trained on extension circuits, even if the present need of academic reform might not have been much less serious, the dread of and opposition to it would have been less persistent and severe. More hopeful, however, than either of these guesses, is a third one which is becoming vaguely current, namely, that it may be largely through the influence of University extension that both scholastic and academic liberty may come; and be this likely or no, it brings us at any rate fairly to ask—what, if any, may be the relation of University Extension to general University Reform? This of course raises the sorely-vexed question of University Reform, and as to many reformers, this is essentially a legal or political question, one of altering and scouring the academic machinery, of balancing votes and influences, the suggested connection may be far from obvious. Other reformers again are burning with indignation at this or that particular abuse, or are dying for an onslaught upon its personal representatives, while others again see all things in the certainly much needed reorganisation of curriculum; and so on. Meanwhile, the general problem of University Reform is seldom or never stated with adequate generality either on its practical or theoretic side, nor is it possible to do more within these limits than merely touch on each.

The stereotyped curriculum is of course merely the remains of a mediæval prosynthesis of knowledge, which no one defends: since the beginning of the century all subjects have passed into the hands of specialists, and the chaotic freedom of the German Universities, now substantially introduced into Cambridge, and on its way into Oxford and Scotland, simply reflects that aspect of the modern intellectual world. But a new movement is on the rise; the synthesis of specialisms is in

full progress, as doctrines like those of energy or evolution need only be named to show ; the generaliser—the intellectual capitalist—accumulates every day a vaster pile of wealth, yet manages it with increasing ease, for, as Leibnitz saw long ago, ‘the more science advances the more it can be compressed into little books.’ Towards the question of curriculum, then, the practice of vivid yet generalised teaching developed by the extension movement is working towards results of no little value in many fields (some of these popular courses on either side of Tweed giving among the clearest outlines of their subjects ever laid down) ; while it is claiming no undue inspiration for the popular voice to note that the sequence of courses selected by vigorous appetites is at anyrate the inductive way of ascertaining the dietary most suitable for them.

If space permitted the discussion of University reform on its practical or economic side, it would be serviceable to trace how the defects of our Universities are simply those which arose in all mediæval guilds, and to see in terms of this general fact how inevitably there came about what constitutes the high economic interest though practical inconvenience of all such venerable institutions, i.e., the way in which the characteristic defects of extremely individualistic and extremely socialistic organisation became combined so as grievously to paralyse the redeeming initiative of the one, and the professed public spirit of the other. It is unnecessary to trace this generalised criticism into the detailed forms under which it commonly appears ; nor is any argument needed to recognise the panaceas of extramuralism and the like, as simply the old economic optimism of *laissez faire*, the doctrine of progress through unrestricted competition, which is reaching the University a century after its promulgation as the gospel of the market-place. What we surely all really want is neither the timid conservation of each guild in the decayed state in which we find it, nor as little its decomposition into a mere scramble of rival lecturers, but the peaceful and harmonious reorganisation of them all into the head and brain, nay the heart and soul of the Public Education Service. But this Reform would be *Re-function* : and hence the apparently distinct movements of Univer-



sity Reform and University Extension meet and coincide in the academic ideal as we saw it at the outset—the bringing of the whole national life within touch of the highest existing culture.

PATRICK GEDDES.

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## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

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*Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians.* By F. GODET. Translated from the French by Rev. A. CUSIN, M.A. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1887.

This volume contains Dr. Godet's commentary on the last eight chapters of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Church at Corinth. As might be expected from the school of theology to which their author belongs, the notes are for the most part, in fact we may say altogether, conservative. They are written with great freshness, and exhibit here and there a considerable amount of independence of opinion. Dr. Godet writes clearly and simply, and one is never at a loss to know what he means. In fact as a sample of exegesis the work is deserving of considerable praise. We do not mean, however, that we can accept his opinions on all points. Some of his explanations are curious. For instance, when speaking of the passage, 'This is my body,' he tells us that 'the verb *to be* is to be taken in the same sense as that in which we say, as we look at a portrait: it is so and so.' Again, on page 262 we have the doubtful assertion that 'according to Paul faith is the principle both of hope and true love'—a statement which it is difficult to harmonise with what is subsequently said about love. As is the custom now in commentaries, much space is taken up with the refutation of the interpretations given by others, and the names of Holsten, Meyer, Heinrici and others, are pretty freely sprinkled over Dr. Godet's pages. But the student is no worse for knowing what other opinions are held.

*Apologetics: or the Scientific Vindication of Christianity.* By J. H. A. EBRARD, Ph.D., D.D. Translated by Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A. Vol. II. and III. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1887.

On the whole this is a somewhat remarkable book. As knowledge increases, the Christian apologist seems to require to spread his forces over a wider area and to meet the enemy at more numerous points of attack. Dr. Ebrard surveys the greater part of the field of knowledge. Many of his defences are entirely new, and some of his arguments are such as only the present generation has called forth. Moreover, he is not contented with simply defending Christianity, he carries the war into the enemy's territory, and here and there with something like a touch of scorn, proclaims his victory over him. As compared with the first volume of the translation, the second and third, which are all we have to deal with, are more lively, and because of the topics they handle, more attractive and interesting. The first section of the second volume deals with the theories of Darwin and Haeckel; the second, with certain arguments of the materialists; and the third with Pantheism; while the remainder of the volumes are devoted to the religions of the world; the aim here being on the one hand to vindicate the doctrine of the Fall, and on the other, to prove that with the promulgation of the Gospel a new element was introduced into the world which interrupted the progress of decay, and became the moving principle of a 'process of fermentation and sifting,' which in its successive stages, 'readjusts the

relations of society, resolves its complications, rejuvenates the nations, imparts light and fruitfulness to intellectual development, and calls forth forms of social and civil life, in which the sanctifying power of the gospel, which redeems from sin and its curse, obtains at least a provisional or temporary form.' As need hardly be said the work is intensely controversial, and here and there contains some strong statements respecting the theories and arguments of those whom Dr. Ebrard opposes. At the same time it is remarkably full of information, and deserves to be regarded as a very able, learned and painstaking attempt to vindicate the Christian Faith.

*Christianity and Evolution: Modern Problems of the Faith.*  
London: James Nisbet & Co., 1887.

This book consists of twelve papers originally contributed by ten well known writers to the *Homiletic Magazine*. The following quotation from the Preface will show the purpose of the editor of that magazine in originating this series of papers and now republishing them. 'They (these papers) are in the nature of an Eirenikon; and in order to this it was not essential that the writers should occupy an absolutely identical standpoint with respect to the great question of Evolution; all that was required of them was a conviction that acceptance of the ascertained facts of Evolution is not incompatible with a genuine, intelligent Christian faith.' In accordance with this the writers have set themselves to show that the Theory of Evolution, if it were established, either does not touch so as to affect, or does not necessarily invalidate the specific Christian beliefs or doctrines which they respectively have had submitted to them for treatment. They have faced the problems set to them with praiseworthy courage, and have produced, for the most part, weighty reasons in support of their contentions. The papers are admirably written, and are characterized by a spirit of candour and fairness that in religious controversy is refreshing. They are sure to reach in this form a much wider circle than that professional one that is chiefly attracted to the *Homiletic Magazine*, and the publishers have done well to issue them in this way and to issue them now. One of the most interesting and instructive of these papers is that by the Rev. Sir George Cox on *Evolution: Heaven and Hell*.

*History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion from the Reformation to Kant.* By BERNHARD PÜNJRER. Translated from the German by W. HASTIE, B.D., with a Preface by ROBERT FLINT, D.D., etc. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1887.

Though well known in Germany, Dr. Pünjer's is a name which in this country, except among a very limited circle, is altogether unknown. There can be little doubt, however, that the publication of the present volume will materially help to make its author almost as widely known amongst ourselves as he is on the continent, and to win for his abilities and learning an almost equal measure of respect. The work, in fact, though not without its defects, has so many points of excellence that Dr. Flint, at whose suggestion its translation was undertaken, and Mr. Hastie, its translator, may be said to have done no small service in introducing it to British readers, and that few students of theology, or at least of the history of theology, will when they have once made its acquaintance, care to leave it outside of their books of study and reference. It is neither controversial nor critical, but simply a history—a history, strictly speaking,

not of the Christian philosophy of religion, as the title would seem to indicate, but of the various philosophies of religion which have arisen in Christendom or under Christian influences from the time of Luther down to Kant. Such at least is evidently the scope of the book, otherwise it would be difficult to account for the analysis in its pages of the teaching of such writers as Spinoza, the English deists, Diderot, and Voltaire. As a historian, Dr. Pünjer has therefore, unlike Dr. Pfeiderer, abstained from criticism, and has confined himself to the single task of setting down the opinions of those who in one way or other have made their mark in the history of the philosophy of religion during the period mentioned. The first chapter which German theologians think it incumbent on them to write, defining and justifying their subject, and which most readers who are not German avoid, is mercifully short. Dr. Pünjer having had the good sense to confine it within six pages. The 'survey' which follows of the history of Christian thought from the Apologists down to Thomas à Kempis, occupies little more than fifty pages and is managed with considerable skill. The main points in the history are seized, and the whole forms an excellent and indispensable introduction to the subsequent history. Unfortunately, as it seems to us, Dr. Pünjer has not chosen in the main body of his work to adhere to the strictly chronological order in his analysis, but has preferred to group the writers he has had to deal with into certain classes. The consequence is a certain amount of confusion, and now and again the reader has to hark back to a point in the history which he has long left behind. For instance, Paracelsus, who ought to have been dealt with immediately after Cusanus, is not analysed until after Luther, Calvin, and Servetus. Irvingism again is dealt with before Bacon and the English Deists. These last, again, are placed before Cartesianism, and More and Cudworth before Locke. But whatever its faults of arrangement, it is in its expository parts that the chief value of the work consists. Here Dr. Pünjer is entitled to the highest praise. Though recording much from which he must have dissented, his own feelings or opinions are rarely shown. His expositions are full, lucid, and as far as we have been able to examine them, exact. Here and there he may be thought to have devoted too much space to a writer, as for instance to Jacob Böhme; but generally speaking his analysis is not fuller than requisite. The present volume, we should add, represents the first volume of the original work published in 1880. The second and concluding volume we learn is in preparation. The two together will form a highly valuable contribution to our theological literature.

*The Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of its History.* By Dr. OTTO PFLEIDERER. Translated from the German of the second and greatly enlarged edition by ALLAN MENZIES, B.D. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1887.

This second volume of the translation of Dr. Pfeiderer's *Philosophy of Religion* contains the conclusion of the historical part of the work. Beginning with Schelling, it brings down the impressive story of European religious thought to the present day. Like the preceding volume it is distinguished by the calm and judicial spirit by which it is pervaded, by the clearness of its statements and the acuteness of its criticism. As a work dealing with the religious thought of Europe since the appearance of Spinoza, Dr. Pfeiderer's has not been surpassed; and there is not a page in the present volume from which the student of theology or history may not learn or which he may not study to his profit. Particularly interesting and remarkably well written are the

chapters on Schelling, Hegel, and Schopenhauer. Unlike some German writers Dr. Pflleiderer is not oblivious to what has been done in other countries than his own in the way of contributing to the development or history of the subject he has in hand; and as in the previous volume of the translation we had sections devoted to Hobbes, Shaftesbury, and Hume, as well as to other English writers, so we have here reviews and criticisms of the opinions of Comte, John Stuart Mill, Mr. Herbert Spencer, and Mr. Matthew Arnold. The last-named will probably be surprised to find himself classed among Half-Kantian and Neo-Kantian philosophers, but it is among these that Dr. Pflleiderer has not without reason placed him. Mr. Drummond's well-known book on Natural Law is spoken of as 'a clever attempt to provide firm scientific foundations for religious convictions.' Professor Edward Caird is said to have done 'much to bring about a proper appreciation of Kant,' and Principal Caird to have 'written an introduction to the *Philosophy of Religion* from the stand-point of Hegelian speculation (in the nuance of it represented by Vatke and Biedermann), in which the precious kernel of the Hegelian ideas is detached with rare art from the narrow husk of the scholastic form.' Too little attention seems to us to have been paid to Rothe and Lotze; and perhaps too little is said about the development of the philosophy of religion in France and Holland. The translation of this volume is wholly from the hand of Mr. Menzies, and is, as need hardly be said, excellent.

*The History of the Jews from the War with Rome to the Present Time.* By the Rev. H. C. ADAMS, M. A. London: Religious Tract Society, 1887.

With the history of the Jews previous to the final war with Rome Mr. Adams does not here concern himself, except in so far as it enables him to account for the character of the Jewish people. Beginning with the deposition of Archelaus he traces their history rapidly but picturesquely down to the present day. A learned work the volume does not profess to be, and the student must still look for a fuller and more elaborate account of what Goethe has called the most pertinacious and enduring people the world has seen, to the larger works of Milman, Jost, and Graetz. But as a popular account of this great people—and this is all that Mr. Adams professes to give—the work is deserving of considerable praise. It is well written and admirably arranged. The story it relates is probably, nay, as a matter of fact is, the most romantic, the saddest and most tragic history contains. For interest it is unequalled, and Mr. Adams' pages are full of curious details, and singular stories, many of them of the most touching and pathetic kind. There is one thing we miss, and that is reference to the sources whence Mr. Adams has derived his information. To some of course these are well known: but in a book of this kind, however popular, the reader is none the worse for being directed to the places where the desire for fuller information on any particular point may be gratified.

*Upper Teviotdale and the Scots of Buccleuch: A Local and Family History.* By J. RUTHERFORD OLIVER. With Illustrations of Border Scenery by T. H. LAIDLAW. Hawick: W. & J. Kennedy, 1887.

Upper Teviotdale and the Scots of Buccleuch is a large subject. To a writer less discreet than Mr. Oliver it offers many temptations to write a history of Scotland from the earliest times down to the present. Mr. Oliver, however, has shown no desire to magnify his office. He has

written temperately and modestly, and with a fair sense of proportion. If now and again he has digressed into the general history of the country, he has done so with the best possible of excuses—it was requisite in order to make the topic with which he was dealing intelligible. Diffuseness, indeed, is the last fault with which any one will charge him. He has formed a clear and definite idea of his subject, and has written about it in a sensible and workmanlike way. Though his volume cannot be compared with the magnificent Family Histories of Dr. Fraser, it is sufficiently well done to be entitled to a foremost place among our local histories. Very few of them, indeed, will compare with it. He has gone to the original sources of information; though sceptical as to the value or truth of local traditions, he has not refused to record them, but has often thrown considerable light upon them by a well-timed word or remark, and has selected and used his materials with enough tact and skill to make his pages extremely entertaining and instructive.

The history of a Border town, district, family, or parish, could scarcely fail to be entertaining, at least if the record of the march of armies, fierce raids, and fiercer battles and cold-blooded murders can lay claim to be so. Those who have an appetite for these things, will find it abundantly satisfied by the reading of Mr. Oliver's pages. They simply abound in them. Before we have read twenty pages we are told how one Bishop was horribly mutilated and then murdered, and how his successor was dragged out of bed, beaten with sticks and stones, and then shut up in a house and burnt alive. These things happened, it is true, in Caithness, but as the hapless Bishop who was burnt alive was Abbot of Melrose, and consecrated the church at Hawick just after his own consecration, he was closely enough connected with Hawick and Teviotdale to have the dreadful story of his death recorded in Mr. Oliver's pages. For a long time Hawick, with the history of which Mr. Oliver opens his volume, seems to have enjoyed a very peaceful sort of existence. It was fortunate enough to be sufficiently distant from Carlisle on the one side, and from Berwick on the other, and perhaps sufficiently insignificant, not to attract the attention of the invading armies whether they entered Scotland by the east or west route. Besides, down almost to the close of the Wars of Independence, or for a period of nearly two hundred and fifty years, it was under the protection of the Lovels, and as the Lovels were English and not Scotch, and always remained true to their oath of fealty to the English Kings, the English armies had no reason to disturb it. Down to about the close of the Nineteenth Century, the most important event in its history, next to the building and consecration of its church, was the erection of 'The Auld Brig,' a work which Mr. Oliver pronounces 'more a luxury than a necessity,' there being no 'wheeled traffic,' and the people then, as for many centuries afterwards, generally going barefooted and having no particular need for bridges, more especially over shallow streams. According to tradition it was a work of piety, erected at the sole cost of an old lady, in order that her attendance at matins and vespers might not be interrupted. This tradition, however, Mr. Oliver declares to be 'mere myth,' and traces its origin to the desire to account for the existence of a sculptured female face under the arch of the bridge. But whatever its origin it is interesting to note that the bridge lasted down to the year 1851. It is to be hoped that its successor will have as long a period of existence.

With Albany's 'First Raid' bad times set in both for Hawick and Teviotdale. Umfraville followed up his attack on Roxburgh and Berwick by an inroad in which he laid waste Teviotdale and the rest of the Border country and set fire to the town. This time Hawick did not escape. The

protection of the Lovels was no longer to be had, its enviable state of isolation was gone, and for the first time, but not for the last, in its history, the town was burnt to the ground. From this period down to the Union of the Crowns the whole country-side was in a perpetual ferment of commotion and turmoil. Its history may be said to be made up of intrigues and treacheries, gatherings of mostroopers, midnight raids, brutal murders, burnings, and slaughters. Lawlessness was everywhere, and was everywhere almost entirely without restraint. Beeves were counted of more value than men except for their fighting qualities. Human blood was spilt with almost as little compunction as water, and the authorities were not always over zealous to avenge it. In 1494, Langlands of that ilk, whose lands lay about a mile to the north of Hawick, being applied to by a chaplain of Melrose for his tithes due to the Abbey, which were then considerably in arrears, flew into a rage, stabbed the monk and killed him. Fearing the vengeance of the Abbot, he at once flew to the King, represented to him that he had insulted a monk, and without much difficulty, serious even as this offence was regarded, he succeeded in obtaining a free pardon for having, as he said, 'Knocked off a priest's bonnet.' With the aid of a bribe he then persuaded the Clerk who was commissioned to draw up the pardon 'to put the head into the bonnet,' and was thus in a position to defy the vengeance of the monastery. The Abbot, however, bestirred himself, and Langlands was summoned to appear before the Sheriff Court at Jedburgh, sureties were taken for his appearance, and failing to appear he was declared a rebel, put to the horn, and his goods formally escheated to the Crown; but to no purpose. A few years after he is found both at liberty and in full and peaceable possession of his estates. This is but one of many similar stories Mr. Oliver has to relate. It must be owned that he has narrated them with considerable discrimination. The task of wading through stories of this kind in the originals is by no means easy.

The Scots of Buccleuch first appear in Teviotdale about the beginning of the Fifteenth Century; but according to Walter Scot of Satchells they have a pretty long pedigree reaching back through Johannes Scotus and Duns Scotus for upwards of a thousand years. Their first possession in the district was part of the barony of Branzholme, once the property of the Lovels, but afterwards of Inglis of Manor, who exchanged it with Robert Scott of Rankilburn for part of the lands of Murthockstone in Lanarkshire. 'It is traditionally related,' says Mr. Oliver, 'that this transaction arose out of a conversation between Scott and Inglis, when the latter complained of the losses he sustained through the incursions of the English borderers, who frequently plundered his lands of Branzholme, and Scott at once offered to give him Murthockstone in exchange for them. When the bargain was concluded, Scott made the significant remark, that 'the cattle in Cumberland were as good as those in Teviotdale.' Whatever truth there may be in this story, it is certain that the Scotts often tasted the quality of the Cumberland cattle. They were foremost in many a raid, and their cry of 'Bellenden' has often struck terror into the hearts of the English borderers. But it is not our business here to follow them through their history. For this we must refer the reader to Mr. Oliver's handsome and interesting pages. One remark, however, we must add. While writing the history of Upper Teviotdale and the Scotts of Buccleuch, Mr. Oliver has given many interesting glimpses into the social as well as political life of the country, and has not forgotten to describe the curious customs which prevail or did prevail at Hawick, nor to give his own version of the origin of the peculiar slogan of the people of Hawick, 'Tyr-ibus ye Tyr ye Odin,' which seems to go back to the times of the heathen Anglie

warrior, before the northern Hercules, and the blood-red lord of battles had yielded to the 'pale God' of the Christians. We should add also that besides being handsomely printed, the volume is enriched with maps and illustrations.

*Caledonia: or a Historical and Topographical Account of North-Britain from the most Ancient to the Present Times with a Dictionary of Places Chorographical and Philological.* By GEORGE CHALMERS, F.R.S., etc. New Edition. Vols. I. and II. Paisley: Alex. Gardner, 1887.

The publication of a new edition of Chalmers' *Caledonia* seems at first sight a somewhat risky venture. But publishers, as a rule, know what they are doing, and there can be little doubt that the present venture will turn out to involve less risk than one might at first sight be disposed to anticipate. That it has many claims to success is, we should say, unquestionable. It multiplies copies of a work, which whatever its faults, has become exceedingly rare and is always in demand. In its own way it is a monument of learning, industry, and patriotism. There are passages in it which we could have wished re-written, but even these, when read in connection with Robertson's *Early Kings* and Dr. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, only serve to show what immense strides have been made during the present century, and how much has been done to place the primitive history of Scotland on a solid foundation. And besides, though written not far short of a century ago, there is much in *Caledonia* which can never become antiquated. On its first publication it was regarded as a work of national importance, and there can be little doubt that as in the past, so for many generations to come, writers less indefatigable and more happily circumstanced than Chalmers, will continue to draw from its richly stored pages much of their information respecting the early history and social condition of the inhabitants of the country.

The two volumes before us represent Chalmers' first volume. They are admirably printed and seem, with the exception of obvious improvements and the manner of binding, to be an exact reproduction of the original. The editor has studied the convenience of readers who may chance to meet with a reference to the first edition so far as to retain the old paging. He has also added lists of the works dealing with or relating to the early history of Scotland which have been published since Chalmers wrote. These, however, though undoubtedly useful, are by no means complete and might have been enlarged and made considerably more useful with very little trouble. We miss from them such books as Prof. Khys' *Celtic Britain*, Worsaae's *Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, etc.*, Lappenberg's *England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, Maclauchan's *Early Scottish Church*, Elton's *Origins of English History*, Munroe's *Scottish Lake Dwellings*, Dunbar's *Social Life in Scotland*, the publications of the Ayr and Wigtown Archaeological Society, 'Extracts' from the records of various burghs, the numerous and important volumes issued under the direction of the Lord Clerk-Register, and various other works which, like the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, though not precisely histories, contain much valuable information respecting the history or condition of the country, and which the historical student cannot prudently overlook.

Whatever may be now thought as to the value of Chalmers' work there can be no doubt that at the time of its publication it was a very remarkable one. So much labour, learning, and critical acumen had never before been brought to bear on the history and antiquities of the country. Even Pinkerton's work, though not without originality and acuteness, is not



comparable with it. In some respects Chalmers broke new ground. He was amongst the first to set aside the stories of Fordun, Wyntown, and Boece, and to make a serious attempt to ascertain the real facts as to the original inhabitants of the country and the course of its ancient history. That in some respects he failed we need hardly say. The time for success in any attempt to arrive at an intelligent conception of the facts hid beneath the mass of fables with which the primitive history of the country had been overlaid, had not then come. The science of comparative philology, on which so much is now seen to depend in any investigations into the origin of a people, was then unknown. And besides, the character of many of the authorities on which Chalmers implicitly relied, had not at the time been sufficiently investigated. Many of the documents he used belong, as Dr. Skene has pointed out, 'to the less trustworthy class of historical documents which had been tampered with and manipulated for a purpose.' Moreover, Chalmers came to his work prepossessed by a theory. Where Pinkerton could see nothing but Gothic and the Goths, Chalmers could see nothing but Welsh and the Cymry. That Great Britain and Ireland had inhabitants earlier than the Celts, or that the Celts differed among themselves, he does not seem to have suspected. His ideas of chronology, again, were those of his time, and led him to speak of the age of Alexander the Great, as one of the earliest in European history. For making Richard of Cirencester's *De Situ* a principal authority, he may be pardoned. It was long esteemed a genuine work of the author to whom it was attributed, and has come only within comparatively recent years to be regarded as an impudent forgery. Less excuse can be made for his confused account of the movement of Agricola's army during the campaign of A. D. 83-86. But his whole treatment of the Roman wars in Scotland is singular. As Dr. Skene has already pointed out, the narrative of the actions of Lollius Urbicus extends to over seventy pages, the only authority for which is exactly fourteen words of Julius Capitolinus, while the much more important campaigns of Severus for which we have the detailed narrative of two independent historians, are dismissed in less than six pages. On page 358 it is stated that Galloway was colonised by the Cruithne from Ireland in the eighth century, whereas the probability is that the colonisation took place some six centuries earlier, the district being occupied as early as the second century by the tribes named by Ptolemy the Novantæ. In a footnote to the same page, again, a couple of battles which were fought in Ulster are said to have been fought in Ayrshire, Mauchline in that county being mistaken for Maigiline, the chief seat of the Cruithnigh in Dalriada, now called Moylinny, and attacks by the Britons on the Cruithnigh in Ulster, for attacks by the latter on the British inhabitants of Ayrshire. Speaking of the Catrail, again, he says: 'There can hardly be a doubt that it was once a dividing fence between the Romanized Britons of the Cumbrian kingdom and their Saxon invaders on the east.' 'The Britons and the Saxons were the only hostile people whose countries were separated by this warlike fence, which seems to have been exactly calculated to overawe the encroaching spirit of the Saxon people.' Other writers have followed him. But more careful examination has shown that it is not at all likely that the Catrail was ever constructed for defensive or warlike purposes. A recent writer has described it as 'a mere scratch along the hill sides,' and suggests, what was probably the case, that Chalmers was misled by wrong measurements, and that the work was a boundary erected by mutual agreement in peaceful times.

But the first volume of the original work—and it is to this only that we are now referring—is the least satisfactory part of *Caledonia*. It is here,

MEMORIALS OF COLCORTON

James had a strong right arm and some service of intelligence. His superior faculties of plotting the party to force the king's return to the throne. The evidence for this is not very strong. It is not clear that he was the author of the plot. It is not clear that he was the author of the plot. It is not clear that he was the author of the plot.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE KING IN THE TOWER

The evidence which is here presented, though in our mind much deficient in a regard to the facts of the case, is in our mind much deficient in a regard to the facts of the case. It is not clear that he was the author of the plot. It is not clear that he was the author of the plot. It is not clear that he was the author of the plot.

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*Memorials of Coleorton, being letters from Coleridge, Wordsworth and his sister, Southey and Sir Walter Scott to Sir George and Lady Beaumont of Coleorton, Leicestershire, 1803-1834. Edited with Introduction and Notes by WILLIAM KNIGHT,*

University of St. Andrews. 2 vols. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1887.

Professor Knight deserves the sincerest thanks for suggesting the publication of these letters. Our only wish in connection with them is that there were more of them. They are not only valuable in themselves; they throw a fuller, if not a new and clearer light on the remarkable body of individuals by whom they were written, and on the fine bonds of sympathy and affection by which they were attached to Sir George and Lady Beaumont. Though a sort of Mæcenas in his way, Sir George was something more. An artist of no inconsiderable talent, a man of fine taste, and keen perception, he had the art and the happiness to draw around him many of the artists and men of letters of his day, and to bind them to himself with the ties of disinterested friendship. He was also one of the first to recognise the promise which Wordsworth and Coleridge gave in their joint-publication, the *Lyrical Ballads*. In a well conceived and careful written preface, which if anything is too short, Professor Knight has given a fairly minute account of the relations between Sir George and Lady Beaumont and their literary correspondents. Sir George, it would appear was acquainted with Coleridge before he knew Wordsworth. His introduction to the latter was characteristically generous. Knowing that the two poets had lived near each other in Somersetshire when they wrote the *Lyrical Ballads*, and that they were desirous of resuming their familiar intercourse of former days, he purchased a small property at Appledwate, about three miles from Greta Hall, where Coleridge had for some time been residing, and presented it to Wordsworth, whom as yet he had not seen. The gift was conveyed in the most delicate way, Sir George writing to Wordsworth on the 24th of October, 1803: 'I had a most ardent desire to bring you and Coleridge together. I thought with pleasure on the increase of enjoyment you would receive from the beauties of Nature, by being able to communicate more frequently your sensations to each other; and that this would be a means of contributing to the pleasure and improvement of the world by stimulating you both to poetical exertions.' The plan, however, was frustrated, Coleridge being compelled shortly afterwards to leave Cumberland and Wordsworth living on at Grasmere; but the friendship thus begun between the Wordsworths and the Beaumonts continued without interruption and was lifelong. They met frequently, and Wordsworth was at times a visitor at Coleorton. Of the kindness shown to him on these occasions a postscript to one of his letters written by his sister is a sufficient witness, while testifying at the same time to her own deep affection for her brother. 'My brother,' she writes to Lady Beaumont, 'has put his letter into my hands to direct and fold up, and I cannot let it go without a word. A thousand thousand thanks for all your goodness to him! and you have sent him home to us with looks and health so much improved that we know not how to express our happiness.' And again she says, 'You are very good in taking charge of my brother's concerns. I am afraid he left you a great deal to do, for he is a very bad manager of his own affairs, being so much used to leave little things to us.' Of the letters contained in the volumes the most numerous are from Wordsworth, who contributes thirty-five. Dorothy Wordsworth writes twenty-two, Coleridge nineteen, Southey twenty, Sir Walter Scott three, and Mrs. Wordsworth one. Their contents are, as need hardly be said, of the most miscellaneous kind. Here and there in the letters of Wordsworth, and more especially in Coleridge's, are complaints of ill-health, depression of spirit, inability to work. Others are chiefly occupied with particulars relating to literary work. Coleridge's, as might be expected, are the most discursive. To our own mind the most

charming of the letters are those written by Wordsworth's sister Dorothy. They are less restrained and full of vivacity, and here and there exhibit touches of that rare art of description which appears in her journal. Professor Knight has wisely arranged the letters in their chronological order. The notes he has added as well as his preface, are informing. Altogether the volumes contain one of the most interesting and valuable series of letters which have been published during recent years. As was fitting they are very handsomely printed on excellent paper, and in outward appearance all that can be desired.

*Sketches in History and Poetry.* By the late JOHN CAMPBELL SHAIRP, LL.D. Edited by JOHN VEITCH, Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1887.

This volume reminds us, if reminder were necessary, of the great loss the country has sustained in the death of Principal Shairp. Poet, critic, and accomplished scholar, few took a deeper interest in all that pertains to Scottish literature and history than he did, and none has done more to set the characteristics and worth of the former before the public in the clearest light. The contents of the volume Professor Veitch has gleaned from the writings he left behind him, show in what direction his heart lay. With a single exception they are all devoted to Scottish subjects. That the volume contains any positive contribution to our knowledge it will be difficult to maintain. Most of the papers are of an essentially popular kind, and though exhibiting wide reading and a scholarly mind lay no claim to original research. The first paper, though containing an account of St. Columba which is decidedly interesting, is obviously founded on Dr. Reeves' edition of Adamnan. The second, again, is for the most part taken from Turgot's *Life of St. Margaret*, to which Principal Shairp pays a high but just encomium. 'Bishop Lambertton and the Good Lord James,' however, brings to light some little known facts concerning Lambertton, the friend of Wallace and of Bruce, and to whom Barbour refers in the well known lines of his *Bruce*. The brightest and most attractive paper in the volume, so at least we venture to think, is the last on Henry Vaughan, the Silurist. Still it is not so much in what Principal Shairp has to say that the chief value of the volume consists as in his way of saying it. As a series of popular papers and lectures dealing with the subjects we have mentioned and such others as 'The King's Quhair,' 'The Ettrick Shepherd,' 'Scottish Songs before Burns,' and 'The Early Poetry of Scotland,' the book is deserving of considerable praise, and is precisely one of those volumes which in Scotland at least deserve to be widely read. Professor Veitch's part as editor has been done with skill. Here and there an informing note has been added, and the repetition made as infrequent as was probably possible in a number of papers which frequently cross each other. We must not, however, be supposed to be in perfect agreement with Principal Shairp in all his statements. There are two or three which seem to us somewhat questionable. It would be interesting to know on what grounds the assertion is made that 'the time of St. Columba's birth was the most prosperous and energetic period Ireland has ever known.' That this is true of the monasteries there can be no doubt, but that it is true of Ireland outside of the monasteries is extremely questionable, and seems hardly to square with the assertion made in the following paragraph that all save the monasteries 'was savage with clan feuds and bloodshed.' The fact is, we imagine, that while the monasteries were centres of light and of a remarkable degree

of civilization, the people were sunk in barbarism, and in many parts were little better than savages. Again, the idea that Gavin Douglas' *Virgil* 'remains the purest well of the Scottish dialect undefiled that exists, the poems of Burns not excepted,' (p. 210) strikes us as a little old fashioned and as not a little remarkable as coming from one who had studied *The Bruce* and Blind Harry's *Wallace*. In fact there is sufficient in the footnote to this passage to raise the doubt, and indeed to prove, that though full of genuine Scotch, the Bishop of Dunkeld's version of the Roman poet is not 'the purest well.' The 'number of words straight from the French,' and the use of 'the y prefix to the past participle' are against it. But to cease fault finding, the volume is one which, as we have said, deserves to be read, more especially by Scotsmen. It contains much that deserves to be carefully meditated over, and much that may possibly revive their interest, at present not very great, in the history and literature of their own land.

*Personal Remembrances of Sir Frederick Pollock, Second Baronet, Sometime Queen's Remembrancer.* 2 vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1887.

Almost from his boyhood Sir Frederick Pollock has had the advantage of mixing largely in the upper circles of society and in being acquainted with those who have carried on the government of the country during the past and present generation and who during the period have been more or less actively engaged in shaping its thoughts and life. Though a lawyer and belonging to a family of lawyers, his acquaintances and observations have not been confined to the legal profession. His 'remembrances' are of the most varied kind. Among those he has known or met are Dr. Chalmers, Mr. and Mrs. Carlyle, Warren, the author of the *Diary of a late Physician*, Mendelssohn, Lords Brougham, Lyndhurst, and Campbell, Thackeray and Dickens, Professor Wilson and Wordsworth, Hartley Coleridge, Faraday, Macready, Lord Tennyson, F. D. Maurice, Tom Taylor, and Mr. Froude. The 'remembrances' are written all through in a kindly and genial spirit. There is nothing of vanity or cynicism about them. Sir Frederick Pollock has no sensational revelations to make. What he has to say is perfectly harmless, always entertaining, and frequently amusing. That his volumes abound in anecdotes we need hardly say. If it were our business, and space permitted, we could fill a considerable number of pages with the stories he has to tell. But for these we must refer the reader to the volumes themselves where they will find much besides to entertain and amuse and also to instruct them.

*Essays on Some of the Modern Guides of English Thought in Matters of Faith.* By RICHARD HOLT HUTTON. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1887.

Considerable portions of the essays here bound together have appeared already in one or other of the Monthly or Quarterly Magazines; but each paper seems to have undergone very careful revision, and may be taken, we suppose, as representing its author's most matured opinions on the subject with which it deals. An acute thinker and accomplished critic himself, with a strong theological bias and an attractive style, Mr. Hutton may fairly lay claim to belong to the same company as those of whom he has here written. His influence has probably been as far-reaching and fruitful as that of most writers of the present generation. Some three, or at most four, there are, who tower above him, and with whom he cannot be com-

pared ; but take him in his own line as a critic and interpreter of the thoughts of others, and he is almost without an equal. Mr. Arnold is an artist as well as a critic, and both he and Cardinal Newman have that touch of genius which places men in the first rank of thinkers, and which Mr. Hutton has not. In saying this last we are not only stating what is our own opinion, but Mr. Hutton's. In the somewhat unequal essay, published in the present volume, on Matthew Arnold, he says in effect if not in as many words : 'Mr. Arnold is a man of genius ; I am not.' In short, while the influence of such men as Matthew Arnold and Cardinal Newman—'the great Cardinal,' as Mr. Hutton delights to call him—is the outcome of genius, his own is the result of carefully used and highly cultivated talent, directed not to creative work or work of an original kind, but rather to the exposition of the work and thoughts of others. In this line his faculty is remarkable ; few men having the art of bringing thoughts and principles, which in their original form appeal only to a few, down to the general level of the public mind. Of course we do not wish to imply that he belongs to the class who are usually called 'popular writers' ; Mr. Hutton is, in our opinion, far too solid, and, perhaps we should add, conscientious a thinker for that. Not that all 'popular writers' are not conscientious ; but striving for effect, the tendency with such is to let strict accuracy of statement and weight of thought unconsciously fall into the back-ground, and to indulge in a freer use of those arts and modes of style by which the desired effect may be produced. Whether Mr. Hutton has not spread his energies over too wide a field is a question which we do not care here to discuss. He has always seemed to us to be strongest in literary criticism. And hence we are disposed to regard the literary portions of the volume before us as the best. The theological portions will strike different minds in different ways according to the point of view from which they regard them. Happily, however, with these we have here nothing to do. Mr. Hutton is of course entitled to his own opinions, and though we cannot follow him in much that he has said, we can appreciate the earnestness and candour with which his volume is pervaded. But reverting to his literary criticisms, these we think are excellent. Probably the best essay in the volume is that on Carlyle. There are passages in it which are equal to anything contained in the second of Mr. Hutton's previous volumes. The analysis of Carlyle's style is a piece of a kind of work not often performed, but which is here done with remarkable skill. But still better we venture to think is the contrast drawn between Cardinal Newman and Mr. Arnold, while the analysis of their styles is not only of permanent value, but surpasses anything of the kind we have seen. On the other hand the appreciation of Arnold's poetry, though doubtless not without good points, falls short of what might have been expected both in form and matter. The paper on Mr. Maurice is a beautiful yet discriminating tribute to the memory of one who, whatever may be thought of his opinions, was a pure, and noble, and indefatigable soul, and throughout the twelve hundred closely printed pages of whose *Life*, 'one cannot,' to use Mr. Hutton's phrase, 'come across the trace of a day that was not chiefly lived in the light of eternity.' For Mr. Hutton's opinions as to the influence the writers we have named, have had 'on English thought in matters of faith,' we must refer the reader to the essays themselves. On the subjects with which he deals Mr. Hutton is a man of large knowledge and is entitled to speak with authority.

*Imaginary Portraits.* By WALTER PATER, M.A. London and New York : Macmillan & Co., 1887.

These 'imaginary portraits' are in all four—Watteau, one of the first of

French Court painters, Denys l'Auxerrois, Sebastian van Storck, and Duke Carl of Rosenmold. It is difficult to say which of them is drawn with the greatest skill. We are disposed, however, to give the preference to the first. There is a charm about it which is scarcely so decided in the rest. Even its literary qualities are superior, and that is saying a good deal. It takes the shape, or rather we should say, the portrait is sketched in a series of extracts from a journal supposed to be kept by a young girl at Valenciennes, who, while giving a clear and life-like picture of Watteau, implicitly reveals her own pure and beautiful mind. Perhaps she is a little too much of an art critic, but, then, it is because of her knowledge of art and her delicate appreciation of it, quite as much as on account of the interest she takes in the fortunes of Watteau and her younger brother Jean-Baptiste that her journal has been written. As a piece of writing, however, the 'portrait' is simply exquisite. Of the rest perhaps the most attractive to the general run of readers will be that of Denys l'Auxerrois half inspired, half mad-man. The weird story of his life, which professes to be taken from the books and monuments of the Cathedral, is told with rare skill and is full of profound pathos. The portrait of the melancholy and brooding Sebastian van Storck, with its sketch of Spinoza and his philosophy of love, will appeal to a different set of readers, by whom it will be read with interest, not only because of the charming pictures it contains, but also on account of its rich suggestiveness. It is not, however, for the portraits themselves that the book has been written, but as affording an opportunity for giving expressions to some of Mr. Pater's ideas on art. These appear on almost every page of the volume. With these, however, we have not here to do. What we are here concerned with is the manner in which Mr. Pater has written, and all that we can say is that he has written with a felicity and charm of style which makes his book a piece of genuine literature. It is one of those rare volumes to which we can return again and again and always find something new, pleasant, and suggestive.

*The Cid Ballads and other Poems and Translations from the Spanish and German.* By the late JAMES YOUNG GIBSON. Edited by MARGARET D. GIBSON; with Memoir by AGNES SMITH. 2 Vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1887.

The loss which the study of Spanish literature has sustained in this country through the death of Mr. Gibson, can scarcely be overrated. He was one of the comparatively few who turn to it with pleasure, and have the rare art of inspiring others with their own enthusiasm for it. His scholarship and industry, notwithstanding the delicacy of his health, were remarkable, while his skill as a translator, amounting almost to genius, was acknowledged on all hands. The verse translations which he contributed to Mr. Duffield's translation of Cervantes' great work, were acknowledged to be among the best things of the kind ever done; the unqualified commendation with which they were at the time received being a surprise to none more so than their author. His translation of Cervantes' *Viaje del Parnaso*, though a piece of careful work and containing numerous fine passages, has scarcely obtained the popularity it deserves; nevertheless it is one of those literary performances for which all students of foreign literature cannot but be grateful. The two volumes before us are published posthumously. They contain, excepting a very graceful preface by Mrs. Gibson and a brief memoir, little more than translations. Had their author been spared he would doubtless have added, out of the fulness of his knowledge, to the notes, more especially to those to the *Cid Ballads*; and inveterate corrector of 'proofs' as he was, he would doubtless too have given

yet more finish to his work, though what improvements could have been made it is not easy to see. Besides the translations, the two volumes contain a number of original poems. These, we are bound to say, are the least satisfactory part of the contents. They are graceful specimens of verse-making; but that is about all that can be said in their favour. Mr. Gibson was better as a translator than as a poet. Among the translations the first place is given to the *Cid Ballads*, which, written for the most part in the usual ballad verse, and beginning with the quarrel between Diego Lainez, Rodrigo's father, and the Count Lozano, cover the whole of the Cid's life. These are followed by five Spanish historical romances, and together make up the first volume. In the second volume we have first a number of translations from the Spanish legends of Charlemagne, followed by a number of Moorish and Frontier romances. These again are followed by a number of poems entitled, 'Romances of Chivalry, Philosophy, and Love,' among which are several poems of great beauty. In one of them the translator has strangely enough begun by rendering the old Spanish into 'braid Scots,' but after a stanza or two he drops quite as strangely into the most orthodox English. The 'Original Poems,' which come next, are followed by the Don Quixote poems, and a number of translations from the German, mainly from the songs of Mirza-Schaffy, by F. von Bodenstedt, which in Germany have obtained an amazing popularity, having gone through no fewer than one hundred and eleven editions. Unfortunately the version of the translation of these songs here given is imperfect, Mr. Gibson's original MS. having, through some misadventure, been either lost or destroyed. Readers of Lockhart and Southey will turn to these two volumes of translations with pleasure. They contain examples of excellent workmanship, and recount the feats of one whose story never seems to grow old.

*The Works of William Shakespeare.* Edited by HENRY IRVING and FRANK A. MARSHALL. Illustrated by GORDON BROWNE. Vol. I. London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1888.

Both editors and publishers have evidently done their best to bring their 'Irving Edition' of Shakespeare up to the standard of their ideal as to what an edition of Shakespeare ought to be. The publishers, we learn, have spared no expense, and Mr. F. A. Marshall who, so far as the present volume is concerned, has done the greater part if not the whole of the editing, has spared no effort. The result seems to us one of the most useful and praiseworthy editions of the great playwright we have seen. Its features are various and commendable. The passages which may be skipped in reading aloud or in public or private acting, are clearly and judiciously marked. To each play—the present contains five—an introduction has been prefixed, containing the literary history of the play, its stage history and a number of critical remarks. Footnotes explain the uncommon words, and larger notes dealing with peculiar phrases and other matters of interest are given at the end of each play. Particular attention has been paid to the printing; the text has been collated, lists of emendations adopted and suggested are given, each play is supplied with a map, its peculiar words are registered, and the stage directions have been made more explicit. We cannot pretend to have read the whole of the notes or even all the five introductions; but what we have read has impressed us very favourably, more especially the notes. These have the merit of being short and to the point, and also the further merit of making Shakespeare illustrate and explain himself. The general introduction is reserved for the final volume, and



we must own to a somewhat anxious curiosity to see it. Mr. Marshall lays down one or two things in his preface which have rather stimulated our curiosity. There is a dash of confidence about them which has somewhat startled us. The stage histories are somewhat disappointing, but no blame to Mr. Marshall. The materials are wanting; and for the little he has managed to gather together he deserves very considerable credit. The illustrations are passably good, and the text is printed in clear, bold type on good paper. Altogether the edition promises excellently, and should meet with a very favourable reception.

*La Philosophie des Médecins Grecs.* Par EMMANUEL CHAUVET.  
Paris: Ernest Thorin.

The scope of this interesting and erudite work is by no means so vast as the title would lead one to suppose. Practically the philosophy 'of the Greek physicians' resolves itself for the modern historian into the philosophy of Hippocrates and Galen. Nothing has survived of all the books of the Asclepiad schools with the exception of that of Cos; nothing of the medical works of the Alexandrine sects—the Dogmatici, the Empirici, and the Methodici. In fact, in the Greek period properly so called Hippocrates stands in solitary greatness, without predecessors or successors; and Galen occupies a like position with regard to the Alexandrine period. From scant gleanings in forgotten fields M. Chauvet has been able to demonstrate in a striking introductory essay that, from beginning to end Greek philosophy on the one hand has worked in alliance with medicine, whether its aim were to develop a conception of the Universe or to study the functions as well as the faculties of humanity, to derive facts in support of this or that theory, or to provide itself with a system in the matter of maladies and their cure; while on the other hand, Greek medicine has availed itself of philosophy in determining the methods of research and the duties of practice, and in formulating theories for the luminous extension and completion of its activity. But even within these comparatively narrow limits M. Chauvet's task has been neither simple nor easy. The philosophic systems of Hippocrates and Galen have reached us in a sadly mutilated condition. As for the former his logic and physics are exclusively medical and the salient features of these have not been obliterated, so that if a complete exposition be impracticable, at least an accurate sketch may still be produced. In regard to Galen—one of the most brilliant, versatile, and voluminous of ancient authors—the critic finds at once a wonderful abundance and a melancholy dearth of material. Galen was not only a philosopher, but the historian of philosophy also; but his historical works have perished. His system was duplicate. Parallel with his medical logic, ethics, and physics, he had developed logic, ethics, and physics which were purely philosophic. Of his philosophic logic as of his medical ethics but the merest shreds remain to us. Happily much is left of his physics in both kinds. We have a theology and a psychology. The former, the conclusion of a vast study of physiological finality, is merely an outline, but his psychology comprises several theories, some of which are nobly developed monuments of intellectual power. From these brief notes some notion of the contents of this volume may be gathered; lack of space forbids our entering into an examination of details. The style of the work is admirably lucid and the material has been arranged with masterly skill. It is in fact a book which the student of philosophy cannot afford to overlook. As the author himself observes, he has 'drawn from the unmerited oblivion in which they lay in treatises unread but universally honoured on the

faith of tradition, numerous logical, ethical, and physical theories—some true, some ingenious, a few curiously analogous to our own most recent discoveries, and almost all of a character to illuminate the obscurities and fill up the gaps of the philosophy of the old world.’

*Early Christian Art in Ireland.* By MARGARET STOKES. Illustrated. London: Chapman and Hall, 1887.

This valuable little volume, the most recent of the handbooks on Art published under the direction of the Committee of Council on Education, opens up a comparatively unknown chapter in the history of Christian Art. If it has any fault it is that of being too short. The subject to which it is devoted is large and important and there is a profound interest attaching to it; and Miss or Mrs Stokes has shown herself so admirably qualified for dealing with it in a cautious, learned, and scientific spirit, that we trust we have here but the germin of a work in which the Early Christian Art of Ireland will be treated in that fuller and more exhaustive manner in which it deserves. As a handbook the present volume is admirable. If the province of a handbook is to guide the student, to excite his curiosity, and to incite him to independent research, too much praise can scarcely be given to it. The characteristic features of Irish Christian Art, and the exceeding beauty of some of its existing monuments are skilfully pointed out, and he must be an exceedingly dull student who does not find such chapters as those which are here written on illumination, architecture and sculpture, full of incentives to a wider study. Dr. Joseph Anderson has already emphasised the importance of the Christian Art of Ireland for the study of the history of Early Christian Art in Scotland, and all that he has said is fully confirmed, as might have been expected, by the pages before us. Mrs. Stokes has also shown that the history of Irish art has a much wider significance and is of importance to the study of Christian Art in general, just as Irish Archæology is to the study of the development of the primeval arts, inasmuch as it throws light upon Christian customs and practices elsewhere which are otherwise mysterious and unintelligible. The chapter on the Irish Scribes on the Continent will be read with more than ordinary interest. One of the points here and elsewhere insisted upon throughout the volume is the distinctive character of Irish Christian Art. Another point insisted upon is the fact that many MSS. which for a long time passed for Anglo-Saxon are in reality Irish. This was first pointed out by Waagen, but too much prominence can scarcely be given to it. We can only add that the illustrations are well chosen and add to the interest and value of the volume.

*L'Art Espagnol; précédé d'une introduction sur l'Espagne et les Espagnols.* Par LUCIEN SOLWAY. Paris: J. Rouam; Londres: Gilbert Wood & Co., 1887.

Histories of Art usually take the form of a series of biographies, in which much is said about individual artists and their works, and very little about the life of thought and imagination of which the latter are the illustrations and expressions. Of course this method of writing history has its advantages, but it has its disadvantages. The artist is more or less detached from his age and from that deep spiritual life around him which is struggling for expression, and to which he owes the greater part of his inspiration. Amid the immense mass of details, biographical and descriptive, the æsthetic history of a country is, moreover, under the usual treatment, apt to be obscured. Much is said about artists, but little about art. The reader may obtain much detailed information, information about dates,

the joys and sorrows of artists, their quarrels, successes, failures, and fees, but learn little or nothing about the characteristics which form the distinguishing features of a country's art, or the elements and forces which have been at work defining its epochs and making its history what it has become. On this account it is refreshing to turn to a book like the handsome volume of *Bibliothèque internationale de l'art* now before us. M. Solway has written not the biographies of Spanish artists, but the history of Spanish art. His work is, to say the least, interesting and instructive, and contains not a few brilliant passages. One misses, not without a certain feeling of relief, those interminable discussions about dates and documents which occur so frequently in the works just referred to, and which however necessary they may be, are too often of but little vital consequence, and frequently the cause of distraction and a waste of attention and time. M. Solway has written about Spanish art as a whole, and has attempted to follow the course of its development, to characterise the talents of the great masters who have illustrated it, and to give to the reader some idea of the conditions under which it originated, attained its zenith, and decayed. In its method and spirit his work forcibly reminds us of M. Taine's work on the History of English Literature. The two works, in fact, though in different departments have, so far as their method is concerned, much in common. M. Solway's introduction is taken up with a description of the country, manners, character, and history of the Spaniards; and in these he endeavours to find the elements which have given to Spanish art its distinctive features, and determined the course of its history. The influence of the Flemish and Italian schools is, of course, dwelt upon and acknowledged: but the artists with whom M. Solway is chiefly concerned are Zurbaran, Velazquez, Murillo, and Goya, though others of less note are not neglected. One point of considerable interest in the present to which M. Solway directs attention, is the unwillingness of the Spaniards to part with any of their masterpieces. They prefer to retain them and to remain poor, he remarks, rather than to follow the example of other countries and part with them. Probably, however, the retention of this preference is only a question of time.

*The Gaverocks. A Tale of the Cornish Coast.* By the Author of 'John Herring,' etc. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1887.

As a field for the exercise of the novelist's art, Mr. Baring Gould has made Cornwall his own, and has certainly found there a fitting subject for the exercise of his peculiar powers. *The Gaverocks* is, in our opinion, equal to any, superior to some of the writer's former works; a vigorous, powerful story, in which both scenes and characters are drawn with all the free, almost careless strength for which Mr. Baring Gould's writing is remarkable. The rough old squire, and the somewhat misanthropical young doctor are particularly telling sketches. It seems to us, however, that it is a mistake to introduce 'Spooks' into the story. A writer of such ability as Mr. Baring Gould has no need to fall back on such penny dreadful sources of interest. He may well leave them for the rank and file of novel writers. His deep insight into character, and power of keen analysis of human motives and sentiments do not fit with the 'spook' element. But given the 'spooks' of a smuggler and a spotted dog, we must protest against the pistol. A 'spooks' selling veritable pistols, with which murder and suicide are committed, is too much. We have heard pathetic accounts of the struggles of a well meaning 'spooks' with a small fragment of paper, which could not be induced to ooze through a plate glass window, or a four feet wall; but that is nothing to the pistol. The Spooksical Research Society.

should really remonstrate with Mr. Baring Gould on this audacious violation of all ascertained laws of spookdom. If they can induce him to leave 'spooks' alone, they will confer a benefit, at least on the most intelligent class of that large body of readers to which a novel from Mr. Baring Gould is a source both of pleasure and thoughtful interest.

*Hithersea Mere.* By LADY AUGUSTA NOEL. London: Macmillan & Co.

*Hithersea Mere* is one of those stories which make one regret that the writer is not of the class who have to look to their own efforts for a livelihood. Had Lady Augusta Noel embraced literature as a profession, with the knowledge that by her profession she must make her bread, she might have taken high rank as a novelist. She shows much insight into character, in nothing more than in the jealousy depicted as gradually growing up in Mrs. Somerville's mind of her daughter, as she begins herself to realise how little she has understood her husband; and in the admirable sketch of John Mowbray. Little descriptive touches, here and there, are exquisite, and the whole story is natural, graceful and refined; but it wants force. It is desultory, and struggles, so that though full of charming fragments and episodes, as a whole it is weak. For this reason, as a work of art it cannot rank very high. It is essentially amateur, not artistic work. But in that it is pure in tone of thought, truthful, if not very powerful in delineation, and written in a refined and graceful style, it is a book which is not only pleasant to read, but which leaves a pleasant memory behind it.

*Paul Patoff.* By F. MARION CRAWFORD. London: Macmillan & Co., 1887.

*Paul Patoff* is a novel to fill the souls of Mr. Marion Crawford's admirers with dismay. The plot is a most powerful one, and the writer's great ability makes the story so interesting that it is difficult, when once you have begun, to lay the book down again. But the clumsiness and carelessness of the workmanship are almost past belief. The story purports to be told by Mr. Paul Briggs, that self-satisfied and tedious person who, if we remember rightly, was narrator in *Mr. Isaacs*. But he is not in evidence during the first five chapters, in which the plot opens with a force and vigour worthy of Mr. Crawford. Then Mr. Briggs reappears, in the character of narrator, being himself ignorant of much that has been told to the reader in the first five chapters. Could anything be more clumsy! It is as if an artist should suddenly change his position with the outline of a sketch half finished, and thus wholly shift his point of view. The confusion is further increased by Mr. Briggs (telling the story in the first person) minutely describing incidents and conversations at which he was not present. By dint of much padding he drags the story through three volumes. Paul Patoff is thirty one years old when he first appears, and is thirty years old eighteen months later, and this is only one instance of many blunders of the same sort. But the most extraordinary confusion is over the real or simulated insanity of Madame Patoff. Mr. Briggs saw the accident which led to the belief she had tried to commit suicide, and knows as does the reader, that it was a pure accident. Yet both in conversation, and in his moralizing, he accepts the suicide theory. 'I could not imagine,' he says, 'what action, apart from the poor woman's attempt at suicide, could have been so serious' etc. About the middle of the second volume he quite casually sets her son right upon the point, and describes the accidental nature of the occurrence to him. The work teems with these sort of inaccuracies and contradictions, and is yet the work of a past master in the art of novel writing, who certainly

shows that his powers are not on the wane by the mere fact of making *Paul Patoff* a most absorbingly interesting book, in spite of the long winded tediousness and interminable blundering of Mr. Briggs. It is a mystery, the key to which is probably in the writer's keeping. Had he but kept the story, in point of workmanship, on a level with some of his former publications, *Paul Patoff* would have been one of the most powerful novels which has appeared for a long time.

*For God and Gold.* By JULIAN CORBETT, Author of 'The Fall of Asgard.' London : Macmillan & Co., 1887.

*For God and Gold* is a most fascinating story, written with all Mr. Corbett's rare power of giving the true atmosphere to the scenes he describes. His characters are genuine products of the age to which they belong, not puppets of to-day, wearing their clothes, and using their phraseology. Jasper Festing, the hero and narrator of the story, is a masterly sketch, and the influence on him, both for good and evil, of the hard stern Puritanical system under which he had been brought up is depicted with great skill and force. In fact, whether we are following the somewhat perturbed course of University life in the stormy days immediately following the Reformation, or sharing the wild adventures and daring exploits of Drake at Nombre de Dios and Panama, the same power of vivid and life-like presentation is apparent. There are no long pages of description and dissertation. Mr. Corbett's touch is swift and sure, his sentences tell like the firm quick touches of a master's brush on the canvas. How thoroughly he has thrown himself into the spirit of the sixteenth century is shown, we think in nothing more perfectly than in the matter of fact way in which he makes a man of Jasper Festing's character and sentiments speak of his preference for risking his money on the purchase of negroes, rather than on speculations of a less safe if more brilliant character. Whether for interest of subject, skill in treatment, or simple vigorous scholarly English, no story better worth reading has come lately under our notice.

The title which Dr. Salmon has given to his volume of sermons—*Gnosticism and Agnosticism* (Macmillan) is calculated to lead one to suppose that it consists for the most part of Theological or Philosophical discussion thrown into the form of prelections from the pulpit. The suggestion is entirely misleading. Behind all that Dr. Salmon says there is evidently a solid body of reasoned theology and even philosophy, but his sermons are eminently practical and deal with many of the more prominent weaknesses and mistakes of the day. Even the first sermon, notwithstanding its philosophical title, is singularly practical. The sermon entitled 'Ill Success in Searching after Righteousness' is remarkably striking and deals plainly, searchingly and forcibly with the causes which lead to failure in religion. Or take again the discourse on Charitable Belief. While pleading for charity Dr. Salmon pleads for righteousness and the practice of a morality of a more robust and manly and genuine character than is now the fashion. That the sermons are scholarly we hardly say. They are written with considerable literary power and though abundant in illustration are without rhetorical artifice.

For Messrs Nisbet & Co's. 'Men of the Bible' Series Professor Milligan of Aberdeen has written a volume entitled *Elijah: His Life and Times*, which like all that he has hitherto done is skilfully written, though here and there one has the suspicion that the various chapters have done duty

as sermons. However, the character of the prophet is sketched with considerable vividness and the work he performed is distinctly pointed out. One would like to have heard something of what was thought about Elijah among the Jews and what the Talmud and more recent Jewish scholars had said about him ; but Dr. Milligan has confined himself to expanding the Scripture narrative and to referring to the opinions of such modern writers as Stanley, Keil, Ewald, and Dr. Robertson Smith.

Events march so rapidly and the political horizon is so frequently obscured by threatening clouds that Alexander, the unfortunate first occupant of the Bulgarian throne is now almost forgotten ; nevertheless Court-Chaplain Koch's handsome and lively volume *Prince Alexander of Battenberg* (Whitaker) will always be read with interest, if not with sympathy. The author was intimately acquainted with the Prince and was in a position to appreciate the movements both open and secret which occurred around him. As the record of an eye witness his volume will always be valuable. To the future historian it will be especially so, inasmuch as it contains the beginning of a chapter in the history of European politics which has not yet worked itself out and which before it is concluded may contain the record of many considerable changes in European political geography. Herr Koch's volume contains a good deal of plain straight-forward speaking and not a few hard words. The latter, however, are apparently justifiable. The publishers deserve credit for the handsome appearance of the volume.

Mr. J. Boyd Kinnear's *Principles of Civil Government* (Smith Elder & Co.) is a book eminently for politicians. It deals clearly and searchingly with such topics as the nature, objects and scope of government, direct and representative government, actual and theoretical constitutions, local government, the Irish question, the extension of the franchise and a variety of other questions at present occupying the public mind. It is one of those books which ought to be pondered by all who exercise the franchise. Its aim is to inculcate the lessons, that those who enjoy the franchise ought to recognise its use as one of their highest privileges and that they are bound to use it not in blind obedience to authority, but only after a careful and enlightened study of the great problems submitted to them and in accordance with their wisest thought.

*Memories of the Past* (Macniven & Wallace) contains a selection of papers contributed to *The Leisure Hour* and the *Sunday at Home* by the late Mr. Dodds, sometime minister of the Free Church at Newhaven. The papers are for the most part reminiscences of the men with whom Mr. Dodds was more or less intimate. Among these were Dr. Chalmers, Hugh Miller, Dr. Guthrie, Sir William Hamilton, Prof. Wilson, Edward Irving, and Sir Walter Scott. That the little volume is interesting we need hardly say. Mr. Dodds was an indefatigable worker, and wrote in an easy and pleasant style. His widow has written a brief memoir of him for the volume.

*Men and Letters* (Houghton & Mifflin) by Horace E. Scudder, contains eleven essays on some of the most prominent men of England and America. They are worth reading. Few men write with more grace than Mr. Scudder. The paper on 'Aspects of Historical Work' is decidedly suggestive. 'Elisha Mulford' deals with a writer who is but little known on this side of the Atlantic, but who is worth knowing on account of the many remarkable features in his character. Not the least attractive paper in the volume is the one on Longfellow and his Art. Those who have learnt to appreciate his writings will read it with pleasure. Externally the volume is distinguished by its tastefulness.

In M. Jules Rouam's excellent and very acceptable series 'Les Artistes Célèbres' we have to note the appearance of the following numbers: *Joshua Reynolds* par Ernest Chesneau; *Gérard Terburg et sa famille* par Emile Michel; *Le Baron Gros* par G. Dargenty; *Ligier Richier sculpteur Lorrain du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* par Charles Cournault; *La Tour* par Champfleury; *Gavarini* par Eugène Forgues; and *Eugène Delacroix* par Eugène Véron. These works are all constructed on the same plan as those we have already noticed in the same series. They are abundantly illustrated and do in connection with French and English Art what is being done for English and French literature by such series as 'English Men of Letters' and 'Great French Writers.' We have also to note the issue by the same publishers of livraisons 7 to 12 of M. Habert-Dys' *Fantaisies décoratives* some of the plates of which, if anything, excel in suggestiveness and brilliancy of colouring any of those we have already noticed. Two other 'libraries' of artistic works, but chiefly intended for schools, have been issued by the same publisher and his London agents Messrs Gilbert Wood and Co. One is entitled the 'Artistic Educational Library' and is to consist of a series of albums containing reproductions in facsimile of decorations by the 'Little Masters.' Judging from the numbers before us it promises to be a rich mine of ornamental letters, monograms, borders, cartouches, etc., and to be of great use to embroiderers, engravers, and all who are engaged in the art of designing. The other is already in its third series and has for its subject the history of the decorative arts. As books for young students they should be useful and attractive.

In the 'Clarendon Press Series' we have received Dr. Birkbeck Hill's edition of Johnson's *Rasselas Prince of Abyssinia*, Mr. Austin Dobson's *Goldsmith: Selected Poems*, and Mr. Sweet's *Second Anglo-Saxon Reader*. The Introductions and Notes to the first two are admirable. Dr. Hill's *Rasselas* is by far the handiest and best edition of the work we have seen. Both books deserve a place in every library. Mr. Sweet's *Reader* contains among other things the Epinal-Erfurt and Corpus Glossaries, the Newcastle and Ruthven inscriptions, a number of Northumbrian fragments, together with extracts from the Durham and Rushworth Gospels, and the Kentish Glosses. As to the utility of the volume there can be no doubt; and students of the Old English dialects will not be slow to avail themselves of it. It is to be hoped that we shall not have to wait long for the promised notes and glossary. Another work which has reached us in the same series is Professor Earle's *Philology of the English Tongue* which is now in its fourth edition. Commendation of the volume is superfluous. The present edition has undergone a variety of improvements, more especially in respect to the forms of Lowland Scotch.

*Law Lyrics* (Gardner) is a dainty little volume, beautifully printed and tastefully got up. While there is plenty of fun and humour in it, here and there the pieces show a deeper purpose than to amuse. Every now and again we have vigorous thrusts at the defects of the law. Not unseldom, too, we come across a piece of genuine poetry, and a very passable sonnet. There is much in the volume both to amuse and instruct, and whoever takes it up will not willingly lay it down until he has read its last line.

*Little Miss Peggy* (Macmillan) is another of Mrs. Molesworth's pleasantly written stories for children. The volume is prettily, we should say charmingly illustrated by Walter Crane.

*The Cornhill Magazine* (Smith, Elder, & Co.) in its ninth volume still maintains its ancient and well earned reputation for excellence. Of the principal story in this and the preceding volume, but here coming to an end, we have something to say elsewhere. The minor stories, always to our mind a special feature of the magazine, are as usual good, and one or two of them stand out from the rest as excellent pieces of their kind. The papers on travel, science, history, and similar subjects are entertaining and instructive. 'Pure Gold,' 'Flags and Banners,' 'A Fossil Continent,' deserve special mention.

*The English Illustrated Magazine*, 1886-1887 (Macmillan & Co.) is a delightful volume. Among its many excellent and attractive illustrations the first place must be assigned to the remarkably effective reproduction of a study of a head by Burne Jones, which forms the frontispiece to the volume. Next to this are the travel-pictures, abundant, curious, quaint. The humorous sketches are well and vigorously drawn, and the letter-press accompanying them is quite as amusing. To Scottish readers the paper on Burns by Mr. Sime, with its accompanying illustration, will have special attractions. There is also a charming series of sketches illustrative of Cambridge, Coventry, Bristol, and Clifton, the country of George Sand, Venice, and Picardy. Prof. Freeman contributes a couple of papers on some of the less known towns of Southern France. 'The Unknown Country' is here in its original form. The Author of 'John Herring' and Mr. Farjeon contribute the larger part of the fiction, and among the other writers are Mr. Swinburne, Grant Allen, and Marion F. Crawford.

*The Leisure Hour* and *Sunday at Home* volumes for 1887 (Religious Tract Society) contain an abundance of instructive reading. *Sunday at Home*, as its title implies, is more of a religious character. Among its contents are, as usual, a number of biographical sketches chiefly of religious characters, stories about missions and missionaries, descriptive sketches of the Holy Land, and chapters expository of the Bible. There is a series of papers on hymn writers. Notes on the natural history of the Bible are given a large space, and there is a considerable amount of fiction and poetry. Biography, again, forms a large feature in *The Leisure Hour*, the individuals selected being for the most part those who have distinguished themselves in literature or science. There are excellent notes on current science, invention, and discovery, an interesting series of papers on the Mint, and another on the poets of Wales. Fiction is represented by Mr. Millington's *Something to his Advantage*, and by a number of shorter tales. Not the least interesting portions of the volume are those entitled 'Varieties' which consist of short notes on an almost endless variety of topics.

NEW EDITIONS AND REPRINTS. — *Non-Biblical Systems of Religion* (Nisbet) is a 'symposium' reprinted from the pages of the *Homiletic Magazine* and forms one of the volumes of 'Nisbet's Theological Library.' The principal contributors are Archdeacon Farrar, Canon Rawlinson, Dr. W. Wright, Rabbi E. J. Emanuel, Sir Wm. Muir, and Dr. Rhys Davids. Here we may mention two other works dealing with the same or kindred subjects: *Non-Christian Religions* and *Non-Christian Philosophies*, forming two volumes of the series of 'Present Day Tracts' issued by the Religious Tract Society. The contributors to the first are Sir Wm. Muir, Prof. Legge, Dr. Murray Mitchell and Dr. Reynolds. Among the contributors to the second are Dr. Noah Porter, Prof. Blaikie, and Prof. Radford Thomson. To the ninth volume of the same series Principal Cairns



contributes a paper on the Day of Rest, Dr. Maclear another on the observance of the Lord's day, and the Rev. John Kelly one on the present conflict with unbelief.—From the same publishers we have also received two more volumes of the handy and acceptable series of 'Christian Classics'; Athanasius, *De Incarnatione Verbi Dei* translated by T. H. Bindley, M.A., and a translation of St. Augustine's *Enchiridion*.—From Mr. T. D. Morison (Glasgow) we have received reprints of the following books in a handy size and excellent type; *The Bards of the Bible* by George Gilfillan; *The Praise of Folly* (with Holbein's illustrations) by Desiderius Erasmus; Boosey's *Anecdotes of Fish and Fishing*; Maidment's *Court of Session Garland*; and Leigh Hunt's *Romances of Real Life*.

The demands upon our space compel us to do no more than mention the following: *The Philosophy of the New Birth* by J. E. Brigg (Nisbet); *The People of the Pilgrimage* by the Rev. J. A. Kerr Bain, M.A., (Macniven & Wallace); *Daily Life and Work in India* by W. J. Wilkins (F. Unwin); *George Canning* by F. H. Hill (Longman's); *Sidney* by J. A. Symonds (Macmillan); *Women and Work* by Emily Pfeiffer (Trübner); *A Short Introduction to the Study of Logic* by Laurence Johnstone (Longmans); *Lunar Science* by Rev. T. Hartley (Swan Sonnenschein); *The Black Cabinet* by M. le Comte d'Herisson, translated by C. H. F. Blackith (Longmans); *Romantic Love and Personal Beauty* by H. T. Finck (Macmillan); *Kamona* (new edition) by Helen Jackson (Macmillan); *Les Propos de Valentine* par Ed. Bonnafé (Rouan); *Digia* (Wilson Bros.); *Poems of Alexander Scott* by Mackean (Gardner); *Harmonia* by the Author of 'Estelle Russell' (Macmillan); *Faint yet Pursuing* by E. J. Hardy, M.A., (Unwin); *Wellington College Sermons* by E. C. Wickham (Macmillan); *Christian Fulfillments and Uses of the Levitical Sin-Offering* by the Rev. H. Batchelor (Nisbet); *St. Paul in Athens* by Dr. J. R. Duff (Nisbet); *Scripture Natural History* by W. H. Groser (R.T.S.); *The Diseases of the Bible* by Sir R. Bennet, M.D., (R.S.T.); *Gospel Ethnology* by S. R. Pattison (R.S.T.); *Memoir of the M'Combie Family* by W. M'Combie Smith (Blackwood); *Bayreuth and Franconian Switzerland* by R. M. Barry (Unwin); *Euthanasia* by Dr. Minck (Longmans); *Unfinished Worlds* by S. H. Parker (Hodder & Stoughton).

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## SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

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LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (November 1).—P. Fornisoni writes on the 'Comedy of the Twentieth Century' prophesying that the essential quality of the future drama will be an ideal representation of real life, produced by the greatest liberty and simplicity of means. The powerful Shakspearian influence, and the consciousness of the tragi-comic fatality of existence, revived by new scientific currents, will always continue to inspire the drama, so that its resurrection will be partly the result of new elements, and partly of a return to the antique, uniting psychological and modern social truths with antique liberty and simplicity, and repudiating equally the romantic conventionality of the past, and the realistic conventionality of the present.—A. Bogognoni reviews several modern Italian poets, one of whom, Angelo Tomaselli, he can sincerely praise.—C. Boito gives an account of the Venice exhibition.—E. Mancini writes on the 'Migration of Animals,' and G. Lampergnini on the 'International Railway Congress.'—A new novelette entitled 'Terno Secco' is commenced by Matilde Serao.—An ex-

Minister criticises 'Crispi's Speech and its Effects in Italy and Abroad,' and believes that Crispi will fulfil the last wish of Vittorio Emanuele, by making Italy 'feared and respected.'—The 'Notes' again mention the article on 'Our Salvatore Farina' in the *Scottish Review*.—(Nov. 16th)—E. Panzecchu writes on 'Don Juan and Mozart.'—An account follows of a Spanish project for the conquest of Massowa in the eighteenth century.—P. Levy continues his Alpine articles by one on 'Alpine Animals.'—M. Ferraris has a paper on the House of Commons, the study of which he advises as of advantage to Italians. At the same time he expresses his warm thanks to those Members of Parliament who assisted him in his work, and offered such splendid and cordial hospitality.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA—(December 1st.).—In an interesting article entitled 'Two Men of the Past,' N. Marselli takes two Italians, one from the North who lived during the French Revolution, the other from the South, who died at Venice in 1848, fighting for Italian independence—Eric de Beauregard and Alessandro Perio, of the one, fragments of letters, notes, and a memoir have been published by his nephew, of the other the letters have been collected and illustrated also by a nephew in *Allessandro Perio a Venezia in 1848*. In giving an account of these books N. Marselli denies that Italy is now in a state of decadence, though it has felt the shock of passing from servitude to liberty rapidly during the very middle of this century of criticism and emancipation; and concludes his article as follows: 'Everything now thrives,' he says, 'with a more ideal life, and even commerce seems illumined by the national sentiment. Massana has become the reviving stimulus of the new generation, and increases the faith of the old, opening a way by which Italian activity may penetrate and spread in the continent of the future, all which means that the living founts of character are not dry, that Italians have not lost the power of progressing as well as the best constituted nations. The fibre vibrates to events. We have reason to trust that the example set by the men of the past will not be lost on those of the present. Let us therefore unmask the vices of our times and in order to fight them appeal to the religion of memory, but without despairing of the future, or refusing to recognise the value of this progressive age.'—(Dec. 16th).—C. Chiarini, in an article entitled, 'The Advent of Universal Literature,' imagines that there will come a time in which the intellectual relations existing between the several nations, will, by effect of the diffusion of the study of modern languages, be so condensed, that the whole of all European literature will be accessible to the greater portion of the cultivated classes of all nations. But as long as the superstitious cult of the ancients vitiates our minds and our schools, the universal literature proclaimed by Goethe will be long in arriving.—G. Boglietti writes at length on Bismarck and his twenty years of militant diplomacy.—E. Mancini contributes an article on the evil eye and conjurations.—A. Brunialti criticises the memoirs of Count Lesseps and his work, and considers that the Panama Canal will be one of the most marvellous triumphs of science, of civilization and energy, and among the greatest benefits to humanity.—An ex-diplomatist gives an interesting account of diplomatists and consuls of the Kingdom of Italy, instigating many necessary reforms.—G. A. Cesareo has an interesting review of Spanish modern literature.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (Nov. 1st.).—E. Coppi concludes his article on the Knights of Labour in the United States.—B. Monsolini writes on an Engraver of the Sixteenth Century.—G. F. Gamurrini endeavours to clear up the question as to the period of the lately discovered Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles.—G. Zinella contributes a detailed account of the works of Countess Caterina Percoto and Antonia Trueba, who portrayed the natural beauties and customs of their native places with inimitable truth of colouring. Caterina Percoto was born in 1812 and died last August. Don Antonio de Trueba of la Quintana was born in 1821 in a little village in Biscaaglia. When a young man he went to relations in Madrid, and there wrote poems and romances describing his beloved birth-place.—(Nov. 16th).—The articles on 'The Soudan and the Mahdi,' and 'the Bolognese Studies,' are continued.—Cardinal G. Gibbons notices 'some defects in the political and social

institutions in the United States.—In the shape of a dialogue between an old soldier and a naturalist, A. Conti argues on *free will*, determining it to be absolute absorption into the will of God.—C. De Giorgi contributes archæological notes on the church of S. Maria di Cerrate in the province of Otranto.—G. P. Arsinelli discourses on woman and the family in realistic romance and in real life.—A paper on 'Napoleon in History and in Critical History,' apropos of Taine's article and Prince Napoleon's pamphlet, follows, and says that Prince Napoleon even more than Taine, merits the accusation of having written a partisan work which will be of little use to historic truth, and of still less to the memory of him whom it desires to defend.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (Dec. 1st).—In an interesting article on the workmen's schools at Schio founded by Senator Rossi, we are informed that about a thousand children in that small town are annually educated on the best modern methods, and that these schools, together with that of the commune, have such an influence, that in Schio there is not a child or grown-up person who is ignorant of reading and writing.—An account follows of the paleographic and critico-historic school instituted in the Vatican by the present Pope.—E. Mulas commences a series of studies and notes on the works and influence of Count Frederic Sclopis, whose house became the centre of liberal effort after the sad events of 1821 and 1833.—G. Talorsi has an interesting article on the 'Life of Vellerio Alfieri,' which he calls a melancholy book, whether its author (Alfieri) be considered under the literary or moral aspect. No light of pure serene affection ever illumined his path or awoke his powerful genius to true intuition. There were innumerable things which displeased him and which he proudly opposed, but what was there which ever pleased him? What did he desire in politics, religion or society? Had he ever a positive belief to substitute for that ancient one which he repudiated? Over all his life, like a monotonous fog, brooded the unhappy influence of his unhappy childhood.—The papers on 'Italy on the Red Sea,' by L. Chiala, treat in this number of the first and second expeditions to Massowa.

LA CIVILTA CATTOLICA.—The numbers for October and November contain the conclusion of the chapters on the cause of earthquakes; the third part of 'France a Century after the Revolution;' a scientific article on music entitled 'The Art of Sounds and their Effects;' an article entitled 'The Machine Man' showing 'the miserable and abject condition to which working men have been reduced by modern paganism,' and concluding with an appeal to 'prevent the threatened calamity' from this source 'by restoring the workman to the true dignity of a man and a Christian, and on holy days giving him back to God, to society and to his family.'—The other noticeable papers are 'Researches into Biblical Egyptian Archæology' and 'The Late Pilgrimage of French Workmen.'—The mid-monthly number for November, contains a leading article on 'Peace and the Alliance,' which is full of sinister apprehensions for the future, the greatest reason for such fears being the growth of hatred and rivalry among races. Russia turned out the Germans and Germany the Russians. France looks askance at Italy, and Italy is diffident of France. Czechs and Germans fight in Bohemia, Slavs and Italians in Illyria and Dalmatia, and elsewhere Slavs and Germans, or Germans and French, or French and Italians. The national spirit was never so exaggerated and exclusive, so intolerant and unjust, and this fact is easy to be explained by the present moral and religious state of Europe, where no nation can call itself really Christian in its public life.

LA CIVILTA CATTOLICA (December).—The leading article in the first number for this month discusses the alms for the poor of Italy. The usual scientific and historic articles are continued.—(Dec. 17th)—The leading article is devoted to a study of the Papacy as respects the Jubilee of Leo XIII. Among other things the writer says that just as there has never been a century of Christianity in which the antagonism to the Roman pontificate was so strong, so there was also never such an example of holy, constant and universal enthusiasm for the See of St. Peter, which far surpasses what was seen at the jubilee of Pius IX.

ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE. Fasc. IV.—The notes on the Anjou treasury are continued from the year 1334 to 1342. E. Percopo gives an account of a Neapolitan version written in the 14th century, of a poem of the 13th century by Pietro di Eboli in praise of the thirty-three baths of Pozzuoli. At the end of his poem the translator adds an eulogium of his own on his beautiful country. The little poem is one of the first giving evidence of the art and culture of Naples at that period. The dialect differs somewhat from the present one. Naples, as therein pictured, was a quiet and cheerful city, enjoying a peace rich in arts and commerce, the then king, Robert of Anjou, protected the medical science, of which he was himself no mean disciple, and the Neapolitan version of the Latin poem was written by his desire.—E. Nunziante gives an account of the consistory of Innocence VIII. in March 1486.—R. Maresca contributes a very interesting historical account of the maritime defence of Naples in 1799 by Caracciolo, the article being founded on Caracciolo's own journals.

ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO (No. 5, 1887).—Contains the text of the treaty between the Genoese and the Khan of Tartary in 1380-1381, which was preserved in two original documents, one differing from the other in both date and name of the representative of the Emperor. De Sacy knew of only one of them, and the other was known only to Oderico, found in his MSS. and published by Olivier in 1885. C. Desmone now gives both.—The 'Episodes of Roman history in the Eighteenth Century' are continued, and treat of the last years of the reign of Clement XIV.—The account of the Society of the Towers in Florence is concluded, and the writer, praising the deeds of the ancient society, claims that what towers still exist should be affectionately preserved for the sake of the old memories of the city.—A. Venturi gives an account of the family da Porta, famous goldsmiths of Modena in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 5, 1887).—M. E. Sayous treats of the religious rite designated by Latin writers as the 'Taurobolium,' the 'Taurobolos' of the Greeks, the sprinkling, as in some cases, or the drenching, as in others, of an individual with the blood of a sacrificed bull for his own purification, or as a substitute for others. He describes this rite, traces its origin to Phrygia, details its propagation, and shows how in Roman circles it was modified because of the complex influences of the religious syncretism of the first centuries of our present era, and especially because of the growing power and popularity of Christianity.—M. J. Golzihier shows by what slow stages the doctrine of monotheism reached the supreme position it now holds, and has held for long, in the Moslem creed. His paper, which is entitled *Le monothéisme dans la vie religieuse des musulmans*, gives a brief history of the difficulties the Moslem theologians have had to encounter in their efforts to maintain the doctrine of monotheism in the presence of the polytheistic religions they have assailed, the caution with which they have presented it, and the compromises they have been forced to make to popular prejudices and practices.—M. Paul Regnaud contributes another of his interesting studies on Vedic terminology. On this occasion, however, it is a class of words he treats, viz., *jeux de mots*. His paper is on their character and origin.—M. L. Massebieau gives the first section of a minute and critical examination of Philo's treatise on the 'Contemplative Life.' He defends Philo's claims to its authorship, gives an abridged translation or rather summary of its contents, and then submits them to a minute analysis to show that the mystics here referred to were Jews, and not, as has been frequently maintained, a Christian, or Neo-Pythagorean, or Buddhist sect.—M. J. A. Decourdemanche continues his translation of Mehemet Said Effendi's treatise *Akhlagi-Hamide* begun in last number.—In the list of books reviewed, or shortly noticed, are *The Dictionary of Religion* (Cassel & Co.); Rev. E. Hatch's *Growth of Church Institutions*; Rev. A. H. Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures*; and Mr. A. Lang's *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*. The two latter receive only a brief, but highly appreciative, notice preliminary to special articles that are to appear on them. Hatch's *Growth of Church Institutions* is warmly praised, and Benham's *Dictionary*

of *Religion* receives commendation for the general fairness and impartiality that characterize its articles, but is sharply taken to task for its incompleteness as a work pretending to be an encyclopedia of Christian and other religious doctrines, etc. The *Chronique* and *Bibliographie* are as always very complete.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (No 3., 1887).—For the first time we include this important *Revue* in the number of those we are in the habit of summarising. Attention has been already called in our pages to its great historical and scientific interest and value, and we hope in future to furnish our readers with a regular *précis* of the various studies in Jewish history and literature, which appear in its numbers. The ends proposed by the Society under whose auspices it is published, and by a committee of which it is edited, are to further the interests of historical truth, and to lift the veil of obscurity that has hitherto shrouded so many chapters of history in which the Jewish element has been a more or less important factor. The articles in this number are all of an historical character, but the short papers included under *Notes et Mélanges*, and those included under *Bibliographie*, embrace a variety of literary criticisms and contain much interesting information on Jewish literature generally. The first paper is by Professor Isidore Loeb, and is one of a series devoted to the elucidation of obscure chapters of mediæval history. He here details the particulars of a public debate conducted in the presence of James I. of Arragon, at Barcelona, in 1263 A.D., between Paulus Christiani, a Christian Jew, and a Jewish Rabbi of Giron, Moses ben Nahman, on Judaism and Christianity. This debate has been recently brought under public notice by M. Denifle, and Professor Loeb subjects his account of it to a searching examination, and brings out, on documentary evidence, what was the exact position of the controversialists and the results of the debate so far as they can be determined.—M. P. Vidal gives a description of the political and social condition of the Jewish communities in Arragon under the reign of James I. and his successors up to the middle of the fourteenth century.—M. T. Reinach furnishes an interesting note on a coin which was exhibited recently at the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition in London, and which created considerable discussion as to its origin and genuineness. He maintains that it is genuine, and accounts for its peculiarities.—M. Israel Levi produces two versions of the story so early circulated in Jewish circles as to the death of Titus being caused, as a direct judgment of God on him for having defiled and destroyed the Temple at Jerusalem, by a fly passing up one of his nostrils to his brain. He adds variants of this story from other literatures, where it is of course told of other persons, and seeks to establish their general affinity.—Professor Loeb gives a summary of a manuscript account of a *cause célèbre* that created no little stir in Jewish circles in Marseilles in 1255. A manuscript account of it is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, but the one Prof. Loeb follows is one he has recently secured for the Library of the *Alliance israélite universelle*. In all essential particulars the two MSS. agree. One Samuel Ibn Tibbon, desirous of securing a fortune which had fallen to a lady after her marriage with Isaac bar Isaac bar Simson, raised an action to have it declared that she had been married prior to this marriage to himself according to Jewish rites. Prof. Loeb translates and abbreviates the pleas and defences, and clothes the whole subject with a very living interest.—M. J. Kracauer details the efforts made by the opposing Generals, Mansfield and Tilly, in 1622-23, to recruit their respective treasuries at the expense of the Jews in Frankfurt.—Prof. J. Derenbourg has a short paper on the recently discovered sarcophagus of Tabnit; M. Levi on Ormur and Abriman; M. W. Bacher on the import of the Hebrew word *Micra*; M. M. Gerson on two miniature pictures in a fourteenth century MS. representing Jews with the little circle on their dress they were then compelled to wear to distinguish them; M. Levi on miniature pictures of Jews found in the MS. No. 9219 in the *Bibliothèque nationale*; M. L. Modona on the Spanish exiles to Ferrare in 1493; MM. Kaufman and Loeb on two Jewish seals that have already occupied the attention of the readers of the *Revue*; and M. Loeb on a document that appeared in June, 1887, in the Madrid *Boletín de la Real-Academia*, bearing on the treatment the Jews in Jerez received from Alphonso X. when he captured that town,—

The *Bibliographie* is rich in literary information, and the criticisms are by specialists.—There follows the *Revue* proper an appendix containing reports of the meetings of the Society, and a paper read at one of them by M. T. Reinach on Jewish coins, which is full of interest not only to those who make a study of numismatics but to all who wish to acquaint themselves with the fortunes of the Jews from the days of the Maccabees.

REVUE DU MONDE LATIN (December).—M. P. Lerolle who heads the list of contributors to the present number of a periodical which we now bring for the first time under the notice of our readers, but which will henceforth take its place amongst our *summaries*, is of opinion that the discussion of the next French Budget must bring about a renewal of the old struggle between the partisans and the opponents of the Concordat. With a view to throwing more light on the vexed question he devotes a paper to the consideration of the arguments urged by those who maintain that the sums granted for the subvention of Public Worship are practically salaries paid to the clergy. In opposition to them he maintains that the Government endowment is merely an indemnity for the property of which the Church was deprived in 1789, and that, consequently the whole question resolves itself into the fulfilment of a contract from which the State cannot in justice draw back.—The second article bears the signature of M. F. de Santa-Anna Nery who sets himself the task of describing the Brazilian province of Para and who, from its position, is led to prophesy for it a brilliant future.—M. Formont contributes an interesting biographical sketch of the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara, the friend of Michel-Angelo. It is ably written and gives us a charming portrait of one of the most attractive figures of the 16th century.—The Armatolians, as M. J. Blancard, defines them, were armed Christians, entrusted with the defence of the districts inhabited by their co-religionists in the northern provinces of Greece, particularly Macedonia, Epirus, and Thessalia. Their leaders assumed the title of 'captains,' and recognised Ottoman authority so long as certain conditions, not usually to their disadvantage, were observed. They were difficult to deal with, however, and when in vindication of their rights and privileges, they rose in revolt against the Porte, they were known as Klephtes. The reader will find, in the article which M. Blancard devotes to the subject, some very interesting details concerning these men and the most remarkable of their leaders, and will rise from its perusal considerably the wiser with regard to some of the causes which led to the struggle for liberation.—A slight sketch by M. C. Fuster introduces us to a Swiss writer, Eugène Rambert, who seems to have deserved something better than the absolute obscurity which envelops his name outside his own country.—Each number contains monthly letters on politics, finance, and the drama, and has, in addition, as a special feature, a chatty and very readable 'courier mondain.'

REVUE DU MONDE LATIN (January 1888).—Bussy d'Amboise—le brave Bussy—as he was styled by his contemporaries—one of the most turbulent of Charles IX's courtiers, has supplied M. Léon Marlet with materials for a most interesting sketch which does not aim at being a complete biography, but merely brings together some of the most remarkable incidents of a remarkable career.—'Un Pèlerinage au Tombeau de Saint-Jean-Népomucène' is a somewhat misleading title. True, the article does contain an account of the victim of Wenceslaus, but the real subject is a description of the town which numbers amongst its 'sights' 'Saint John Nepomuck in stone looking down into the stream' where he perished. In plainer words, it is a description, and a most graphic and picturesque description of the city of Prague.—In a paper on balloon-steering M. Alphonse Berget retraces the various experiments which have been made for solving the one great problem of aerial navigation. His opinion seems to be that, in spite of the results obtained by M. M. Renard and Krebs, success is as far off as before. He bases it on the assumption that if these aeronauts should be able to attain to a velocity which would make their discovery theoretically perfect, the increased pressure produced by it would prove fatal to the balloon. We question whether his arguments are likely to convince those who have read the

articles on the same subject which we have had occasion to indicate in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and the *Revue Scientifique*.—The remaining contents of the number consist of the usual letters.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (October).—The number bearing the date of the 1st October opens with a translation of the address on 'The Progress of Modern Chemistry,' delivered at Manchester by Sir Henry Roscoe, the President of the British Association.—The next contribution also bears an English signature. It consists of a reproduction of the communication made by Mr. C. R. Drysdale, of London, to the International Congress lately held in Zurich, on 'The Influence of Alcohol on the Duration of Life.' The writer produces series of figures drawn from the statistical tables of various English Insurance companies with a view to showing that mortality is far greater amongst those who make an even moderate use of strong drinks than amongst total abstainers. From this thesis he passes on to another, which is that alcohol diminishes the capacity for continued physical exertion, and in support of this he adduces the experiment made at Nettley by Dr. Parket, on squads of soldiers told out for fatigue duty.—M. Welter H. Croz devotes an interesting paper to a centenary which, so far as we know, has otherwise escaped observation, though assuredly not less worthy of celebration than some about which a good deal of enthusiasm has been expended. The 3rd of August, 1887, marked the hundredth anniversary of the day on which the Genevese naturalist, De Saussure reached the summit of Mont Blanc. He started from Chamounix on the 1st of August, accompanied by a servant and eighteen guides, at the head of whom was the intrepid mountaineer, Jacques Balmat. The ascent took three days. De Saussure remained on the famous peak from eleven in the morning till half-past three in the afternoon, and performed a number of scientific experiments under circumstances which exposed him, as Cuvier forcibly remarked, to all the hardships of the pole and of the tropics.—The most important contribution to the second number is the paper which M. Gustave Le Bon entitles: 'L'Algérie et les idées régnantes en France en matière de Colonisation.' Against these principles, particularly as set forth in M. Leroy-Beaulieu's recent work, Dr. Le Bon protests energetically. He argues that a system which makes it necessary to keep in Algeria an army of 50,000, that is to say, an army nearly as numerous as that by means of which England is able to maintain her authority over 250 million Hindoos, must be essentially vicious. Summed up in his own words the system of administration which he advocates would consist in leaving to the natives their institutions, their manners, their customs, and their religion, in avoiding as much as possible all contact with them and meddling as little as possible in their affairs; in leaving them their own schools; in decreasing the number of French functionaries, but giving them more importance and more prestige.—M. Maindron sketches the history of the 'Prix Lalande' and annexes a list of all the 'laureates' from 1803 to 1886.—In the third and final article M. G. Sergi indicates the results of experiments performed by him with a view to ascertaining 'The measure of psychic acts.'—The number published on the 15th opens with a lengthy chemical paper in which M. A. Haller deals with camphor and the substances derived from it.—In a less technical article M. G. Pouchet communicates the zoological notes made by him during a cruise from Lorient to Newfoundland on board the Prince of Monaco's yacht.—The next contribution bears the signature of M. Romanes and contains a number of interesting experiments, from the result of which he comes to the conclusion that ants are, to a certain extent, able to communicate their ideas to each other.—The most important paper in the last of this month's numbers is that in which M. D'Assier endeavours to account for the recurrence of glacial periods in the history of our globe.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (November).—Until the present century there was but little intercourse between the Musulman and the Christian world. Within the last hundred years, however, the relations between them have largely increased, and, by conquest and annexation, European nations have encroached very considerably on the domain of Islam. This has naturally produced new tendencies amongst Mahometans, and the object of the study which M. A. Le Chatelier

entitles: 'Les Musulmans au xix<sup>e</sup> siècle,' is to sketch, in its main features, this important evolution.—'Le Patronage familial des aliénés,' contributed by M. Ch. Féré will be read with interest by alienists. It sketches the 'boarding-out system' such as it has existed for many centuries at Gheel, and also describes the attempt which has been made to establish a similar colony at Lierneux.—In the next number the most interesting paper is that in which M. A. Vianna considers the characteristics, both anatomical and moral, of primitive races now existing. As a corollary he endeavours to show, from the appearance of similar peculiarities amongst the criminal classes, that crime is a recurrence to the passions and vices of man in his uncivilised state.—A paper interesting to military readers explains the reasons which have led to the adoption of a small calibre for the new French rifle. It also compares, from a ballistic point of view, the various systems adopted by France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and England respectively.—M. Wislicenus contributes an important paper in which he sets forth the great problems of isomerism and contends that the atomic theory is alone able to give a satisfactory solution of them.—The third number for this month opens with an astronomical lecture in which M. Janssen describes the gradual steps by which modern science has come to the marvellous result of being able to determine at what stage of their evolution the various stars are, and consequently to establish their ages, relatively to each other.—As a contribution to Natural Philosophy, M. Le Chatelier shows the identity of the laws of equilibrium in chemical, physical, and mechanical phenomena.—Mme. Clémence Royer examines and criticises a number of anecdotes adduced by various writers, to prove that animals have the power of counting. She is led to the conclusion that certain birds and quadrupeds are able to count up to four or five, but she is sceptical as to any thing beyond that. The article is most interesting reading.—M. A. Laboulbène opens the last number with an instructive sketch of the career of Harvey, in which he supports the English physician's claim to be considered as the discoverer of the circulation of the blood.—The only other contribution of much importance is a second instalment of M. H. Le Cuatellier's, 'Les Musulmans au xix<sup>e</sup> siècle.'

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE—(October, November, December).—The lengthy article on 'Degeneracy and Criminality' is an examination of theories which have Lombroso and Garofalo for their chief exponents and which may roughly be summarized as tending to identify criminality with madness, and in consequence, to lessen the responsibility of criminals. The writer, M. Ch. Féré is by no means disposed to go the length of his Italian colleagues. He admits the criminality is often associated with physical and psychical degeneracy, and also, that criminality and degeneracy are often due to a common heredity. But he denies that either physicians or anthropologists have succeeded in distinguishing categorically, by objective and easily recognisable characteristics, the criminal from the madman or from the sane man. From this point he goes on to consider 'the social value of the degenerate,' and the best means of counteracting the evil which they cause to society. The remedy to which he inclines is based on the principle of solidarity.—The next paper on the table of contents is devoted to 'The Mechanism of Attention.' It is contributed by M. Th. Ribot whose aim is to establish and to justify the following propositions:—There are two very distinct kinds of attention, one of them is spontaneous and natural; the other voluntary and artificial. The former, although neglected by the greater number of psychologists, is the true, primitive, fundamental form of attention. The latter, to which psychologists chiefly give their attention, is only an imitation, a result of education and training, drawing its whole substance from spontaneous attention. This important study runs through two numbers.—Another *article de fonds* examines the idea of necessity as set forth in the philosophy of M. Taine.—The very abstruse subject of the psychical life of micro-organisms is treated at great length by M. A. Binet in both the November and December parts. Summing up the phenomena of this psychical life, they appear to consist in the perception of an exterior object; in the choice between several objects; in the perception of position in space; in movements either towards the object perceived, for the purpose of seizing, or away from it, for the purpose of avoid-



ing it. Whether these various acts are accompanied with consciousness or are merely physiological processes, the writer confesses his inability to decide.—M. Ch. Féré has another paper, in the last of these three numbers. He entitles it 'Physiological Conditions of the Emotions,' and records in it various experiments as to the modification of the pulse and muscular reaction under the influence of strong emotions.—In the *Revue générale* which follows the original articles in the December number, M. Tarde makes a very careful examination of a number of works dealing with criminal psychology.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (October, November, December).—Some fifty pages of the first number are taken up by the eighth instalment of the Duc de Broglie's 'Etudes Diplomatiques.' The present section is devoted exclusively to Maria Theresa.—The article headed 'George Sand' would deserve attention for its intrinsic merit, under any circumstances. It is particularly interesting, however, from the fact that it is one of the last productions to which M. Caro was able, before his death, to give the finishing touches. The essay is a history of the works of the famous writer, and shows not merely the chronological but also the psychological order of her novels.—The five engagements of the French war-ship *la Sémillante* are described by vice-admiral Jurien de la Gravière. In spite of many very striking passages, the article is on the whole rather too technical for the general reader, and in this respect, is distinctly below the average of former naval sketches by the same writer.—A well-known art-critic, M. Eugène Müntz, devotes a lengthy and instructive paper to the early years of Leonardo da Vinci.—The 'Revue littéraire' will be read with special interest particularly by those who are acquainted with M. Taine's study on Napoleon. It is an examination, by M. Brunetière, of Prince Napoleon's reply to the historian, a work which, if we may judge from the sketch here given of it, is more remarkable for strong language than for cogent arguments, and leaves the whole question very much where it was.—An able paper which M. G. Valbert devotes to Vernon Lee is singularly marred by his mistake in informing his readers that the author of 'Juvenilia' is 'un anglais.'—The first of the November numbers contains one of those monographs which, out of the fullness of his knowledge of classical history, M. Duruy, seems to throw off with as much ease as though they were a mere pastime, but which are usually found to contain information on points of special interest overlooked in larger works. The present paper deals with the struggle between religion and philosophy in the time of Socrates.—M. G. Rothan is of opinion that the Crimean war, in spite of the momentary importance which it gave France, contained the germs of the causes which brought about the diplomatic failure of 1866, and the military disasters in 1870; that it called up the Italian question and hastened the solution of the German problem by provoking, within the Confederation, the antagonism of the two great German powers. For these reasons he devotes a lengthy paper to a consideration of the state of Prussia during the Crimean War. His sub-divisions are headed: 'Germany and Eastern complications,' 'Olmutz,' 'Bismarck's début,' 'King Frederick-William IV.'—Germany furnishes the subject of another article. It is from the pen of M. Charles Grad, one of the members of the Reichstag, and gives us some interesting information concerning 'State Socialism in the German Empire.'—M. de Varigny contributes an excellent review, or rather, a summary of the 'Life of Darwin,' and M. F. Brunetière examines and criticises the opinions on the Negro race set forth by a Negro, Mr. Edward Blyden, late plenipotentiary of the Republic of Liberia at the Court of St. James, in his book 'Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race.'—A very able, but somewhat heavy philosophical study bearing the signature of M. Barthélemy—Saint Hilaire criticises a paper published as far back as 1865 by Claude Bernard, in which it was laid down as an axiom that 'vital science' can use no other methods and have no other bases than those of mineral science, that no difference can be established between the principles of physiological sciences and those of physico-chemical sciences.—In both the November parts, vice-admiral Jurien de la Gravière has interesting naval sketches entitled respectively: 'Les Héros du Grand-Port,' and 'L'expédition du Tage.'—Classical scholars will read with interest the excellent article in which M. George Perrot

reviews the first volume of the history of Greek literature published by M. M. Alfred and Maurice Croiset and re-opens the 'Homeric Question.' The writer endeavours to show that the 'manifold and fleeting' Homer of Wolf and his continuators is even more unlikely than the Homer of tradition. He cannot believe that the Iliad is the production of a 'society of men of letters,' and applies to it the saying of La Bruyère to the effect that no masterpiece was ever produced by collaboration.—M. F. Brunetière is at his best in the article which he devotes to an examination of the claims lately put forth on Théophile Gautier's behalf by Bergerat, Lovejoul, and de Goncourt, and indicates what he considers the place which ought to be assigned to the author of 'Arria Marcella' and 'le Roman de la Momie.'—The last of the December parts contains an article of which the title, 'Les Borgia,' calls up a whole series of sinister legends. It is scarcely possible to indicate from this first instalment, the view which M. Emile Gebhart intends to adopt; but it seems to be somewhat similar to that set forth by Gregorovius in his 'Lucrezia Borgia,' and by Alvisi in his 'Cesare Borgia.' He may possibly not be so thorough in his attempt at white-washing, but, at least, he begins his investigation by asserting that it is merely prejudice to consider Alexander VI. and Cæsar as being outside the pale of humanity or as having gone beyond the 'measure of crime' allowed at the end of the fifteenth century.—Some very interesting particulars concerning the early life of Lavoisier are published by M. Edouard Grimaux, on the authority of unpublished documents communicated to him by M. E. de Chazelles.—A further instalment of Count d'Haussonville's series of articles bearing the general title, 'Le Combat contre le Vice,' contains some exceedingly interesting details and statistics concerning the criminal classes of Paris, and some rather severe strictures on the repressive measures at present in use.—Algeria, so often the subject of lengthy studies in these pages, is again brought to the fore by M. Camille Rousset, and M. G. Rothan continues the 'Souvenirs diplomatiques,' dealing with Prussia during the Crimean War.

L'ART (November, December).—'Le Coffret de l'Escorial' from the pen of M. Edmond Bonaffé is a description of the splendid casket which the Duchess Catherine of Savoy presented to her sister, the Infanta Isabella in 1591, at a time when the latter was looked upon as the future Queen of France.—M. Emile Molinier has two instalments—running through the November numbers—of a paper which is intended to fill up some of the gaps which, in spite of what has already been written on the subject he has still found to exist in the history of Venetian Ceramic Art.—There are in both months, continuations of the able notices which M. Leroi devotes to an examination of the chief works in the 'Salon' of 1887.—Both from a literary and an artistic point of view the 'Sketches of a Voyage to Italy' are highly interesting.—In the last December number 'Rue Trompette, No. 6, à Saint-Germain-en-Laye,' a paper dealing with the life and work of François Bonvin is carried a stage further.—M. Alfred Melain gives a short description of 'Decus Pelagi,' a piece of sculpture by Signor Vincenzo Jerace which has been greatly admired at the recent Italian Art exhibitions.—Amongst the many illustrations which form a conspicuous feature of this artistic review two etchings are particularly striking; the first represents Bonvin etching and is by himself; the other is a bit of Italian landscape 'La Balmassa à Villefranche.' It is by M. Chauvel, whose name, by the way, we have noticed in a recent publication of special interest, Mr. Armstrong's 'Scottish Painters.'

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE—(October, November, December).—Under the heading 'La Condition Sociale des femmes,' M. Ernest Naville discusses through all three numbers the various aspects of a question which has recently been admirably handled in this country by the well-known poetess, Mrs. Emily Pfeiffer in her 'Woman and Work.'—To Switzerland we owe a debt of gratitude for Vinet, Toepffer, and Aniel. In an exhaustive critical biography, also running through the three numbers, M. Henri Warnery endeavours to make it clear that French literature ought to be proud of another Swiss—Eugene Rambert—poet, critic, philosopher, and for twenty years professor of French

literature at the Polytechnic at Zurich. Rambert wrote some very charming poetry, but we fear that he is not likely to receive outside the Confederation the recognition accorded to his more distinguished compatriots.—The fiction for the quarter is exceptionally attractive. M. Grégoire Danilevsky's striking Russian story, 'The Burning of Moscow' is brought to a close, and M. J. Combe contributes three piquant novelettes in sequence.—The 'Russian Sketches' of M. J. S. Patru are singularly quaint, as most of the original fiction from those strange regions has the merit of being; and equally curious are the historical notes by M. Leger of the first Russian embassies abroad in the 17th century. In 1655 when the Venetian Republic solicited the alliance of Alexis Mikhailovitch against the Grand Signor the Russian foreign office were naively inquisitive as to the locality, government, and foreign relations of the city of the Doges. In those days Russia had no fleet and but one sea-port, and when she sent her diplomats to St. Mark's they had to proceed by sea in Dutch vessels from Archangel round by the English Channel and Gibraltar. The Muscovite statesmen made a profitable thing of their mission by the sale of their peltry.—Among the other readable papers may be noted an account of a canal from the North Sea to the Baltic; a study of the folk-songs and stories of Brazil; 'La Cour de France et la Société au xvi<sup>e</sup> Siècle' and 'La Navigation Transatlantique.—As usual the 'chroniques' are full of excellent and varied matter.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (October, November, December).—Goethe has more than once, both in his conversations and in his works, asserted that none of his poems were purely imaginative, but that, on the contrary, all of them were founded on facts, and inspired, at least, by episodes in his own life. In spite of this, however, attempts to find a 'key' to Hermann and Dorothea have not hitherto proved highly successful. In a paper which he entitles 'Die Urbilder zu Hermann und Dorothea' Herr Albert Bielschowsky re-opens the question and endeavours to identify Dorothea with Lili Schoenemann. Lili's flight from Strassburg, disguised as a peasant is the episode on which he founds one of his arguments; for the others he mainly trusts to a parallel between the character of the heroine of real life and that of the poem. The essay is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to Goethe literature.—An historical contribution which Dr. Heinrich Weber entitles 'A French Parliamentary Struggle under Louis XV.'—it should be remembered that the French Parliaments had nothing in common with ours—deals with an episode in the history of Jansenism, the struggle provoked by the Bull 'Unigenitus.'—The characteristics of French elementary schools are explained, discussed, and pretty sharply criticised by Herr Arnold Sachse, particularly as regards their connection, or rather, disconnection, with the Church, and the systematic instilling of the longing for 'revanche' which, he asserts, has become a guiding principle in them.—Dr. F. Reuter furnishes some valuable details concerning Rückert's connection with the Kopp family during his stay in Erlangen.—Dr. Delbruck contributes an able review of the second volume of the official history of the Danish War of 1864.—A very important article runs through the November and December parts. It is that which examines in detail the policy of the Russian government from 1881 to 1887. Amongst other points, the various members of the Cabinet are rather severely handled, and the influence of Katkow and Pobedonoszew represented as the reverse of beneficial. The whole study is interesting as setting forth the German view of the state of Russia. That it should be favourable no one will expect.—Herr Fritz Schultess gives an account of a work in the Alsatian dialect published about the beginning of the century and is not more interesting than might be anticipated from his subject.—We conclude our notice by pointing out to special attention the very interesting account which Herr Thoma gives of Johannes Böhm, the Piper of Niklashausen, and of the episode of the pilgrimage which bears an important part in ecclesiastical history as a prelude to the Reformation.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (October, November, December).—The name of Theodor Storm, whose story 'Ein Bekenntnis' heads the table of contents of the October number is a sufficient guarantee of excellence; we need only to add

that this touching little sketch is equal to anything we have read of the well-known writer's long list of works.—Frederick the Great's musical tastes are too well known to require special mention in the very interesting paper which Herr F. A. von Winterfeld entitles 'The Hohenzollern and Music.' The members of the royal family whom he here introduces are, in the first place, the Princess Anna Amelia, who is doubtless better known to most readers from the episodes with Baron von der Trenk than as a composer and one of the most skilled pianists of her time. Her musical library, which she bequeathed to the Joachimsthaler Gymnasium, where it is still preserved, bears testimony to the extent of her acquaintance with both the theory and practice of her favourite art. The pages devoted to Frederick-William II., as enthusiastic as a 'cellist as his predecessor was as a flutist, acquire additional interest from the anecdotes of Mozart and Beethoven which they contain. Prince Louis Ferdinand, who fell at the age of twenty-four at the battle of Saalfeld, is also included amongst the sketches of the musical Hohenzollern.—With the garrulity which age excuses and which her pleasant style renders enjoyable, Frau Fanny Lewald, whose reminiscences of Heyne and Liszt have lately occupied us, tell us what she knew of Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau, no very prominent figure, it is true; but then, the writer's manner compensates many shortcomings in this matter. These 'Reminiscences' run through two numbers.—Two numbers are also devoted to the study of Johannes Brahms, contributed by Otto Gunprecht. It will be found of considerable assistance to the understanding of one whose compositions have been usually considered amongst the least intelligible and have not hitherto enjoyed great popularity in this country.—A third paper likewise runs through the first and second of this quarter's numbers. It is that in which Herr Gerhard Rohlf describes, with both pen and pencil, the island and town of Zanzibar.—Finally, yet another writer, Frau Helene Bohlau follows the example and divides her sketch of Constantinople between the October and November parts.—A paper which it would be unfair to overlook is that which Herr Ludwig Pietsch devotes to the Austrian painter Passini, whose water-colours have won a very high reputation not merely in his own country, and of whose manner the numerous illustrations which accompany this article give us a capital idea.—In addition to the continued articles already mentioned, the November number contains a sketch of the life and travels of Adolf Bastian, one of the first ethnologists of the day, to whose energy is due the foundation of a museum of ethnology in Berlin. The author is Herr A. Woldt.—A number of interesting details concerning the working of the marble quarries of Carrara are contained in a contribution which bears the signature of Herr Eduard Kaempffer and of which the style very greatly diminishes if not the value, at least the readableness.—On the other hand, the only remaining article, that which Herr Gustav Weisbrodt devotes to life in Vienna a hundred and fifty years ago is charming no less for what the writer says than for the way in which he says it.—December brings us, in the first place, a paper on St. Petersburg which, both as to the description and the illustrations, deserves all the praise which we have so often had to bestow on these sketches of great cities which are a specialty of the *Hefte*.—Both interesting and amusing, but unfortunately very short, is the article in which Herr Max Buchner records a number of strange 'compliments and ceremonies' peculiar to the interior of Africa.—Herr Max Ring has made Melchior Grimm the subject of a lengthy study which we cannot help comparing with that which appeared quite recently in a French periodical and which does not gain by the comparison.—Readers whom the history of music interests will read with pleasure the excellent paper in which Herr Ernst Pasqué traces the origin of the two operas 'Fidelio' and 'Der Wasserträger'.—The only remaining contribution, not including the ordinary notices and letters, is one in which Herr Julius Lessing discourses learnedly and lengthily, but, except for the illustrations, not particularly attractively, on the subject of 'Remarkable Drinking Vessels.'

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. Zweites Heft, 1838.—Professor Giesebrecht, dissatisfied with the interpretations hitherto given of Isaiah vii. and viii., in so far as the Messianic character of these chapters is concerned, offers

herq—*Die Immanuelweisagung*—another, which he says has never yet been suggested, so far as he is aware. He first gives his reason for rejecting the views of such recent exegetical scholars as Bredenkamp and Guthe, and justifies the position he himself takes up by affirming that, if these chapters had had the Messianic importance modern commentators attribute to them, it is inexplicable that not a single reference should have been made to them by any N. T. writer, saving that of Matthew i. 23. He then proceeds to minutely analyse the contents of the chapters, especially chap. viii., and points out the glosses which he thinks have crept into them. Having thus restored the text, he endeavours to show that chap. viii. is separated from chap. vii. by a considerable period of time, and is in reality the interpreter of the preceding prophecy, correcting in the light of history the impressions likely to have been created by it. He shows that these prophecies have only a very secondary Messianic character.—Herr Gustav Rösch follows with an article titled *Astarte-Maria*, in which he seeks to trace the origins of the Mariencultus in the Astarte and Venus worship so prevalent in the early Christian centuries.—Herr Otto Ritschl contributes the first of a series of studies on Schleiermacher, confining himself here to Schleiermacher's *Reden über die Religion*.—The other articles are *Tertullian: Von der Keuschheit*, by E. Nöldechen, and *Über die Interpunktion einiger neutestamentlichen Stellen*, by H. Bois. The books reviewed are K. W. Ziegler's *Zum Entscheidungskampf um den christlichen Glauben in der Gegenwart*, and the second volume of Luther's *Briefwechsel*.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (October, November, December).—The first of these numbers contains an article from the pen of Herr Hermann Grimm who has taken for his subject the correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle. The writer briefly relates the circumstances under which Carlyle's first letter was sent to Weimar, mentions the answer which it called forth, dwells for a moment on the small parcel of books, manuscript and trifling 'souvenirs' with which Goethe delighted the heart of his Scottish admirer, and from this passes on to the publication, under Goethe's superintendence, of the German translation of 'The Life of Schiller.' Though somewhat disjointed and only partially true to its title, the paper is interesting and will be read with both pleasure and profit both by admirers of Carlyle and of Goethe, particularly the latter.—A paper of some interest has for its subject: 'Tunisia as a French Colony.' The writer, Professor Fischer, arrives at the conclusion—not a very startling one—that, so far as a five years' experience goes, matters are on the whole in a favourable and satisfactory condition, and that France seems to have profited by her experience in Algeria.—The medical article entitled, 'Eine Infectious Krankheit des Menschen,' deals with consumption, which it shows to be in some degree infectious, and the treatment of which it explains.—A very readable and instructive paper on 'Grecian Mythology' is contributed by Herr L. Friedlaender.—The first and second numbers for the quarter contain a new novel by the well-known writer Conrad Ferdinand Meyer. It is entitled 'The Temptation of Pescara' and seems to indicate that the author intended more than merely an excursion, if we may use the expression, into the domain of the historical novel when he published 'The Monk's Wedding.' He seems, on the contrary to have very seriously turned his attention to the material which Italy offers in such abundance, and which makes the history of that country read, at times, like a novel. Some passages in Herr Meyer's story lead us to express a hope that he will not make his novels read too much like history.—Each of the three numbers contains parts of a lengthy historical essay entitled 'Stein and Gruner in Austria,' and intended by Herr August Fournier as a contribution to the history of the struggle known as the 'War of Liberty.'—A paper entitled 'Schiller's Father' is merely the opening chapter of yet another biography of Schiller which Herr Otto Brahm is about to add to a list which a good many people may consider quite long enough already.—One of the most interesting contributions to the November part bears the signature of Herr Julius Rodenberg, and is another of those charming bits which, whenever the writer cares to join them together will make up a most enjoyable history of Berlin. Under der Linden is the subject of present 'Picture of Berlin Life.'—A very interesting

account of a journey to Kairuan in Central Tunisia, and a somewhat heavy dissertation on the methods of historical study complete the number.—The art collections of Moscow have furnished Herr Julius Lessing with materials for an article as interesting as it is instructive. It appears in the December part.—Those who have not had the opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the 'Souvenirs' of the Duke de Broglie will here find an excellent summary of them from the pen of Herr H. Geffcken, who writes with a complete mastery of the history of the period, and with a generous appreciation of one of the most honest statesmen of his time.—The first instalment of what promises to be an interesting sketch of 'German Africa' contains descriptions of Angra Pequena and of Hereroland.—The publication of the new edition of Goethe's works which owes its origin to the intelligent enthusiasm of the Archduchess Sophia of Saxony has supplied Herr Hermann Grimm with a peg whereon to hang an essay which, being from him, cannot but be readable, but which will leave our knowledge and understanding of the poet very much where they were.

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ART. I.—THE CULDEES.

SO much has been written about the Culdees, that it seems a bold venture to take up the subject anew. The very mention of the name seems, or at one time seemed, like giving the signal for battle. Scotchmen, highland and lowland, have entered into the fray. Irishmen, Englishmen, Frenchmen, even the stolid German, have been more or less successful combatants, generally, if the first-named be excepted, less successful. The victims of the fight have been many. But who were the Culdees? Why, that is exactly what all the din and battle of letters has been about. What then was known about them? The known figured so poorly beside the unknown, that it served but to add fuel to the flames of strife. How could that be? The reason is apparent. Founding on the little that was known, not seldom incorrectly known, the writer had the unbounded regions of the unknown all to himself, and used them freely to suit his hobby. There was thus little of the Culdees and much of the writer brought into the subject, and the blows given and received were more bitter, because more personal. What made the Culdees of so much interest was, that they were supposed to be connected with the very early beginnings of Christianity amongst us. Most people have something of the antiquary in them. They cannot see far into the future, so the eye and thought turn backwards

and gaze into the past to glean what can be known of the things and men that were before us: who they were; how they lived; what they did; what principles and motives guided and influenced their lives. If in other things the interest was great, in matter of religion, which concerns the inner life of the soul, the interest to Christians was supreme. Who were these supposed sowers of the first seeds of Christianity in the country, how did they sow, and what did they sow? The reader will at once see that a writer, if at all gifted with imagination or of warm religious bias, easily found among the unknown Culdees whatever tenet or practice his heart desired. In place of their history becoming clearer from all that was written, it became a chaos of religious controversy.

At last, however, extravagance and ignorance gave place to judgment and knowledge, and the question at once assumed a different aspect. Instead of the ways of heated controversy, we now meet the cool, patient, impartial, laborious methods of well-informed science. The Rev. Dr. W. Reeves, equally learned in the antiquities of our country as of his own, the well-known editor of Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, and of many other Celtic MSS., an antiquary on such matters than whom none more capable, took up the question, and to him is mainly due all the flood of light that has been shed upon it. In 1860 he read a most learned paper on the Culdees before the members of the Royal Irish Academy. This was published separately, with the evidences on which he founded his statements, as well as in the xxivth volume\* of their *Transactions*. No one can prudently pass judgment on a case he only partially knows. This had hitherto been done as a matter of course, but it can no longer be done by any writer of character; we are in a position now to call for chapter and verse. Dr. Reeves has collected from every source what referred to the Culdees, and given it to the public. The diligent student has not to go hunting hither and thither for scraps of evidence. He is saved all that sort of literary drudgery. Every known passage of ancient Celtic writers and of more mo-

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\* All quotations, &c. from Reeves are taken from this xxivth vol. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*.



dern charters, wherein the word *Culdee* occurs, is laid before us in his pages. Whoever, then, is interested in the Culdees finds, in small compass and without trouble, all that which we have of what was written in olden time of them. What there remains for us to do is the more profitable and interesting work of thoroughly understanding and digesting the information given us.

Dr. Reeves gives us a brief account of his predecessors, something like fifty-eight writers, who had treated more or less of the Culdees. Some of them wrote professedly on the subject, and at considerable length, adding a goodly volume to the library of the curious. More than one returned to the subject in different works. The opinions hazarded manifest at times sufficiently gross ignorance and are ludicrously absurd. A grave bishop, Dr. Bramhall, about the year 1635, writes:—

“The rectories of Donoughmore, &c., and seven townes and many other parcells of lands, though much of them was actually in the possession of churchmen, yet indeed were they appertinent to the Pryory of the Colideans, or as the Irish call them, Gallideans or God’s Cockes, in Armagh; and were so found by inquisition, and begged by Mr. Murry, and passed in a patent to one Chase.” (MS. Lambeth Library, No. 949, p. 535.) The Armagh Culdees might have replied in the words of the Bangor people—“*Scoti sumus non Galli*” (Reeves, 186).

The very fitting observation at the end is that of Dr. Reeves. John Poland, in his *Nazarenus*, gives the true derivation of the Culdee name. His remarks brought down upon him ‘the criticism of a very inferior genius,’ Bishop Nicolson, who, in 1723, wrote:—

“The short story of these monks is, that they were of the Irish Rule; carried into Scotland by St. Columb, and thence dispersed into the northern parts of England. They were so named from the black habit which they wore: for *Culdee* signifies as plainly a *black monk* (from the colour of his hood or *coul*), as *Culwen* signifies a *white one*.” (The *Irish Historical Library*, Preface, p. xxx.) (Reeves, 189).

The reflection of Dr. Reeves on this is telling and most apposite:—

‘This is as much as to say that Culdee is derived from *Cochall dubh*, or, to adopt his Anglo-Irish compound *coul-dubh*! Unfortunately the Columbite wore white’ (Reeves, 189).

'Sir David Dalrymple (Lord Hailes) despatches the order, in 1776, with the summary sentence, "I imagine the Culdees either were or wished to be *independents*"' (*Ann. of Scotland*, 1153, p. 95), (*Reeves*, 190).

In 1844 the Hon. Algernon Herbert capped everything hitherto said of these wonderful Culdees:—

"Under the shell of orthodoxy," he says, "Culdeism contained an heterodox kernel." This he conceives to have consisted in their secret mysteries, and the practice of human sacrifice. He holds that Scotch Freemasonry originated in Iona, and uses the term Culdeism to denote what he calls the Oceanic churches, namely, the Patrician Church of Ireland, and the Columban Church of North Britain' (*British Mag.*, xxvi., pp. 1-13, 248-259).

No Culdee remains to speak for his order, but there are plenty of Scottish freemasons; it is to be hoped that they are duly grateful to the Hon. Algernon Herbert for giving them the far-famed Iona as the seat of their origin, and for the doubtful honour of attributing the monstrous guilt of human sacrifice to the progenitors of their craft. We shall see by and by what sort of sacrifice the poor Culdees offered up.

The Rev. Duncan M'Callum gives us an example of extensive reading in his *History of the Culdees, the Ancient Clergy of the British Isles*, which was wonderfully comprehensive on our subject in a perverse sense. This is how Dr. Reeves speaks of it:—

'Its chronological range is from A.D. 177 to 1300, and within those limits embodies nearly every error and misapprehension concerning the class, which has been put forward from the days of Boece to its own publication' (*Reeves*, 194).

The reader will be troubled only with one other notice of those who endeavoured to enlighten the public on this question:—

"The Culdees," a paper read in Edinburgh, by the Rev. W. L. Alexander, D.D., on the 15th August, 1860, proves that neither record evidence, nor sober reasoning is sufficient to break down popular prejudice. The writer declines "to sketch the history of the Culdees" . . . And it is well that he has avoided the dangerous field of history, when a chance approach to it results in the discovery that "it was avowedly to make room for men who would live according to *ordinem canoniculum*, that these men, whose offence was that they refused to live *regulantur* according to monastic rule, were expelled from the dwellings they had held for centuries, and from possessions they had done so much to render fruitful and of value.' (*Ter-centenary Scot. Reform.*, Edin. 1860, pp. 15, 17. *Reeves*, 195.)

The foregoing quotations give some idea of the wild and wide wanderings of the writers who preceded Dr. Reeves in treating of the Culdees. There were indeed some notable exceptions, but the general flow of the copious stream of writing was such as is above described. Another masterhand, Mr. W. Skene, with the benefit of Dr. Reeves' opinions and with all the advantage of the information collected by him, has in *Celtic Scotland* elucidated still further the history of the Culdees. What two such renowned and competent scholars and antiquaries agree in stating as to the Culdees may safely be considered as authoritatively settled. Where they disagree there is room for doubt and further inquiry. It will be well then to state here the points that may thus be considered as truths of history placed finally beyond dispute.

1. The etymological derivation of the name and hence its signification. Culdee, the name now in common use, was written in the ancient Irish MSS. *Ceile-De*, or *Cele-De*, and usually latinized in our Scottish charters *Keledeus*. *Ceile* means *spouse*, and *De* of *God*. *Ceile-De*, then, is spouse of God. Or *Ceile* means companion, servant, one in close union with another. In Scottish Gaelic the word by itself is now only used for *spouse*. The signification of the name is so obvious to such as have any knowledge of Gaelic, that the wonder is how it was ever in doubt. But the wonder ceases when it is seen that those who argued on the subject were ignorant of Celtic, and therefore not competent to deal with it. John Toland, the very first Gael we meet in the controversy, writes in 1718 in his *Nazarenus*, that the Culdees were

'constantly called Keledei, from the original Irish or ancient Scottish word *Ceile-de*, signifying *separated or espoused to God*. . . . From *Ceile-de* many of the Latin writers make *Colidei* in the plural number; and others who did not understand this word, did from the mere sound interpret it *Cultores Dei*, whence the modern word *Culdees*, though it be *Keldees* and *Kelledei* in all the ancient Scottish writings. *Ceile-de*, both name and thing, cannot be deny'd by any man who's tolerably versed in the language of the Irish and their books.' (Reeves, 188.)

So, in 1829, Edward O'Reilly, in a paper on the Ossianic controversy read before the 'Irish Academy,' concludes that

Macpherson, from his etymology of the name Ceile-De, 'signifying literally *the spouse of God*,' was so ignorant of the Gaelic language 'as to be incapable of translating the genuine poems of Ossian.' (Reeves, 192.) In Scotland the word is of such frequent use that ignorance is scarcely conceivable. As a compound it is also in every mouth: *athair-ceile*, the father of the spouse; *mathair-cheile*, the mother of the spouse; *brathair-ceile*, and *piuthair-cheile*, brother and sister of the spouse: that is, father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law. With a preposition the word is in constant use: *a cheile*, each other, or both; *ri cheile*, to-gether; *as a cheile*, asunder; *troimh-cheile*, in confusion, or as the Scotch say, 'throu' ither.' This usage shows that the root word meant a very close union. And in this case it will appear that, according to the mind of the times, the works the Culdees were engaged in were considered to be works specially undertaken for God. It is worthy of notice here that Catholic writers now often use the words *sponsae Christi*, spouses of Christ, speaking of nuns.

2. The ancient clergy of Ireland and Scotland were not called Culdees. Dr. Reeves states that 'it is to be remembered that the term only came into use with anything like a determinate application towards the end of the Eighth Century.' And Mr. Skene, (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. 226.) says, 'It is not till after the expulsion of the Columban monks from the Kingdom of the Picts, in the beginning of the eighth century, that the name of Culdee appears.' These deliberate statements made by two such students of all our ancient monuments and manuscripts are conclusive on the point. A name that was never heard until 300 years after St. Patrick, could not be the name of the clergy that originated from him.

3. The Columban monks were not called Culdees, nor was the church in Ireland or Scotland called the church of the Culdees, except by very modern writers. Skene says, 'to Adamnan, (he might have added Cumin the Fair), to Eddi, and to Bede it [the name Culdee] was totally unknown. They knew of no body of clergy who bore this name, and in the whole range of ecclesiastical history there is nothing more entirely destitute of authority than the application of this name to the Columban monks of the

sixth and seventh centuries, or more utterly baseless than the fabric which has been raised upon that assumption.' (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. 226.)

Dr. Reeves, p. 149, speaks of the ablest of modern writers on the Culdees falling into the national error of considering them a peculiar order who derived their origin from the Columban monks, and quotes with approbation the opinion of a modern Bollandist, who finds no connection between the Culdees and the Columban monks. This appears plainly from the places where we find Culdee establishments in Scotland and in Ireland. They are to be found, with few exceptions, where we have no trace of Columbites. And in Argyleshire and the islands around Iona, where they should have most abounded, had they sprung from the Columbites, there are but two notices of the existence of Culdeism.

4. When charters and other writings bring the Culdees more fully into view, they are seen to be rather like a sort of secular canons than like monks. Most writers concur with Dr. Reeves and Mr. Skene as to this. It is a point of small importance, on which we need not dwell.

5. They became lax in discipline, fell away from their first fervour, and died out, or partly became and partly were superseded by canons, secular or regular.

This name was borne only here and there by individuals, or rather by communities of men, and not by any territorially separate body of the clergy, or branch of the church. The superior of each community was called generally *Prior*, but also at times *Head*, or *Master* of the Culdees, only in two cases *Abbot*. There does not seem to have been any relationship, or community of interest, or authority exercised by one house of them towards another. Their communities existed in each of the three kingdoms, and yet they were but few. Scotland held the greatest number of them. Some of their establishments may have come to an end, without leaving any trace of their existence. We have every reason to think that these could not have been numerous, seeing at what a late period the first of them is heard of. In Ireland, if Maelruan's establishment was Culdee, they had nine communities: Tamhlacht, Armagh, Clonmacnois, Clondalkin, Monahin-

cha, Devenish, Clones, Pubble, and Scatterly; in Scotland they had thirteen: at the episcopal sees of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Brechin, Ross, Dunblane, Caithness, Argyle, and at Iona, Lochleven in Kinross, Abernethy, Monymusk, Muthill, Monifieth; and in England and Wales two: York, and Bardsey. There are some indications that they had existed elsewhere in the south of England. As to Ross and Argyle the authority is of the feeblest, a bare mention in the list of Scotch sees in the catalogue annexed to Henry of Silgrave's Chronicle. Caithness is in the same position, with an exception of some importance to be considered later. Had there been Culdees in connection with those sees, something of it would have cropped out in the considerable body of documents and charters still existing, which afford information as to the bishops of these sees, their cathedral clergy, and endowments. But nothing appears to lead us to think that Culdees lived in their neighbourhood at any time.

In regard to the original application of the name to a class of persons, Mr. Skene disagrees with Dr. Reeves, and it is to this part of the subject that this paper is mainly directed. Dr. Reeves says that '*Ancilla Dei* was understood (in the Latin Church) to signify "a nun;" and *servire Deo*, "to lead a monastic life."' He endeavours to show by numerous quotations that *servus Dei* became a special designation, so that it 'and *monachus* became convertible terms.' The Irish, then, familiarized with the expression *Servus Dei* would naturally seek in their own language an equivalent for it. 'To this origin,' he concludes, 'we may safely refer the creation of the Celtic compound *Ceile-De*.' Mr. Skene objects to this conclusion, but in one point he does not do justice to Dr. Reeves, when he says that he 'starts with the assumption that the *Ceile-De* were simply monks.' For Dr. Reeves admits a great diversity in the application of the term—

'sometimes borne by hermits, sometimes by conventuals; in one situation implying the condition of celibacy, in another understood of married men; here denoting regulars, there seculars; some of the name bound by obligations of poverty, others free to accumulate property.' (121, 122.)

For the rest the force of Mr. Skene's objection is convincing, and must hold good. It is thus:—



‘This rendering appears to him objectionable—first, because no example can be produced in which the term *Servus Dei* appears translated by *Ceile-De*; secondly, that the term *Ceile-De* is applied to a distinct class who were not very numerous in Ireland, while the term *Servus Dei* is a general expression applicable to religious of all classes, and included the secular canons as well as the monks.’ (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. 251, note.)

This argument, so true and so forcible against the theory it combats, militates with no less strength and certainty, as will be shown, against Mr. Skene’s own theory. It is after considerable study and much thought that the present writer differs with Mr. Skene. It is also with some diffidence, and with every deference to so mature and learned a scholar, that he now submits the reasons which constrain him to differ, and to maintain that the true origin and the true position of the Culdees are different from what is so skilfully presented in *Celtic Scotland*. The reader will be able the better to judge, as the subject is developed, what Mr. Skene maintains regarding them, and what they really were. No one will be better pleased than the author of *Celtic Scotland*, for any elucidation of an obscure point in our history. Every care will be taken not to advance one contention, for which sufficient proof will not be adduced. It will be more satisfactory to give Mr. Skene’s position in his own words. They are as follows:—

‘The result, then, that we have arrived at is that the Culdees originally sprang from that ascetic order who adopted a solitary service of God in an isolated cell as the highest form of religious life, and who were termed *Deicolæ*; that they then became associated in communities of anchorites, or hermits; that they were clerics, and might be called monks, but only in the sense in which anchorites were monks; that they made their appearance in the eastern districts of Scotland at the same time as the secular clergy were introduced, and succeeded the Columban monks who had been driven across the great mountain range of Drumalban, the western frontier of the Pictish Kingdom; and that they were finally brought under the canonical rule along with the secular clergy, retaining however, to some extent, the nomenclature of the monastery, until at length the name *Keledeus* or *Culdee*, became almost synonymous with that of secular canon.’ (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. 277.)

It is impossible, in the space at our command, to give an adequate idea of the elaborate manner, and with what learning and research, this case is sought to be established, step by step,

in *Celtic Scotland*. The mind of the early church as to holiness and perfection is entered into. A great spirit of asceticism arose within the Church, so great that 'it led the monk to forsake the cœnobitical life for the solitary cell of the anchorite,' and induced those who desired to enter the religious life to choose the most ascetic form of it. The greatest asceticism was held to be the greatest perfection; the most mortified mode of life was the most perfect one: and, in a word, this higher mode of religious life was that of the anchorite, who lived by himself a life of penance and prayer, deprived of the comfort of associating even with religious men. The foundation being thus prepared, our author takes the first step towards raising his edifice, when, on sundry grounds, he maintains that anchorites were designated *Deicolae*, 'in contrast to *Christicolae*,' a name applied to all Christians, but in a narrower sense only to monks. The next step crowns the edifice, when we are told that *Deicolae* were termed *Ceilean de*, in the singular *Ceile de*, in Ireland. 'In lieu of the term *Deicolae*, we find these Irish anchorites having the term of *Ceilean De* applied to them.' 'These terms may be,' says the author, 'considered as correlative and intended to represent the same class; and as *Christicola* becomes in Irish *Celechrist*, so *Deicola* assumes in Irish the form of *Ceile De*.' This gives a sufficient knowledge of the line of argument followed, but not even a feeble indication of the wealth of quotation and the various sources whence information is brought to illustrate what is advanced. The error is that he has gone too far a-field in the quest of material, and has not given that same searching scrutiny to the home documents that treat expressly of the Culdees. Before showing what these documents clearly do say, it is better to prepare the way by making some answer to the result thus arrived at in *Celtic Scotland*.

First, *Deicola* was not used as another name for an anchorite, or a recluse. The passages cited from various books in *Celtic Scotland* do not say, or prove that it was. If we find in an ancient book or MS. a person called a *Deicola*, or a body of men called *Deicolae*, we cannot conclude therefrom, and therefrom only, that he or they were anchorites. The quotations bear that it was a name of special praise, signifying a reputation for great sanctity,



and not limited to one class. These words of the famed Columbanus of Bobbio are given in proof :—

‘ Whosoever, therefore, willetth to be made a habitation for God, let him strive to become humble and quiet, that not by glibness of words, nor by suppleness of body, but by the reality of his humility he may be recognised as a *Deicola*; for goodness of heart requireth not the feigned religion of words.’ (Migne, Patrologie, C. Scot., ii., 238.)

Columbanus instructs his monks in these terms how they may become *Deicolae*, but there is nothing here to infer that they have to be anchorites. The heart was to make them *Deicolae*, not outward things. Mr. Skene’s own words, which demolished Reeves’ theory, overthrow now his own. The term anchorite appears in no ancient example translated by *Deicola*. Persons that excelled in holiness of their class, whether that class was of bishops, monks, anchorites, or priests, might be called *Deicolae*. The fact that no ancient writer, particularly no ecclesiastical writer to whom religious terms should be best known, considered this to be a name for anchorites, settles the point, and at the same time settles the theory founded on this contention.

Secondly, there is no attempt to show that in Ireland or Scotland anchorites were called *Deicolae*, but ‘in lieu of the term *Deicolae*,’ we are told, ‘we find these Irish anchorites having the term of *Ceile De* applied to them.’ This is what we must deny. It cannot be maintained that this was another name for anchorite. The only thing like a proof is that in the *Leabhur Breac*, there is a heading in the rule of St. Mochuda of Rathen, who died in 636—‘Of the *Cele De*, or of the clerical recluse’; but the latter clause is the reading of one manuscript. The rule that follows is plainly contradictory of the notion that it was for a recluse, and as plainly an evidence that it was for a community. It begins: ‘If we be under the yoke of clergyhood’; and stanza after stanza begins with *We*, evidently indicating a body of Culdees living together. The very passage from the *Four Masters* quoted in proof, proves the opposite. It is ‘A.D. 1031, Conn nam bocht (of the poor) Head of the *Cele De* and Anchorite of Clonmacnois.’ It is not *or* anchorite, but *and* anchorite. He was the one *and* the other, and therefore the two names did not signify the same thing. It might with equal

authority be contended that bishop and anchorite, scribe and anchorite, or even the four titles bishop, abbot, scribe, and anchorite, were but different designations of the same office: for in 806 we read, 'Elarius anchorite and scribe of Loch Crea'; in the *Four Masters*, 802, 'Flann, son of Ceallach, abbot of Finnglath, scribe, anchorite, and bishop, died;'; in 807, 'Eochaidh, bishop and anchorite, successor of Maelruain of Tamlacht.' Nothing was more common in those early times than for a person to spend some time in religious retirement, and thus he held afterwards the name of anchorite. It meets us constantly by itself in the obits, and also in conjunction with other offices the deceased had filled. In every class anchorites are to be met with, but they were not on that account Culdees.

Thirdly, if the Celtic *Ceile De* was used as the equivalent of the Latin *Deicola*, *vice versa* the Latin *Deicola* would have been used for the Celtic *Ceile De*. It is manifest this was not so. When Irish and Scottish writers were writing in Latin, if the theory in *Celtic Scotland* was correct, they should have written *Deicola*, but instead they write, as we find in so many charters, *Keledeus* or *Colideus*, or at least a near approach to these names. At York and Armagh it is *Colideus*, with us it is *Keledeus*. The verb *colere* had a religious signification *to worship*, and as it had a sort of sameness of sound to *Ceile*, and *Ceile* being meaningless in Latin and its Celtic meaning forgotten or overlooked, so the first part of the verb, supplanting the Gaelic noun, gives us *Colideus*. At St. Andrews and in Scotland generally the people were more Celtic or more conservative, and stuck by the better form *Keledeus*. We must therefore conclude that the term *Ceile De* was in no way connected with the term *Deicola* or suggested by it. The term *Deicola* may be applied to the perfect of any class, not so *Ceile De*. A *Ceile De* might be or become a corrupt man, but it would be absurd and inconceivable to call an evil-living man a *Deicola*.

What position did the Culdees occupy in the ancient Celtic Church? Who were they? The time has arrived now to turn our attention to these questions and, as far as possible, answer them. The evidence, presently to be submitted to the reader's consideration, will prove their office or place. It has to be pre-

mised that the evidences on record are scanty. A signature to a charter, or an almost chance phrase in a charter or other writing, is all the evidence we possess that there were Culdees at not a few of the places mentioned above. Sometimes it is a casual remark by a writer treating of another subject, sometimes it is the giving of the office of a witness to a charter which guides us to the position of the Culdees. We have to make inference, but legitimate inference, from the establishments of which we know most to those of which we know least. It will be found surprising, in these circumstances, how certain and conclusive the evidence is. At all events we promise not to be led away by the strange fancies of an exuberant imagination into the wild and extravagant statements of so many of our predecessors.

I. The Culdees were communities of men from their origin, and were not individual men living apart, and a Culdee might be a cleric, or he might be a layman, that is, not in orders. The first part of our contention is partly proved already. Anchorites are the only persons living apart who are suggested to have been Culdees. To account for our finding these latter in communities at a certain date the theory requires, and it is argued in *Celtic Scotland*, that anchorites were brought under canonical rule and had to live together. This, like other contentions, cannot be maintained. There were never such a number of anchorites as would form communities. If they had been constrained to join houses already existing, these houses would not have given up their own name for that of Culdees. Evidence is wanting for every step of this process. The evidence is the other way, for in the obits of the *Four Masters* we find mention of as many anchorites after as before the supposed bringing of them under canonical rule, when the old name should have given place to the new. In Iona in 1164 we find an Anchorite and Culdees, and the Anchorite is given precedence there of even the head of the Culdees in an entry of the *Annals of Ulster*. This affords a double argument; that they were of a different class, and that the former kept still to the solitary life. The metrical rule of St. Mochuda for Culdees, even if of later date than 636, when he died, is of a very early period. It bears out that the Culdees lived together. We quote a passage of it:—

'We watch, we read, we pray—each according to his strength :  
According to the time, you contemplate,—At gloria until tierce.  
Each order proceeds according to its duty,' etc. (Reeves, 201.)

Maelruan of Tamhlacht, bishop, who died in 791, wrote a prose rule for the Culdees, and in the very outset he mentions the refectory, which at once infers a community. These two rules speak as of a community not beginning but already in long working order. The mysterious entry in 811 in the *Four Masters*, of the Ceile De who 'came over the sea with dry feet . . . and a written roll was given him from heaven, out of which he preached to the Irish,' and the entry of 921 'Maonach, a Ceile De, came across the sea westwards to establish laws in Ireland,' seem to have a broader reference than to the limited number of Culdees there was in Ireland. Without additional knowledge it is impossible to make much of such vague entries. It shows, however, in what great esteem they then were.

That the Culdees were some of them priests, some clerics, and some not in orders—laymen, is perhaps not called in question. The metrical rule of Mochuda says : 'the people in orders (priests) for prayer, for the mass rightly ;' Maelruan's prose rule has, 'the priest who defiles his grade, even though he does penance, shall not offer the sacrifice afterwards.' This regards their early day ; our charters later on leave no place to doubt about their being priests. Space need not be wasted in proving that many of them were only clerics, that is in minor orders, for the rules expressly distinguish between those priests, and those not priests. As to there being lay Culdees, Mochuda's metrical rule, pointing out the different work to be followed by different members of the order, says : 'The readers for teaching—*The Youth for Humility ; Labour for the Illiterate ; The Ignorant Man's Work is in His Hand*' (Reeves, 201.) This looks like there being workmen Culdees. Indeed Conn 'of the poor,' Head of those of Clonmacnois, seems to have been only a layman. He evidently late in life, probably after his wife's death, became an anchorite (he would not in those times, 1031, be styled so, having a wife), and also a Culdee. Professor O'Curry (*MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, 184) says of him : 'he appears to have been the founder of a community of poor lay monks of the *Ceile De* order,'

which perhaps is making them more lay than they were. Geraldus Cambrensis, in 1188, writes of Bardsey, 'a small island, which very pious monks inhabit, who are called Cœlibes (unmarried) or Culdees.' He had previously used the same word 'Cœlibes' of the Irish Culdees of Monahincha, Tipperary. Now these have been mostly lay Culdees, because to call a community of priests 'unmarried' would have been too absurd. For that matter a cleric, who is only in minor orders, was not thereby forbidden to marry. This composition of the order, coupled with the work they were engaged in, made it easier for them to marry, until it is held that their priests married (a point which has not yet been made fully certain) and dispersed amongst their families the foundations bestowed upon the order. Hence the decadence of the Culdees. Whether there were laymen amongst them or not, however, does not interfere with what we are further to maintain concerning them.

II. The Culdees had not *cure of souls*. Let us explain. 'Cure of souls' does not mean that they did not attend to all the souls within their own establishments; that is a matter of course: but it means that they did not act as parochial clergymen. And if on any occasion they did, it was not as of their Culdee-ship, but something foreign superadded to it. In the same way a Benedictine Abbey, or a Dominican Priory, or a Franciscan Friary as such have no charge of souls. To have 'cure of souls' does not make the religious more a Benedictine, more a Dominican, more a Franciscan than without, but rather the reverse. Parochial work, viz., to baptize, to instruct, to preach, to say mass, to hear confessions, to administer communion at Easter, and to the sick, to visit and anoint the dying, to celebrate marriages, to bury the dead—so it was then: this work was not the work of the Culdees. From this it follows, that the Culdees could not have succeeded the Columban monks, who performed such work. This is an error in *Celtic Scotland*, which no record evidence favours. When in 717 King Nectan expelled the Columban monks from his kingdom, the Culdees from this reason did not supply their place. It is a pure case of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. *Celtic Scotland* also argues that the Culdees took the 'Roman' side in the 'Paschal Controversy.' There is not a particle of evidence

to that effect. In fact there is nothing to tell that they did not 'hold different Easters and wear different tonsures,' which would mean that they conformed to the usages of their neighbours. But this is wandering from the important contention yet to be proved as to 'cure of souls.'

There prevailed a most unpraiseworthy custom of endowing religious establishments by giving them parishes. Even convents of nuns were thus endowed. This did not necessarily signify that those who got the parish, that is the income of the parish, performed the spiritual duties of the parish, but if not that they had the obligation of paying for a vicar, a substitute to do so. In this sense the Culdees held in different places of Scotland and Ireland many parishes. Without further enlarging on this point, it will suffice to say that every student of ecclesiastical history knows that the possession of the parish endowments does not infer 'cure of souls.' It should also have been stated above, that power to hear confessions, to be a 'confessor,' *anma-chara*, soul-friend, the Celts of old called a confessor, does not mean having 'cure of souls.' Space does not permit us to argue out every question that arises.

In 1442 a dispute arose at Armagh, and continued until a final decision was given in 1448, regarding which a court was held in 1445 in Armagh Cathedral, to take evidence and pronounce judicially whether the priorate was an office or 'dignity with cure.' The Dean, a great number of the clergy, and Ocoffy, Omartanan, and M'Gillamura, captains of their nations (so they ranked in nations as at our Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen) were examined on oath. Records were also produced more than one hundred years old. With one consent they decided that the *Prioratus Colideorum* never in any manner of way had cure; that several priors at different times held successively a benefice with cure, 'but were never seen or known to reside thereon,' etc. 'That the Culdee-ship was solely an office for the exercise of the divine offices in the Cathedral of Armagh for the more solemn celebration of divine worship therein, that it was and is purely an office and ministry and in no way a cure, nor does it affect the matter that some Culdee now, as formerly, held or may hold a benefice with cure, and exercise the cure thereof by

*another.*' In 1448 more witnesses were examined in court, a 'liber notabilis de antiquis cronicis' was produced, and final judgment to the above effect delivered. The prior of the Culdees was declared to be obliged to residence at Armagh, that he was 'inceptor in executione divinorum,' (he led the choral service), and took the head of the table with his Culdees at meals. (Regist. J. Mey, lib. ii., 148-155. Reeves, 216-218.) This was a court held of purpose to decide whether they had cure or not, and after every research they decide they never had. They use many strong words to enforce the negative. There is nowhere else such an authoritative pronouncement about the Culdees. It ought to settle the case as to St. Andrews, and all our cathedrals with which they were connected. One wonders how Dr. Reeves and Mr. Skene did not follow the clue, the weighty indication here given them. That is our next task.

We have an account of the miserable state of the Church of St. Andrew at St. Andrews, written shortly after 1144. It shows that if there was 'cure of souls' attached to that church, that such cure did not belong to the Culdees. *Persona* was the word used to indicate parish priest of old. There were in this church seven benefices to *personæ*. One of these went to the bishop, one to maintain the hospital, and five to individuals, who then were married laymen; but this was the Church income, and the *personæ* represented those to whom of old belonged the spiritual work, such as had to be done there. Moreover, in 1199, in an agreement between the canons, who had replaced those *personæ*, the marriages, purifications, oblations, baptisms, funerals, are shown to belong to the Canons. The Culdees had a separate income, showing a different work. The Church of the Holy Trinity was, however, the parish church. A charter of Bishop Richard (Reg. Pr. St. And., 132) gives the parish church of the Holy Trinity in Kilmund, with endowment and chapels of all its shire, as they were best and freely held by *Matthew the Archdeacon*, etc., etc. The Culdees held the vicaria of this parish, but that was a simple prebend (see same word, Reeves, 241), and does not imply charge of souls. The Culdees, then, were not, as such, in charge of souls at St. Andrews, and did not, therefore, replace or represent the old clergy.

Regarding Brechin, Donald, abbot thereof, representing the old monks who had 'cure of souls,' witnesses a charter about 1180 of Bp. Turpin's. Donald was a layman, but his name and title show that he and not the Culdees represented the old abbey and its work. We are left without doubt about 'the cure of souls' here, for in a charter of 1202 by this Donald, Andrew *persona* de Brechin is a witness, as he is to many others, in one of which he is styled priest. This 'indicates (*Celtic Scot.*, ii., 402) that they had now lost their parochial functions.' It is assumed they had such, which is an entirely gratuitous assumption. As to Dunblane, about 1190 Malis, *persona* of Dunblane, witnesses a charter of Bp. William's. At Muthill, about 1178, as in the other cases, Malpol, prior of the Culdees, and Michael, *persona*, both *de Mothel*, witness a charter of Bp. Simon's, and witness at the same time the position of each. Certain endowments of Abernethy were given to the monks of Arbroath, certain others belonged from an older date to the Culdees of Abernethy, but the monks had to be responsible for the 'cure of souls.' A dispute arose between them about some parish tithes, and Bp. Abraham, about 1214, decided that 'jure parochiali' they belonged to the monks, an evidence that theirs was the spiritual care of the parish. Furthermore, the same Bishop, in presence of many noble witnesses sent by the King, gave judgment in his court: That the monks were to enjoy the church of Abernethy as well and fully as any of their predecessors enjoyed it. This testifies for time past that the parish income, and the parish spiritual charge, was not that of the Culdees. We have seen no evidence as to Dunkeld. Monymusk affords strong evidence. Dr. Reeves says of the Culdees here: 'We observe them excluded from all parochial functions, and, as regarded the rights of the parish church, placed on the footing of other parishioners' (p. 171). They could not be excluded from what they never had. In the agreement between them and the Bp. of St. Andrews, under whose authority they were, in 1211, it is laid down that the parish church and not theirs was the mother Church, that in all things the right of the *personæ et matricis ecclesiæ* (the parish priest and mother Church) were to be safeguarded, and that they promised to do nothing to the loss of the parish church of Monymusk.



In the case of Iona and Clonmacnois as the Culdees were added on to very great monasteries, it cannot be supposed that in either case the monks demitted to them the 'cure of souls.' It is not to be assumed, at all events, without some proof. The question does not arise as to Bardsey, Lochleven, Monahincha, and such like small islands, where few souls could be, and the parishes outside being otherwise provided for. Silgrave's catalogue mentions Culdees at Rosemarkie, Caithness, and Argyle sees, and little argument can be founded on that bare statement. Monifieth has a secular abbot, Nicholas, in 1242, and from the name *Abthane* given to it, was a secularized abbey, whose monks, as elsewhere, would have the 'cure' of their parish. York leaves us without information. It should have been said in regard to Dunkeld that laymen, one after another, bore the title of abbots thereof, and this shews, as in the similar cases of Brechin, Monifieth, etc., that possessing the parish endowments they represented the parish priest and the original monks, the Culdees, still existing there, representing neither.

In nine or ten places, where Culdees had communities, we find they exercised no 'cure of souls'; in four or five small islands there was no occasion for such exercise; in the other places where they were there is no evidence, but as to Clonmacnois and Iona we cannot doubt: the record evidence then proves our point. There is no opposing evidence, not as much as mention of one place where they acted as parish priests. A solemn court at Armagh 450 years ago, with the evidence of ancient chronicles, with the traditions of the Culdees, with the best testimony to be had, clerical and lay, laid before it, decided that a Culdeeship was an office without 'cure of souls.' What follows adds to this proof, if that be necessary.

III. The Culdees had a double office, one inside the cathedral or their own churches, one outside of them—but both then considered most sacred offices. Let us begin by calling attention to the great passage of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and let us beg the interested reader to peruse it, from chapter xxv, verse 35, to the end. Those words sank deeply into the mind of the Church, and they have animated its spirit from then until now. The spoken words of our Lord had not, or had scarcely yet been

written, when the Apostles found it necessary to appoint deacons to regulate the better distribution of their charities amongst the weaker members of the flock. St. Paul, we find from his second epistle to the Corinthians, made collections over the churches of Greece for the poor of the flock in Jerusalem. In every age and throughout all Christendom, the care of the poor and the sick has been held a sacred duty. At an early period the generous performance of such mutual works of charity attracted the attention of pagans. 'See,' they said, 'how these Christians love one another.' It is not foreign to the matter in hand to bring under notice a touching passage in the life of St. Lawrence, deacon of Pope Sixtus II. A fierce persecution raged against the Christians, and Lawrence who was in charge of the distributions to the poor, fell into the hands of the persecutors. The heathen judge, an avaricious man, having some inkling of Lawrence's dealings with money and thinking his opportunity good to get rich on the spoil, demanded of him to deliver up the treasures of the Church. Lawrence agreed to show him those treasures on the morrow. The pagan hastened early to make, as he thought, the riches of the Christians his own. He found Lawrence in the midst of a crowd of the poor, the infirm, the maimed, the aged, the lepers, who were the objects of the Church's tender care, bestowing upon them his last dole. 'There,' said the deacon, 'are the treasures of the Church. The hands of the poor bear to heaven the riches you thirst after.' The physical loathsomeness of the sight was painfully visible to the eyes of the judge, its moral beauty was beyond his ken. The baffled pagan, in his fury, gave the courageous deacon a slow and fearful martyrdom. He was broiled to death on a gridiron.

Many magnificent institutions have been founded for the purpose of alleviating the miseries of the poor and the sick in Christian countries. To found, maintain, and manage such institutions was the work of the Culdees in the Celtic Church. This has not to be taken for granted, for we now proceed to prove it. The record notices do not bulk largely, but they will, in the circumstances, be found satisfactory and sufficient. The first name connected with the Culdees is St. Moling, Bishop, founder of Tech-Moling, now St. Mullin's, Co. Carlow, who died 697. We

give this legend about him from the book of Leinster, MS. of early half of the eleventh century: 'One time as he was praying in his church, he saw the youth come to him to the house. The garment about him was purple, and his countenance distinguished. That is good, O cleric, said he. Amen, said Moling. Why dost thou not salute me, said the youth? Who art thou, said Moling? I, said he, am Christ, the Son of God. That cannot be, said Moling. When Christ approaches to converse with the *Ceilean De* it is not in purple . . . he comes, but in forms of the miserable, of the sick, and the leper' (*Reeves*, 196).

The same legend is given in the *Book of Lismore*. From it we learn that at the earliest date the work of the Culdees was considered to be amongst the poor and infirm. Amongst them they were to find their appointed reward, Christ. This is a beautiful mystical showing of the functions of the Culdee.

We turn now to Armagh. It is the year 921. The *Four Masters* enter in their *Annals* that Godfrey, grandson of Ivar, and his army plundered Armagh; but he spared the houses of prayer, with the *Ceilean De*, and the sick. The *Annals* of Ulster say: 'they saved the houses of prayer, with their people of God, the *Ceilean De* and the sick.' The Culdees are in their own sphere now, the spoiler respects their holy work, and they and their sick have a real title of honour given them—the people of God. Their repute towards the poor is good even to the end, for Edmund M'Kamyl, Dean of Armagh and Prior of the Culdees, who died in 1549, reducing his body to obedience, with the help of God restored all his church, bestowing nevertheless daily alms on the poor and maintaining due hospitality. Southwest in King's County, on the banks of the Shannon, stood St. Ciaran's great monastery of Clonmacnois. In 1031, Conn-nam-bochd, 'Conn of the Poor,' founded a house of Culdees beside this monastery, and became himself their superior, Head of the Culdees. The entry in the *Four Masters* is: 'he was the first that invited a party of the poor of Cluain to Iseal-Chiarain, and who presented twenty cows of his own to it. Of this it was said:

"O Conn of Cluain, thou wast heard from Erin in Alba;  
O head of dignity, to plunder thy church will not be easy."

The great monastery itself did not become Culdee, for the style of its chief dignitaries remains as before: from 1032 to 1052 we have seven obits, viz., a Bell-ringer, Airchinneach of the Eaglais-beag, Bishop, and Lector, Priest, Successor of Ciaran, Abbot, and without any mention of their being Culdees. The Culdee house with its hospital was an adjunct of the monastery. Their houses appear to have been adjuncts to older establishments almost wherever they were. The evidence and their status suggest this, as does their work. Conn's charity to the poor made his fame great in Erin and even in Alba. His sons after him came to be Heads of this Culdee house. In 1073 the *Four Masters* write that Murchadh, son of Conchobar, took by force a refectory at Iseal-Chiarain, on which occasion the superintendent of the poor was killed there. As reparation the lands of Magh-Nura were given to the poor. Their labour dedicated to the poor, and at need the sacrifice of their lives for them were the human sacrifices offered up by the poor Culdees in the cause of humanity, and not the hideous sacrifices credited to them by the Hon. Algernon Herbert. The obits of the Head of the Culdees of Clonmacnois are given to the year 1200. The islands of Monahincha and Bardsey are reported to be so healthy that people only died of old age in them, and this may be but a faint remembrance of the careful tending of sick and poor in them by the celibates there. Of the other Irish communities there is known only a rare name of some of their members.

At York our feet are on firm ground. In a beautiful MS. of about the time of Henry V., we get the information that the church of St. Peter, York, was served in the time of King Athelstane, 936, by men of holy life and honest conversation, called *Colidei*, who had little to live on, and yet supported many poor people. The king augmented their income. They erected in York on land given by Athelstane a hospital or lodging (manserolum) for the poor streaming (confluentibus) thither, assigned it income granted by the said king, and appointed one of themselves to see to the better securing of its endowment of corn, called *Peter-corn*. William the Conqueror also proved their benefactor, and his son Rufus, 'changed the hospital to where it is now, 1413, as is seen from the many houses within the hospital

that were for the king's use.' King Stephen built a hospital-church, dedicated to St. Leonard, from that time the hospital, before St. Peter's, was called St. Leonard's. In 1294, Walter de Langton, master of the hospital, drew up rules for it not unlike the Irish rule of the Culdees. (Cott. Libr. Nero D. III., Reeves, 262.)

In the *History of the Church of St. Andrews*, written about 1144, we are told that there was a hospital there. We have seen that the *personæ* of St. Andrews church were married laymen, and the Culdees there only left their wives on becoming Culdees. The funds went to support the families of these people, and the hospital could receive only six persons; when more than six came they were billeted by lot on those who used or misused the funds. This is the account given by one of the canons regular of the wretched state of the place before their coming in 1144. At this date Bishop Robert increased the endowments of the hospital and transferred it to these canons. Every effort was used, and after the lapse of two centuries with success, to make the Culdees at St. Andrews become canons. The hermits of Lochleven have the appearance of a more ancient community embracing the duties of Culdees, and thence taking the name. Portmoak fringing part of Lochleven belonged to them. At the bridge over the Leven in Portmoak parish was their hospital of St. Thomas 'for the reception of the poor,' and it possessed considerable endowments (*Reg. Prior. St. And.*, p. 43, 146). Shortly after 1144 King David gave Lochleven island, and all the belongings of the Culdees, calling on themselves to become canons, to the canons of St. Andrews, and there was an end of them.

William of Brechin, son of Lord Henry of Brechin, was from the title either lay representative of the Abbot of Brechin or possessor of old church lands. He in 1264 (*Reg. Brech.*, ii. 224) founds a *Maison-dieu* at Brechin, under a Master and chaplains. The old Culdee-house was the exact prototype of this *Maison-dieu*. This *Maison-dieu* overthrown at the Reformation, was succeeded by King James the Sixth's hospital for the poor, the maimed, and for destitute orphans. Pressure had been used no doubt, on William of Brechin to replace the dilapidated Culdee institution, as on King James to replace the *Maison-dieu*. The

Celtic word *lobhar* we translate by *a leper*, the Irish make it *a sick person*. Low-lying parcels of land are most frequently called *Pet* in Scotland. Among the church-lands of Abernethy there is *Petenlouer*, (*lobhar* is pronounced *louer*), that is the *Pet* of the lepers or of the sick, (Reeves, 251) indicating a land endowment to an hospital. There is also an indication of a different kind, which regards Muthill or Dunblane, William, Bishop thereof, grants confirmation of a charter in 1190, and as witness thereto immediately after the *persona* of Muthill and his chaplain, comes Master Symon, the doctor (*medico*). *Medicus* was a most rare designation then of any charter witness, and at the time from the *medicus's* to the hospital should not have been a long journey. Monymusk affords good proof. In 1211 (*Reg. Episc. Aberd.*, ii. 264) is recorded a solemn agreement between the Bishop of St. Andrews and the Culdees. It has this momentous heading:—

‘A commission obtained by the Lord Bishop of St. Andrews against those destroying hospitals or changing them into something else, and specially for the reformation of the hospital or Kildey of Monimusk.’

A *Colideate* is given here as another name for a hospital. What greater proof could be had? This throws light on the disappearance of Culdees and their hospitals, on the disintegration going on at St. Andrews, and on the building, shortly after this date, of the *Maison-dieu* of Brechin. The Culdees in their ‘marrying and giving in marriage,’ forgot their sick and poor. About 1245 Bp. David grants Dolbethoc, ‘as a pure and free alms for support of poor and pilgrims streaming thither, to the Prior and canons of Monymusk.’ The Culdees had become canons. At Halkirk, the old seat of the bishoprick of Caithness, in 1476, we have mention of the Hospital of St. Magnus, which would agree with there being Culdees here, as stated in Silgrave’s Catalogue. The Culdee hospital seems to have sprung from an overflowing guest-house, and this accounts for Culdees at Iona, Clonmacnois, and in the neighbourhood of so many abbeys. We have now the clue to what puzzled Dr. Reeves, that the ‘Book of Fenagh’ applied the word *Cele De* to St. John the Apostle. For and at the word of his Saviour, St. John took Mary the mother of our Lord ‘to

his own,' and provided for her. For the sake of God the Culdees provided for and took 'to their own' God's poor and infirm. Let it be again noticed that in most places of Ireland and Scotland where there were Culdee establishments there is now to be found only the barest notice of their existence, and still so much and such good proof of our contention has been adduced.

The work inside the churches done by the Culdees was to render more solemn the divine service. In the court held at Armagh, spoken of above, the office of Culdee in the cathedral was declared to be to augment the divine worship in it. They assisted in choir to make more solemn the services, and to chant all the office of the church, their Prior being a sort of precentor. Dr. Reeves mentions several of them, who were praised for their skill of song. Ussher in treating of the Culdees, calls them priests who assisting in the choir celebrated the Divine office in the greater churches of Ulster, at Clunes, diocese of Clocher, as at Armagh. This point is admitted, and need not be longer dwelt on. How the singing of the divine office was prized and esteemed as one of the most sacred duties of religion in the Celtic Church is not a matter of doubt. Every monk seems to have begun convent life by committing to memory all the psalms. The Antiphony of Armagh gives this touching obit:—'On the 5th of the kalends of February, 1549, on the day of Agnes virgin secundo, having celebrated all the canonical hours, though borne down by excruciating illness, died here a man most famed for all goodness, Dom. Edmund M'Camyl, Dean of Armagh, and Prior of the Culdees, etc.' We spoke of him above. The Metrical Rule of Mochuda speaks repeatedly of the divine office: 'We frequent the holy church at every canonical hour perpetually;' again, 'Celebration each canonical hour with each order we perform.' The prose rule of Maelruan is not less explicit; it is more minute as to details:—'The *Ceilean De* shall not sleep in their oratory, and therefore what they do is this: two of them remain in the oratory till nocturn (at midnight), and the Psalter all is sung by them, and at none they dine; and they sleep from nocturn till morn. Two others then officiate from nocturn till matins,

and the Psalter is sung by them also, and they afterwards sleep till tierce, and they celebrate tierce in common with all.'

This is surely a most beautiful custom of the Culdees. Two of them go to the church in the evening, and pray, and sing all the psalms until midnight. Other two relieve them then, and pray and sing the psalms until morning, when all were afoot to continue this work. So that from their houses according to this rule the voice of praise and supplication ceased not to ascend to heaven neither by day nor by night. Does not this touch the heart?

IV. Whence did they get their name? The etymological derivation and the signification of the term *Ceile De* has been given. Whence was this body of men in the Celtic Church called by this name? We make this time only a suggestion. We cannot prove it. It does not commend itself to us that *Ceile De* is a translation, or a quasi translation of a continental Latin term. It is not of foreign, but of home growth. In the 'Crith Gablach,' one of the tracts that form the Brehon laws' collection, we read—

'Into how many grades are the people divided? Into seven. In what manner are the grades of the people distinguished? In the same manner as the ecclesiastical grades, because it is proper that the grades which are in the church should be also in the people.' (*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, vol. iii. 467.)

The church and society acted and re-acted on each other then as now. Was there any customary use of the word *Ceile* of a fashion to help us? In the same work (i. cx.) we have:—

'The freeman who placed himself under the protection of a *Flath* (a Chief) was called a *Ceile*,—a word which seems cognate with the Roman "client." There were two categories of *Ceiles*: the *Saor* or free *Ceile* . . . and the *Daor* or base *Ceile*. . . . The act of becoming a *Ceile* consisted in the man commending himself to the *Flath*,' etc.

There are long explanations of the position and obligations of Chief and *Ceile*. Mr. Skene treats also of the matter in vol. iii., *Celtic Scotland*. These *Ceilean* were in fact rent-paying tenants. They were rather *alter egos* of the Chief than 'clients' making for him profitable use of his lands and cattle. Our



suggestion is now patent. The Culdees undertook, what in a sense was the work of God, and were God's *Ceilean*. The poor, the weak, the infirm are called specially the people of God, for they cannot defend themselves, and their greater reliance is therefore on Him. The man, who undertook to maintain, nourish, house, and comfort them took in a sense the place of Providence towards these helpless ones, and so was called or deserved to be called *Ceile De*. This is not a far-fetched reason for the term's application, and it is not without some charm. A word in every day use as a secular term for service to an earthly lord would naturally suggest its duly qualified use as a religious term for service done to the Lord of all. On these grounds, which of course are not a proof, the writer came to think this the best source of origin for the term *Ceile De*.

The misty and mistified regions hitherto occupied by the Culdees in modern minds and writings have, it is hoped, had some more light cast upon them. A diligent sifting of the records still existing has enabled us to give them an intelligible, a praiseworthy, concrete position in the Celtic Church. The obscure, perplexing, intangible abstractions formerly so puzzling will surely vanish. One acquainted with ecclesiastical history must know that a new name for a religious body within the Christian Church signifies the adoption of some new practice or work. Or if perchance an old body receives a new name, some trace of the change will be found. The work or practice adopted will generally be new only in the sense of a speciality. When the need arises of some organized plan to meet a felt want, some zealous body is created to furnish this required organization. The founder or the work undertaken supplies the world with a name for the new body. More than one work or speciality may distinguish a body. Thus the Benedictine monks have their specialities and name, and so the Trinitarians, or Order for the Redemption of Captives, the Friars Preachers or Dominicans, and even so the Mendicant Orders. If we come to modern times, we are in the midst of multitudes of religious names, and we know also that it is not difficult to find the assignable causes. It is not, then, histori-

cally speaking, following the true method to attribute a change of name, of position, and an undefined place to the Culdees without a fair amount of evidence. The many documents adduced in proof in this paper have spoken; and they give a clear, defined place to the Culdees in the economy of the Celtic Church; (1) they were not all clergymen; (2) they had not as Culdees cure of souls; (3) they dedicated themselves to the more solemn rendering of divine worship and services in their churches; and (4) they erected and maintained hospitals for the spiritual, and the more comfortable bodily tending of the poor and the sick. A great and charitable work. The documents tell of no other work of theirs. If other duties are found to have been discharged by them, they will be other specialities in the same line.

Alas, the great hospital for the poor now has not a loving name—the workhouse! On the other hand we may surely glory in the princely palaces of the sick—the infirmaries! What an abundance of riches the wealthy have poured into their treasuries to build them and to supply them with every aid human wit can invent for the alleviation and the cure of the ailing!

If we may end by making a suggestion, it is that St. Moling should be accounted and was the founder of the Culdees, for it was he that could not think to reach or see Christ but by means of the wretched, the poor, and the leper.

COLIN C. GRANT.

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#### ART. II.—THE FOUNDER OF MODERN PESSIMISM.

**F**ORTY years ago, Schopenhauer was a solitary and unknown philosopher hurling his ineffective anathemas at the heads of Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and all ‘the colossal mystifications of his age.’ He had few readers, still fewer disciples, and his writings, if mentioned at all, were only mentioned to be ridiculed. But now, with the passing away of the man, the mists have cleared, and all this has changed.

The day which he long expected, and which he only saw dimly in his own time, has at length dawned, and his magnificent faith in himself has been abundantly justified. Not merely in his own land, but in other lands, his merits as an original thinker have been more than acknowledged. The system which he promulgated, dreary and hopeless as it is, has been accepted by many earnest, though restless, spirits, who have banded themselves together and crowned him master. Impatient of the old traditional faith, whether in religion or philosophy, they have zealously propagated his views, extolled his system, and vied with one another in representing, in every possible manner, his life and character. Edition after edition of his works has been exhausted, and the multiform biographical endeavours have culminated in Gwinner's great work, *Schopenhauer's Leben von Wilhelm Gwinner*, (Leipzig), which, with all its faults of manifest imprudence and gossipy diffuseness, is likely to remain the standard authority for all that pertains to the history of this singular personality.

The life of such a man, apart altogether from the fact that he was the founder of modern pessimism, cannot fail to be of interest. 'A man's history,' says Goethe in his chief prose work, 'is his character.' It is this that gives to biography its charm and fascination; and, though there is little in the life of Schopenhauer that is eventful, it lets us know not only what a vigorous thinker thought of the eternal problems of existence, but how he himself attempted in practice to solve them.

Arthur Schopenhauer was born at Danzig, on the 22nd February, 1788. His father, who was a successful merchant, was, in many ways, a remarkable man. He was possessed of a quick and irritable temperament, of wide intelligence, and extraordinary will-power. He had travelled in many lands, and had studied life in its many phases. He had also found time to cultivate a love for literature and art. There was, we are told, scarcely any author of importance in his own country, or in France, or in England, with whose writings he was not familiar.

Equally fortunate was young Arthur in his mother. Johanna

Schopenhauer, the famous novelist, was one of the most distinguished woman of her time. She was the friend of Goethe, Wieland, Fernow, and all the celebrities of the age. Her disposition was cheerful, her manner agreeable, and her intellect sparkling and brilliant. Looking at the son in the light of what he afterwards became, we can at once see that he inherited the energy, sternness, and irritability of his father, and that he looked into the world with the open, clear eyes of his mother. Had it been otherwise, had he possessed the buoyancy and optimism of his mother, and the intellectual qualities of his father, we should certainly have had a different history to relate, a different picture to pourtray. By such contingencies it is that the destinies of us all, rough hew them how we may, are shaped.

Arthur's education was early attended to, and was of a many sided and liberal character. His father destined him for a commercial life, and resolved that he should at once begin to read in the large book of the world. At the age of nine, he was sent to France, where he remained, under private instruction, for two years. This was the happiest period in his life, and he afterwards looked back upon it as the oasis in the desert. On his return home, he was taught at a private institution, where to the great grief of his father, he evinced an enthusiastic love for science. In order to divert him from this pursuit—which presented itself to the keen eye of the man of the world as an insuperable barrier in the way to mercantile distinction—it was agreed that he should engage in an extensive course of travel. For two years he journeyed, along with his parents, through Holland, Belgium, England, France, Switzerland, Austria, and the Fatherland.

While in England he was, for three months, at a Boarding School, at Wimbledon, conducted by a clergyman of the name of Lancaster. He could not have been idle at this time, for it was then that he laid the foundation of his wonderfully extensive knowledge of the English language and literature. He did not, at first, like the English and their customs, though, in later years, he was wont to describe them as the most intelligent people in the world.

His period of wandering—his *wanderjahre*—ended, his freedom seemed also at an end; for he was, on his return, forced into business. This, the more he knew of it, the more hateful did it become, and he did not, or could not, conceal his aversion. He became gloomy, restless, and dissatisfied, finding no pleasure in life, and liking to repeat the lines of Gay—

‘ Life is a jest, and all things show it,  
I thought so once, and now I know it.’

The only moments of happiness he enjoyed at this season were those which he could devote to music—an art which he loved passionately to the last.

An event, however, soon happened which delivered him from this horrid thralldom. This was the accidental death of his father, in whom, in his last days, a decided touch of insanity manifested itself. His mother, now free to act according to her convictions, and observing with solicitude the abnormal development of her son's character, at once set him at liberty, and made arrangements for his studies preparatory to entering college.

In 1809, he matriculated in the University of Göttingen, and got enrolled as a student in the faculty of medicine. He applied himself with much diligence to scientific studies, and the knowledge he then acquired had a weighty influence on his later philosophy. It was also here that Schulze, the author of *Aenesidemus*, directed his attention to the study of Plato and Kant. These, perhaps the two greatest minds, the one of ancient and the other of modern times, were kindred spirits, and, to use an expression of Coleridge, ‘ they found him ’ as none of the world's great thinkers had yet done.

Two years later, attracted by the fame of Fichte, whose philosophy was then in the ascendant, he removed to Berlin. But he was sadly disappointed in the man. Fichte's insignificant figure, red face, bristling hair, and blinking eyes, did not, from the first, prepossess him; and, when he came to understand his subjective idealism, and his one-sided ethics, with its moral fatalism, the man and his system became an object of ridicule and scorn. Yet, much as Schopenhauer

despised this undoubtedly great philosopher, he owed more to him than he was perhaps aware of. One of the most galling criticisms afterwards made on his own system was the charge that it was only a species of thinly veiled Fichtianism.

In 1813, he received, on account of his essay *On the Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason*, the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. This thesis, by attempting to define the foundation and limits of our knowledge in the various departments of science, may be said to clear up the way for his entire system, and shows with what clearness he grasped, even at this early date, its main thought.

From Berlin he returned to Weimar, where his mother was then residing. At her *salon* he made the acquaintance of Goethe, of whom he gratefully enough testified, 'Goethe educated me anew.' It was here, too, that he met Frederick Mayer, the Orientalist. This profound scholar, by directing his attention to the Hindu sacred writings, gave a new and permanent impulse to his thoughts. Another who crossed his path at this time was the actress Caroline Jagemann. She was ten years his senior, yet she stirred in his heart the only genuine movement of love that he ever experienced. 'I would bring her to my home,' said he once to his mother when she upbraided him because of her, 'even were I to find her by the wayside breaking stones.'

About this time a very unhappy estrangement took place between himself and his mother. There was never much affection between the two—at least on his side. He was moody and solitary, brooding over the woes of life and hating society; she was gay and worldly, loving life and its genial fellowship. The two, indeed, were as separate as the poles in their spiritual instincts and sympathies. This is well illustrated by a scene which is reported to have taken place when the young Doctor of Philosophy presented his distinguished mother with a copy of his thesis *On the Fourfold Root*. 'Oh I suppose,' said she, 'it is a book for apothecaries!' 'It will be read, mother,' was the reply, 'when even the lumber-room will not contain a copy of your works.' 'Yes, possibly enough,' was the rejoinder, 'for the whole edition of the *Fourfold Root*

will still be on hand.' This estrangement, going on silently for long, at last ended in a complete and life-long separation.

Gwinner tries to put the best possible light on this painful circumstance; but there need be no doubt that Arthur was chiefly to blame. His relations with the fair sex, for whom he did not entertain a high opinion (*v. Parerga und Paralipomena*, vol. ii., c. 27), were singularly unfortunate. He quarrelled with his only sister, the pure and unselfish Adele, at a time when his sympathy and help would have been as the gifts of heaven. He became involved in an unsuccessful law-process because of his rough treatment of Caroline Marquet, a friend of his landlady, who took liberties with his sacred ante-room. And, there is not wanting evidence that in his quarrel with his mother, he entertained the basest suspicions regarding her, and acted in the most unfilial manner.

On his departure from Weimar, Schopenhauer removed to Dresden, where the University Library and Art Gallery were at his disposal. While here he wrote his great work, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, the only one of his writings which has appeared in English.\* As soon as he procured a publisher he set out, in the harvest of 1818, for Italy, the land of beauty and the Niobe of the nations.

In 1820, he became *Privat-docent* at Berlin. Here, however, he made no impression. Let him lecture ever so well, the students refused to be charmed by the new voice. Hegel and Schleiermacher were then the glory of this most flourishing of the German Universities; so no one had any thought to bestow on the man who measured himself with the greatest minds of his age, and declared that he was the only legitimate successor of Kant. His stay at Berlin was the most unprofitable period of his life. Like the giant in Bunyan's allegory, he did little more than sit in his cave's mouth, grinning horribly at pilgrims as they went by, and biting his nails because he could not come at them.

At last, in 1831, the cholera drove him out of Berlin, which had become so detestable to him. He removed to Frankfurt-

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\* Translated by Haldane and Kemp, 3 vols. Trübner & Co.

on-the-Maine, which he made his home till the end of his days. Here, as he did not require to work for a subsistence, he devoted all his time and energies in the pursuit of those philosophical studies he loved so well.

It was a cause of much bitterness that his *opus magnum*, *The World as Will and Idea*, remained so long unnoticed and unknown. But, as he had faith in himself, and the ultimate triumph of his views, he was not discouraged. This led him, after a silence of seventeen years, to publish a little work entitled *On the Will in Nature*. The chief thought in his system is here illustrated with much clearness in its relation to organic nature. Shortly after this, in 1839, he wrote the essay *On the Freedom of the Will*, which gained a prize offered by the Norwegian Royal Academy of Science. This work, an attempted reconciliation of freedom and necessity, first brought him into notice in the philosophical world. In the following year, inspired by his success, he became a competitor for an award offered by the Royal Danish Academy for the best original treatise 'On the Source and Basis of Ethics.' But on this occasion, though his essay was the only one received, the adjudicators refused to give it the prize on the ground that its conclusions were false, and that it was wanting in respect for 'the great philosophers of the age.' This decision greatly annoyed the sage of Frankfort, and he hastened to be revenged. He at once published *The Freedom of the Will* and *The Basis of Ethics* in one volume, entitled *Die beiden Grundprobleme der Ethik*, and, in a preface of thirty pages, he let the Danish Academy know what he thought of them and their 'great philosophers of the age.' The hapless treatise, which was the cause of this unseemly squabble, contains nothing, after all, so very terrible. It is a trenchant criticism of 'the categorical imperative,' which he calls 'a hypothetical imperative,' and Kant's 'Fetich,' or 'Fitzipuzli.' In it he also calls Fichte and Schelling 'men of some talent,' and he choicely describes Hegel as 'a stolid, soulless charlatan.'

The only other work which Schopenhauer wrote was his *Parerga und Paralipomena*. This, perhaps the most popular of his works, is a collection of mixed papers principally written



for the purpose of supplementing and illustrating his philosophy. He calls it 'his last child,' and with its appearance he felt that his mission in this world was ended.

In this, as in all his writings, Schopenhauer manifests a marvellous acquaintance with ancient and modern literature. It would, however, be wrong to infer from this that he was a student in the ordinary sense of the term. He read slowly, but whatever he read he made his own. The principal Greek and Roman classics were a source of infinite delight, even in his old age. In philosophy his favourites were Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Hume, and Helvetius. In theology he read the Old Testament in the Greek translation; the sacred writings of India, especially the 'Oupnekhat,' which he read each night before going to bed; and the chief mystics of all ages. The poets whom he loved most were Shakespeare and Goethe, Calderon and Byron, Petrarch, Burns and Bürger. Of romances he spoke with the profoundest admiration of 'Don Quixote,' 'Tristram Shandy,' 'Heloise,' and 'Wilhelm Meister.'

But much as he owed to books—notably to the writings of Kant, Plato, and the Hindu sages—he owed more to his long and passionate study of nature and art. This raised him above the mere dead sea of book ideas, and gave to his thought its freshness, and to his utterance its beauty of expression.

The *Sturm und Drang* of his youth, and the restlessness of manhood, now lay behind him. Late in life honour and recognition came. But they came too late to be of any service to the selfish old man who, notwithstanding his fine doctrine of sympathy, hated and mistrusted the race. He went out and in on his lonely walks, as he had done for the past thirty years, and, though in other lands his name was beginning to make some stir, he was known in Frankfort only as the son of Johanna Schopenhauer, and the people in the town were on far less intimate terms with him than they were with his inseparable companion, the dog Atma (Soul of the World).

At length, one day—the 21st September, 1860—the solitary walks, which had inspired so many of his greatest

thoughts, were for ever ended. The author of *The World as Will and Idea*, and the modern disciple of Buddha, had gone out into the unknown on his last long quest after truth.

Such, in brief outline, is the life which Arthur Schopenhauer lived. It was not high in ideal, nor was it good in attainment. It was narrow and selfish, bringing no cheer to other hearts, and inspiring no noble thoughts as to the majesty of the human soul, and the grandeur of the human destiny. It was a sad wailing undertone, a jarring discord out of harmony with the music and rhythm which fill every corner of this sublime temple of God that has been so splendidly beautified by the glories of earth and sea and sky. What wonder if, when standing on the threshold of eternity, he doubted, as he looked back on the pathway he had travelled, whether he should ever attain to Nirvana—the highest goal of that faith for which he had sacrificed Christianity with its triumphant life and certain hope.

Schopenhauer was never married, and he derived some consolation from the fact that Descartes, Leibnitz, Malebranche, Spinoza and Kant were in the same position. His habits, though far from being ascetic, were not irregular. 'I preach sanctity, but I am myself no saint,' was his own account of the matter. He ate well, but drank moderately. His friends were few, and had much to bear on account of his whims and temper. The relation he occupied towards the world was of the slightest kind, and consisted chiefly in the faithful carrying out of his favourite maxim, 'give the world its due—in bows.' His personal appearance was imposing and aristocratic. He was strong and well-built, though under the medium height. The head, firmly set on a short, thick neck, was large and intellectual. The nose was regular, and finely chiselled; the mouth determined and broad in old age, beautiful and voluptuous in early manhood; and the eyes, which were of the deepest blue, were full of fire, and remarkably far apart.

The philosophy of Schopenhauer accepts as its starting point the chief results of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, in as far as it establishes the conditions and limits of knowledge; but,

in the working out of his system, the disciple went very much further than his distinguished master. Kant, in his wonderful analysis, found that for us the final element underlying reality is the ultimate unity of consciousness, or pure thought; and that we can never know the thing-in-itself, or the absolute ground and essence of all phenomena. In this dualism Schopenhauer could not rest. With Parmenides, Giordano Bruno and Spinoza, on the one hand, and with Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, on the other, he felt that the absolute entity behind phenomena is not only one and the same, but is also cognisable; yet what he sought was a principle even deeper and more fundamental than any which they had reached—deeper and more fundamental than either substance or thought, and of which substance and thought are but the manifestations. Such an all-comprehensive and ultimate principle Schopenhauer claims to have found for the first time in the history of thought, and his philosophy is but the unfolding of this discovery.

What now is this discovery? this key which unlocks all the world's mysteries? It is, he tells us, Will. This is the hidden, underlying substratum of all things. It is the basis of nature, of art, and of morals, the three spheres into which he resolves all knowledge and activity. His system may, therefore, be divided according to this classification into his philosophy of nature, his explanation of æsthetics, and his theory of ethics.

Schopenhauer's philosophy of nature begins by showing that the world, in virtue of the two ways in which it can present itself to us in consciousness, is both real and ideal. As real it is Will. This is the universal substance, the *Ding an sich* of Kant, or the permanent reality lying behind all phenomena. It is the absolute unity, free and indestructible, from which every form of existence arises. The world, with its ascending scale of life from the blind forces of nature to reasoning man, is but the visibility, the outward shape, which this almighty principle, as the ground of all, has given itself. Each link in the infinite chain of being is a manifestation of Will whole and complete in itself. It is as much present in gravitation as in mind, as perfect in the stone as in the man.

'The Will alone is the thing-in-itself. As such it is not by any means mere representation ; it is on the contrary entirely distinct from it. It is that of which all representation, all object is the appearance, the visibility, the objectivation. It is the inmost essence, the kernel of each individual thing, and also of the whole. It appears in every blindly acting force of nature, and it also appears in the deliberate action of man.' . . . 'There is not a smaller part of Will in the stone, and a larger part in man, for the relation of part and whole belongs exclusively to space, and has no significance when we transcend this form of perception. The more and the less have only reference to the manifestation, that is the visibility, the objectivation, of Will. Of this there is a higher grade in the plant than in the stone, in the animal a higher than in the plant ; indeed there are as many gradations in the Will's emergence into visibility as exist between the dimmest light of dawn and the brightest sunlight, between the loudest sound and the faintest echo.'\*

This Will—this inner nature of all phenomenal existence—is, however, very different from the will as we know it. Instead of being conscious and intelligent it is blind and irrational, without aim and without end. Its one permanent and distinctive characteristic is its insatiable hunger, its unceasing striving to become visible. It is this that gives it no peace, and causes it to strike out in every conceivable and inconceivable direction. In its first efforts to satisfy its craving it appears as mechanical and physical forces. Then, in its further strivings and seekings, it exalts itself a stage, and takes on a new shape in the strangely complex movements of chemical law. From these, its preliminary attempts at rendering itself manifest, it soon makes a fresh departure. By a mighty struggle it frees itself from the inorganized, and becomes organized—becomes vegetable life. But it does not find a resting place even here. So, once more it sets out on its painful journey in quest of visibility, and at last reaches its destination in animal life and in man. Here, at length, like the God of Schelling and Hegel, it attains to self-consciousness in that intellect, or brain, which is the highest expression of its manifold manifestation.

The Will of Schopenhauer is thus the old *ἐν καὶ πᾶν* of pan-

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\* *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, 2nd Ed., i., pp. 125 and 144-145.

theism. It is the eternal unity from which everything that has being takes its rise. But though it is the *ἐν καὶ τᾷ*, it is not the *τᾷ θεῷ*. Neither in the pantheistic nor in the theistic sense can the idea of Divine intelligence be attributed to the Will. Indeed Schopenhauer absolutely refuses to call this principle God, or in any way to identify it with God. It is simply a blind unconscious force, the sum and cause of all forces, without any end or ethical significance. Its very being is of the nature of incessant striving, and it is this quality which leads it unerringly in the dark along the line of its strange development up to self-consciousness.

When, however, the Will comes to know itself in the intellect of man, the world ceases to be simply Will: it becomes, at a stroke, what Schopenhauer calls, *Vorstellung*, mental representation, or idea. This constitutes the secondary or ideal aspect of nature. As the first, the real, showed what was the inner essence of all things, so this, the ideal, gives an explanation of the purely phenomenal. Everything that is included in time and space, or that enters the sphere of experience, is simply object in relation to subject. It exists only in perception as idea. The world, man, mind do not exist apart from the consciousness of them; they are one and all phenomena of brain.

‘There is no truth,’ he says, ‘that is so certain, so independent of all others, and so little in need of proof, as this, that all that we can know, and therefore this whole world, is only object in relation to subject, perception of a perceiver, in a word, representation. This holds good as well of the past and the future as of the present, of what is farthest away as of what is nearest at hand; for it holds good of time and space themselves in which alone these distinctions exist. All that in any way belongs to the world, or can belong to it, is inevitably conditioned through the subject, and exists only for the subject. The world is representation.’\*

But if this is so, how is it that we can know anything at all about the Will, which is from its very nature spaceless, timeless, and uncaused? This is one of the crucial points in Schopenhauer’s system, and the explanation he gives of it he

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\*]Die Welt, etc., i., 3-4.

is careful to call the miracle *par excellence*. This miracle is the arbitrary identification of the body and the Will. The body, he tells us, is the only object we can know on its two sides. We can know it, like any other object, as representation or idea, but we can also know it as Will, or the thing-in-itself. Every act of the body is at once and always an act of Will: the two are not different things standing in the relation of cause and effect; they are one and the same. In other words the body is the most immediate and direct 'objectivation' of the Will. Now, when we once know what the Will is in our own experience, we are at liberty to extend by analogy this knowledge to all objects outside of us, and which are otherwise represented as phenomena of consciousness. We can pass over from the individual to the universal, and we can infer that the Will in the world is the same as the Will in us.

It is from this doubtful starting-point that Schopenhauer finds his way into the inner centre of nature, and describes that absolute and transcendent Will, which is not only the basis of his system but, according to him, of the universe itself.

The intellect, in which Will thus knows itself and through which we know Will and its manifestations, is, however, quite a different thing from that *vous*, or reason, to which the world's greatest philosophers have, at least since the time of Anaxagoras, assigned the supreme place in the universe. In fact, Schopenhauer's use of this word is just as peculiar and original as his use of the word Will. 'The intellect,' he says, 'is not independent, no thing-in-itself; it has no absolute, original, and substantial existence; but it is a simple appearance, a subordinate thing, an accident conditioned by the organism which is the manifestation of the Will; it is, in short, nothing but the focus where all the forces of the brain meet.\*' It is not primary, it is secondary. It is not metaphysical but physical—a mere physiological process dependent on the nervous and vascular systems. It is thus the servant, the creature, or the weapon of the Will. It is the helpless cripple who can see carried on the strong shoulders of the man who

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\* *Parerga und Paralipomena*, 1st Ed., ii., p. 43.

cannot; or better still it stands to the Will in the same relation as the hammer does to the smith.\*

When Schopenhauer turns from Nature to Art, and shows how the Will manifests itself there, he not only treads on more familiar ground, but he generally manages to take even the most captious critic along with him. In his explanation of *Æsthetics* there is much that is as true as it is striking and beautiful, but we can only indicate its leading thought. The object of Art, he maintains, is the Platonic ideas. These, existing outside time and space, are in reality the different grades of the manifestation of the Will, the eternal ground of things. As such they do not come within the scope of empirical knowledge. How then, it may be asked, do we know anything about them? The answer is one which a second time leads us to the region of the purely metaphysical. What we have to do in order to apprehend the Platonic ideas, is to allow ourselves to get so lost and absorbed in the contemplation of the inner essence of Nature, that we break loose from the Will, and become will-less, painless, timeless, spaceless subjects of knowledge. It is this deliverance from the slavery of the Will that gives to Art its pleasure. It raises men for the moment above the misery of their individual lot, so that they commune with the eternal idea, and see with the eternal eye. While this blissful state lasts their disquietude and despair are forgotten, and they are happy and peaceful.

But interesting as Schopenhauer's speculations regarding nature and art are, it is naturally around his theory of Ethics that the chief interest centres.

Its fundamental position is that the world is essentially and radically evil. If it were any worse than it is, it could not continue in being; it is therefore the worst of all possible worlds whose non-existence would be infinitely preferable to its existence. In every force of nature and in every form of life there are unrest and want and conflict. But it is in man that these have reached their highest development. He is the

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\* 'Der Intellect, als blosses Werkzeug des Willens, ist von ihm so verschieden, wie die Hammer vom Schmid.' *Die Welt, etc.*, ii. 229.

most perfect manifestation of the Will, and he most completely reveals its inmost nature of striving and seeking. But all striving and seeking are painful—leading to no satisfaction, ending in no worthy result. Suffering is of the very essence of life, the positive element in it, whereas pleasure is the negative, or unreal element. This is why life is so hollow and tragic. It is a cheat, a delusion, and a troubled episode. It has over it what the Indian sages call the veil of *Mâyâ*, or deception. This hides its real character from men, and so they follow it; but in following it they are necessarily miserable, because existence itself is miserable. It is a pathway along which mortals have to run, a pathway with a few cool places here and there. But even the cool places bring no rest; for when they are reached *ennui* preys upon the spirit, and the weary pilgrim has to start afresh on his way of suffering and woe.

Sad as these effects of the Will are they do not, according to Schopenhauer's view, exhaust its terrible consequences. It not only brings anguish into life, it is also the cause of its ethical evil. For, the assertion of the Will (*die Bejahung des Willens*) is the great law of existence, and means each for himself and for his own ends. Where this is prominent the individual becomes not only a centre to himself but to the whole world. His own well-being is the primary consideration, and in order to secure it he is ready to sacrifice everything else. Hence, it is this egoistic tendency, fostered by the Will to live, that is the cause of all the wrong-doing and crime of the race. Self-assertion, in order to obtain its own way, will break in upon the individuality of another—nay, will crush and destroy whatever opposes it in its demands. 'History describes the life of nations, and it finds nothing to speak about but wars and revolutions: the peaceful years occur only now and again, as short pauses or interludes. In like manner the life of the individual is a continuous conflict, not simply with necessity or weariness, but with his fellow-man. He finds everywhere a foe, he lives in constant warfare, and he dies, weapon in hand.\* Individual

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\* *Parerga und Paralipomena*, ii., 248.



is thus set against individual; man becomes man's worst enemy, *homo homini lupus*; and the world assumes an aspect more awful than Dante's hell, for in it each man's worst devil is his own fellow-man.

Now, if this fearful condition is the normal result of the Will to live, one would naturally think that life must remain for ever evil, without possibility of alleviation or betterment. This supposition is further strengthened by Schopenhauer's strong ethical views as to the immutability of character.

'The character of man,' he says, 'is constant; it continues the same all through life. Under the changing integument of his years, his circumstances, and even of his knowledge and opinions, the true and real man remains hidden, like a crab in its shell, perfectly unchanged and ever the same. Only in tendency and content does his character experience apparent modifications, which are the result of the vicissitudes of the age and its necessities. The man himself never changes.'\*

Yet notwithstanding these considerations Schopenhauer somewhat inconsistently affirms that there is salvation from the tyranny of the Will. He is, what Frauenstädt calls, 'a relative and not an absolute pessimist.'† He maintains that although we cannot alter the Will itself, we can alter the direction of its movement. Instead of asserting it we can deny it. When we come to know the woes and the miseries of existence it is possible for us to refuse to assert the Will to live. The Will in at all seeking to manifest itself in individuals has clearly made a mistake—a mistake which it would not have made were it not blind and irrational. But now when it sees, in the light of intellect, its folly, it can seek to undo the evil it has done by endeavouring to get back again to the universal and absolute ground whence it arose. This it does, not by forcing us to court death at our own hands or at the hands of others—for this is only a cowardly surrender of the life and not of the Will—but by the help of what M. Ribot not inaptly calls 'suicide effected by means of metaphysics.' This process, which is designated the denial of the Will

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\* *Die beiden Grundprobleme der Ethik*, 2nd Ed., p. 50.

† *Neue Briefe über Schopenhauer'sche Philosophie*, p. 287.

to live (*die Verneinung des Willens zum Leben*), is based on the principle of the identity of all things. When the veil of *Mâyâ*, or the delusion that clings to individuals, is taken away, men come to know that they are not self-centred, but that they are one with the world. What it is, they are; its pains are their pains; and in the sufferings which they inflict on others, they are but inserting their teeth in their own flesh. This knowledge of the identity of individuals, the *Tat tuam asi* ('This thou art) of the Vedas, produces compassion, and gives birth to a new life. It overcomes the egoistic principle and leads to deeds of self-denial and asceticism. By showing that we are one with humanity it constrains us to act for the wellbeing of all; and by declaring that the sufferings we inflict on others are inflicted on ourselves it deters us from wrong-doing. It is this consciousness of what we are, and of our relation and duty towards the whole, that gives conscience its meaning and power. This moral element in life is simply the ever increasingly intimate knowledge which one obtains of his own true self, or inner being, by means of his actions. It is the standard by which we can know whether deeds are done with reference to the good of the whole, or are dictated by self-interest.\*

When this denial of the Will is strongly persisted in—when it finds expression in asceticism, self-sacrifice, and rectitude—the Will to live grows less and less powerful, until it finally becomes extinct. With its extinction the state of Nirvana, of complete and final annihilation of conscious being, is entered upon; and this world, apparently so real, with its suns and stars and milky-ways, is suddenly transformed into absolute nothingness.

One cannot help admiring the skill, the power, and the brilliancy with which Schopenhauer attempts to establish his

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\* *Die beiden Grundprobleme der Ethik*, pp. 177 and 256; and *Die Welt, etc.*, pp. 412 and 422. Professor Calderwood, in his *Handbook of Moral Philosophy*, 13th edition, pp. 140-1, curiously mistakes Schopenhauer's travesty of conscience for his definition of it as given above.

theory as the true world-wisdom, and the key to all knowledge. Neither can one refuse to acknowledge the great service which his philosophy has rendered to the cause of modern thought by its vigorous protest against the dogmatism and the excesses of the post-Kantian idealists. Yet, however highly these services may be estimated, there need be no hesitation in saying that his system has no claim whatever to the proud pre-eminence which it has arrogated to itself in the sphere of thought. It is no new messenger coming with a new revelation, it is an echo of old voices which have already sounded drearily enough in the wide waste. Its idealism is but a reproduction of that of Plato and Berkeley and Kant; its conception of Will as the primary centre of reality is but the articulation of the thoughts vaguely present to the minds of Boehme and Schelling when they spoke respectively of the abyss with its eternal will, and of the principle of absolute identity or indifference; and its negative doctrine of ethics, first formulated in India, had already been philosophically worked out by Fichte.

And just as the system fails in its claim to originality, so it is very far from being the infallible solution of the problems of life, which it pretends to be. It would not be difficult to follow it through its various inconsistencies, but the task is unnecessary. It will be sufficient to point out a few of its most obvious defects.

Take, first of all, the Will, the life-principle of Schopenhauer, which rules in Nature, and finds its expression there. It is declared to be an almighty, eternal, blind and unconscious impulse. Is there not written on the very face of this description the lines of the fallacy known as *contradictio in adjecto*? An almighty and eternal impulse that is blind and unconscious is the same as an infinite finite, or it is equivalent, in the words of Schopenhauer, to 'wooden iron!' We can, in some measure, respect the infinite substance of Spinoza, the absolute idea of Hegel, or even the impersonal Karma of Buddha, but the blind Will-instinct, with its attributes of perfection and imperfection, is utterly unworthy of consideration as a philosophical explanation of being.

If Schelling inconvenienced Hegel by asking how he got his idea set in motion, we may with more pertinence put the same query to our philosopher. The blind, unconscious Will though infinite had no intelligence and no personality, how then did it set out on its wonderful quest after visibility? To say, with Schopenhauer, that it was in want and had a desire to become something, is really no answer; for, if it were eternal, almighty, and unconscious, it is as difficult to comprehend how it could be in want, as it is to see how it could find satisfaction outside of its own infinite self?

Yet even if it were possible to explain these primary difficulties, the explanation cannot help us to understand how the Will could ever rise from its dull obscurity to conscious intelligence. Motion can only beget motion. The swing of the pendulum can never, by any occult and innate striving, develop itself into electricity, or into human thought. While it endures it remains what it is: a definite effect brought about by a sufficient cause. So, in like manner, all that you can get out of a blind, unconscious will, is a blind, unconscious will. A gradually evolving world, unfolding itself step by step, from the inorganic to the organic, from the dead to the living; a universal movement attaining infinite ends without any conception of the means, intricate and marvellous in their adaptations, by which it attains them—these are results which are impossible unless the Will is endowed, at the commencement, with intelligence, or unless a pre-determined, fatalistic tendency is ascribed to it. But both of these alternatives are excluded by Schopenhauer's system, for it as strongly discards an eternal fate as it denies a primary intelligence. Even Von Hartmann is compelled to admit that this part of his master's teaching is incomplete and one-sided, and has sought, in his *Philosophy of the Unconscious*, to rectify it by endowing the primary principle both with volition and intelligence.

Further, by degrading the intellect, and assigning to it a purely derivative and physical character, the system of Schopenhauer does not rise above the grosser forms of materialism. The Will is simply the physical potentiality of life, and the line of its movement, from its first vague stirrings

in nature up to man, is but the rude outline of the course which the world has travelled on the road to its present development. There is no order or teleologic aim in thought or in matter: both are the result of the unconscious force which is at the heart of reality, and works blindly as it wills.

This is, however, no new discovery, no all-fitting key to unlock the closed doors of the universe. It is, at least, as old as Democritus, and it has been tested and found wanting by such teachers in philosophy as Plato and Aristotle, Hume and Kant—teachers whose disciple and kinsfellow Schopenhauer claims to be. And, there need be no doubt, now it has reappeared in a modern metaphysical and scientific form, that it will, again, after it has been pushed to its utmost limits, be rejected as throwing no light on the design and harmony of the world, or on the intellectual or moral nature of man. The primacy of thought is no mere hypothesis: it is the necessity alike of man's being and its environment.

But great as are the difficulties in the metaphysical part of Schopenhauer's philosophy the ethical part raises even greater ones still. That the world is the worst possible, that pain everywhere preponderates over pleasure, and that effort is, in its very nature, evil, are assertions which will not commend themselves to any healthy mind. They are what Professor Flint designates 'a morbid exaggeration of the ills of life'\*—an exaggeration which finds its corrective in the beauty and beneficence of creation, the hope and buoyancy of human existence, and in the grandeur of that struggle by which men rise to conquest over self and over nature. There are, it is true, at the heart of the world sorrow and bitterness enough; but they do not oppress it, they do not bring into its eyes the leaden look of despair. Existence, unless in exceptive cases, is dear to each who has it, the treasure above every possession. Activity, instead of being an unmitigated evil, is not only the indispensable condition of the development of the human destiny, but is the source of many of its purest pleasures. It is the founder of civilization. It has raised nations from the savage state,

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\* *Anti-Theistic Theories*, p. 306.

and given them supremacy over physical privation, unbridled passion, and degrading fears. It has increased the means of subsistence, so that a thousand can now thrive where a warrior of the Stone Age would perish. It is ever opening up new ways to pleasure, and knowledge, and wealth, and is helping the very tradesmen of to-day to possess a fulness of existence which was not enjoyed even by the barons of the Middle Ages. It is always discovering fresh methods of lessening pain and disease, and of preventing crime and misery, which would otherwise never be dreamed of. Indeed, without it, life would have long since stagnated and become intolerable. It is historically indisputable that the most energetic and practical nations—the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Anglo-Saxons—have ever been the happiest as well as the most successful. These, instead of being oppressed by the sway of life, have found in the play of its forces that which has called out their energies and their joys, and in the on-go of its events they have gathered materials for pœans of victory instead of for wails of despair. Even the Chinese have a proverb which says, ‘Life comes from suffering and adversity ; death from ease and pleasure.’

Equally unsatisfactory is Schopenhauer's view as to the way in which the human race can be saved from the miseries of existence. In making the admission that the Will, as a Will to manifest itself, is not the real end of life, and that evil need not be eternal, he lays himself open to the objection that he introduces into his conception of Ethics principles which are not deducible from his fundamental position.\* If the Will is primary, and if its attributes are infinite, it naturally follows that the order of its manifestation in the world is the best, and can never be changed. But this is not all. By assigning to intellect the place of moral dynamic in destroying the influence of the Will, he not only places the shadow (the intellect)

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\* This objection has been strongly urged by Moritz Venetianer in his trenchant, if at times unjust, polemic entitled *Schopenhauer als Scholastiker*, where he endeavours to prove that Schopenhauer really makes ‘morality dependent on God, an old ecclesiastical prejudice which, in spite of all his psychological gymnastics, he could not get rid of,’ (*vide pp. 244 and 254*).

before the substance (the Will), but he asserts that the shadow can destroy the substance! This is certainly a new thing, and until we find something analogous taking place in experience, we may safely refuse to believe it. The reasoning of Frauenstädt\* that the Will as we know it is only relative, does not in the least help us out of the difficulty; for Schopenhauer distinctly enough teaches that the Will, as thing-in-itself, is eternal, and that each of its manifestations, though relative, possesses the Will, whole and undivided, as its inner and indestructible essence. It would seem, therefore, as if Bahnsen—when he sought to prove that the Will to live can never be suppressed, and that, in the future as here, there can be no deliverance from its misery—were a more consistent exponent of Modern Pessimism than its illustrious founder.

M. Ribot in characterizing the ethical system of Schopenhauer, says:—

‘What is really original in Schopenhauer is his ethics; it is unique. His doctrine differs from all others as to its principle, because it is alike indifferent to duty and to utility; as to its consequences, since instead of telling us how to act, it seeks for the means how not to act.’†

This description is scarcely accurate. The ethics of Schopenhauer is nothing but a modern and philosophical revival of ancient Buddhism. It retains all its leading principles, and anything that it adds of its own is no improvement on the original. In its practical atheism, its depreciation of life, its doctrine of *Mâyâ*, its advocacy of a merely negative morality, and its belief in annihilation as the end of being, it is one with the teachings of Buddha ‘the Enlightened.’ If there is any difference between the systems of the two, the superiority belongs to the older one. The personality of its founder was infinitely greater and purer than that of Schopenhauer, and its ‘noble path’ to self-discipline and final oblivion is higher, and fuller of the true pathos of sorrow, than anything to which its modern representative can lay claim.

Among the many movements of our century this revival of

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\* *Briefe über die Schopenhauer'sche Philosophie*, pp. 334-338.

† *La Philosophie de Schopenhauer*, par Th. Ribot, p. 169.

Buddhism will, therefore, rank among the strangest and the saddest. That Asiatics, listless and dreamy, should give ear to the doctrine of Pessimism when proclaimed, twenty-five centuries ago, by its first great apostle, is readily understood; but that the old faith should be taken up in the West, at the very time when its influence in the East is beginning to wane, is not so easily comprehended. That the movement is deeply rooted or that it is likely to play an important part in the future, we do not believe. In Germany it has already almost run its course, and the echoes of it which are heard in Russia, Italy, Spain, and England, are but spasmodic cries extorted rather by individual misfortune than by any fixed belief in the universal evil and hopelessness of existence. Not to speak of anything higher, the dignity of labour, the boundless capacities of the human soul, and the truths announced by Natural Selection, are too firmly established in the Western mind ever to be removed by any worn-out and untenable system of despair.

ROBERT MUNRO, B.D.

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ART. III.—HUCHOWN OF THE AWLE RYALE.

**A**NDROWE OF WYNTOWNE, canon regular of Saint Andrews, and Prior of the Inch within Loch Leven, wrote probably in the last decade of the Fourteenth Century, a chronicle which he called 'original,' not because he hoped to display in its folios the novel freshness called originality in modern times, but because he designed to write a history of the world from its origin in heaven down to its development on his own earth. The world, wide as it is, is by nature's dispensation only local to the individual, and Wyntowne being a Scot, his 'universal history' came in the end to be a chronicle of Scotland. Though his pages record many of the nursery tales which gained credence in the childhood of our country, they were written before the time when Scottish History sickened from the taint of a too partial patriotism. The worst enemy of Wyntowne could not



reproach him with too much imagination. When he repeats a story which he heard or read he may be disbelieved; but when he speaks to a fact, he is trustworthy: and his Chronicle has been found worthy of citation and reference by the most critical historians of a later age. It is for testimony to a contemporaneous fact that we are about to cite him here—the existence and literary activity of an early Scottish poet. We quote a somewhat long passage *in extenso* because, as will be seen, it is the natural basis of every historical account of Huchown of the Awle Ryale, and because it is the foundation of many inferential and controverted conclusions regarding him, which necessitate a constant reference to its words.

In narrating the story of the struggle between King Arthur of Britain and the Emperor Leo of Rome, Wyntowne says:—\*

‘ And Huchown off the Awle Ryale  
In tyll hys Gest Hystorialle  
Has trefyd this mar cwnnandly  
Than suffycyand to pronowns am I.  
As in owre matere we procede  
Sum man may fall this buk to rede  
Sall call the Autor to rekles,  
Or argwe perchans hys cunnandnes ;  
Syne Huchowne of the Awle Ryale  
In till hys Gest Hystoryalle  
Cald Lucius Hiberius empryowre,  
Quhen Kyng off Brettane was Arthoure.  
Huchown bath and the Autore  
Gyltles ar off gret errore.  
For the Autor [is] fyrst to say,  
The storyis quha that will assay.  
Off Iber, Frere, Martyne, and Vincens  
Storyis to cwn dyd diligens,  
And Orosius, all foure,  
That mony Storys had sene oure,  
Cald nocht this Lucyus Empryoure,  
Quhen Kyng off Brettane was Arthoure.  
Bot of the Brwte the story sayis  
That Lucyus Hiberius in hys dayis

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\* Book V., Ch. XII., l. 4293, ed. Laing, Vol. II., p. 11.

Wes off the hey stat Procurature,  
 Nowthir cald Kyng, na Empryowre.  
 Fra blame than is the Autore qwyte,  
 As befor hym [he] fand, to wryte ;  
 And men off gud dyscretiowne  
 Suld excuse and love Huchowne  
 That cunnaad wes in literature.  
 He made the gret Gest off Arthure  
 And the Awntyre off Gawane,  
 The Pystyll als off Swete Susane.  
 He wes curyws in hys style,  
 Fayre off facund, and subtile,  
 And ay to plesans and delyte  
 Made in metyre mete his dyte,  
 Lytill or nowcht nevyrtheles  
 Waverand fra the suthfastnes.

Had he cald Lucius Procurature  
 Qwhare that he cald hym Empryowre  
 That had mare grevyd the cadens \*  
 Than had relevyd the sentens.  
 Ane empryowre in propyrte  
 A counawndowre suld callyd be :  
 Lucius swylk mycht have bene kend  
 Be the message that he send.  
 Here sufficyand excusatyownys  
 For wyfull defamatyownys.  
 He mon be war in mony thing  
 That will hym kepe fra misdemyng.'

These lines attest plainly the existence and literary activity of a Scottish poet before Barbour, reputed to be curious in style, fair and subtle in eloquence, apt and pleasing in his selection of verse forms. They give the titles or descriptive names of his poems, and a *corpus poeticum* has descended to us, the qualities of which, concurring as they do in date, language, style, and subject, with the poems mentioned by Wyntowne, warrant a conclusion that they are the work of Huchown of the Awle Ryale. It is true that some critical doubts and technical objections have to be overcome before such a conclusion can be arrived at. But neither critic nor scientific philologist has ever attempted to impugn the veracity of the

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\* Injured the versification.

Canon Regular of Saint Andrews as regards this particular passage. Their doubts assail a too rash readiness in connecting the works which have lived on, with the poet who is dead. Rather, they maintain, let us say, that Huchown of the Awle Ryale is a poet whose works are unknown to us, and that this *corpus poeticum*, which tallies so nicely with Wyntowne's description, forms a work whose poet is unknown to us. Let us, for exposition's sake, reverse the method of these Cartesians. Let us begin with belief, and then we may examine our grounds of doubt.

In dealing with the poems mentioned by Wyntowne, it will be convenient to pass them in review in the reverse order of their enumeration by the chronicler. We thus proceed by a natural sequence from the more certain to the less certain, for the work last named by him, the 'Pystyll of Swete Susane,' is admitted on all hands to be identical with a poem which has descended to our time under that title, while the identification of each of the two remaining poems, is a subject of controversy among philologists and historians.

The oldest copy of this poem is contained in that *ingens volumen* in the Bodleian Library, the Vernon Manuscript, which was compiled towards the end of the Fourteenth Century, and another copy exists which an expert in handwriting has assigned to the reign of Richard II. A transcript of the former copy was being prepared for publication when the death of its editor, Ritson, in 1803 stopped the press, and the only print of the poem is contained in Laing's *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular and Romantic Poetry of Scotland*. It is a short poem of twenty-eight stanzas, and narrates with a genuinely sympathetic stress of elaboration in its poetical incidents, and an equally artistic evasion of its more delicate topics, the Apocryphal story of Susannah and the Elders. The 'Pystyll of Susane' is, of course, simply an antiquated form of the 'Epistle of Susannah.' The poet follows the familiar theme closely for his story, but displays in his narration a delight in rich colour, a minuteness of description, and a piety of sentiment, which at once recall and suggest a comparison with the paintings of pre-Raphaelite artists and their post-Raphaelite imitators. This pre-Raphaelite ap-

preciation of rich colour and love of detail are well exemplified in a passage in which the poet devotes four stanzas to the enumeration of the trees, birds, and flowers, contained in Susannah's garden, heaping sweets upon sweets with such persistence that the most prosy reader cannot fail to be warmed by the growing glow of this cumulative poetry. The metrical form of the poem is intricate, highly wrought and difficult to work in. The stanza combines eight of the long alliterative lines of Anglo-Saxon verse by a single pair of rhymes, and ends with a bob-line and a wheel. A quotation will make this more clear and will illustrate the style. Stanzas xix. and xx., describing the interview between Susane and her husband Joachim after she has been condemned to death, run as follows :—

' Now heo is dampned on deis, with deol thaigh hir deve,  
 And hir domes-men unduwe do hir be with drawen.  
 Loveliche heo louted, and latched hir leve  
 At kynred and cosyn, that heo had ever i-knawen ;  
 Heo asked merci with mony, in this mischeve :  
 I am sakeles of syn, heo seide in hir sawen,  
 Grete God of his grace yor gultus forgive,  
 That doth me derfliche be ded and don out of dawen  
   With dere.  
   Wold God that I might  
   Speke with Joachim a night  
   And sithen to deth me bediht,  
   I charge hit not a pere.'

' Heo fel doun flat in the flore, hir feer whan heo fand,  
 Carped to him kyndeli, as heo ful wel couthe :  
 I wis I wrathhed the nevere at my witand  
 Neither in word, ne in werk, in elde ne in youthe.  
 Heo kevered upon hir kneos and cussed his hand :  
 For I am dampned, I ne dar disparage thi mouth.  
 Was never more sorwful segge bi se nor bi sande,  
 The never a sorioure siht bi north ne bi south  
   Tho thare  
   Thei toke the feters of hir feete,  
   And ever he cussed that swete :  
   In other world schul we mete :  
   Seide he no mare.'

The next poem—still in the reverse order—mentioned by

Wyntowne as the work of Huchown is the 'Awntyre of Gawane,' and there is preserved in the British Museum a poem (Cotton MS. Nero A. x.) which not only comes readily enough under this title, but also exhibits in a marked degree those qualities of quaintness, subtlety and eloquence to which the prior of Loch Leven calls attention as characteristic of Huchown. This poem, owing to an error by which it was confounded with one preceding it by the cataloguers of the unique manuscript in which it has been transmitted to us from the time of David II. or Robert the High Steward, remained unknown and undistinguished until Price, the editor of Warton, discovered it and printed a passage from it in a criticism of Sir Walter Scott's edition of 'Sir Tristrem.' Price kept the secret of its whereabouts to himself, for he intended to publish it, and his death might have remitted it to its prior oblivion, had not chance thrown it in the way of Sir Frederick Madden, who with Sir Walter Scott's assistance prepared an edition for publication by subscription in 1831. But 'circumstances' were against its appearance, and it was not until eight years afterwards that Sir Frederick's edition appeared under the auspices of the Bannatyne Club. The text of that edition was collated and reprinted in 1864 by the Early English Text Society.

The story of the poem is quaint and ingeniously contrived. It opens with a description of the revels held at Camelot to celebrate Christmas-tide. As King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table sit feasting, a terrible noise is heard; and soon appears the monstrous figure of the Green Knight, armed with an axe. 'Here is a challenge,' he says. 'I will bare my neck to the stroke of an axe from any one here. if he who strikes will covenant with me to bear a stroke of this axe from my hand.' No one answers. 'Is this the Table Round?' he asks in scorn, and thereon King Arthur makes to accept the challenge. But Sir Gawane steps forward and takes it on himself. The Green Knight bargains further that Sir Gawane shall seek him out a twelvemonth hence, and bares his neck to the blow. 'Where dwell you?' asks Gawane. 'Strike, and I will tell,' is the reply. In a trice Gawane strikes off the Green Knight's head, and it rolls along the floor. But the Green Knight picks it up without

concern and, laying it upon his hand, now answers, 'I dwell at the Green Chapel.' He then mounts his horse and rides away, leaving the revels to run their merry course.

The year goes by, and Christmas is once again at hand. Gawane, heeding not the warning of the knights and the persuasions of the ladies, arms from head to heel, and rides forth in quest of the Green Chapel; but from no one can he learn of its whereabouts. Wandering till Christmas eve through wilds and forests, and in grievous pain from weariness, cold and hunger, he falls into despair. But he prays to the Virgin, and forthwith sees a lordly castle near at hand. Thither he goes and craves the warden to give shelter to a forlorn knight. 'That will I, by St. Peter!' says the warden, and Gawane is received with all hospitality by the castle's lord, who is thus honoured by the visit of a knight of the Table Round, while his lady is impressed by the grace of Gawane's attention. On hearing the story of Gawane's quest, the lord of the castle says that he knows where the Green Chapel lies. But Gawane must rest to recover the strength he has lost, and remain abed for three days while the lord goes to the chase. 'And it shall be agreed between us,' says the lord, 'that on the evening of each day you receive whatever I bring from the hunt, and that you give me whatever luck has brought you in the meantime.' 'Agreed!' replies Gawane.

The lord of the castle hunts for the first day and slays a great number of deer. Meantime his lady comes to the bedside of Gawane, and tempts the young knight with amorous advances; but so skilfully does he keep her at a distance that without offending her, he dismisses her with no further favour of his than a kiss. Then the lord returns, and, giving Gawayn the deer, receives from him a kiss. 'Where got you that?' asks he. 'Ah!' replies Gawane, 'to tell that was no part of our bargain.' And so the first day ends. On the morrow the huntsman gains a wild boar for quarry, and on returning receives in exchange for it two kisses. 'If your luck increases always at that rate,' says the lord, 'you will soon be rich indeed.' The third day brings still less fortune to the huntsman and yet greater to the bedridden knight. All that falls to the lot of the former is a fox,

while the latter gains three kisses, which are duly exchanged for the fox. Gawane, however, has gained more, for on this third day the lady has given him in addition to the kisses, a girdle, which when wrapped round a man makes it impossible for him to be cut in two. The third day being ended, the lord of the castle, according to their agreement, dismisses Gawane, sending with him a serving man who is to point out the way to the Green Chapel.

Gawane's quest begins in terror. As they pass along cold, rugged, and desolate ways, the henchman tells the knight that had he twenty lives, he could not survive a tussle with the Green Knight. But Gawane presses on, till at last his guide refuses to go further, and having pointed out the way, rides back. No chapel can Gawane find, save a weird and eerie hollow where devils might hold worship. Vaulting across a stream upon the pole of his mighty axe, the Green Knight appears, more horrid than before; and Gawane, remembering the covenant of a year ago, bares his neck to the blow. The Green Knight swings his grim weapon, and, as it falls, Gawane winces. 'Coward!' cries the Green Knight. 'Well, well!' says Gawane, 'Strike again, I will be braver this time. And remember when you are moved to call me coward, that I cannot like you, pick up my head in my hand and walk away with it.' A second time the axe rises and descends, but just as it touches the knight's neck its descent is brought to a sudden stoppage by him who wields it. This time Gawane shows no signs of shrinking. 'Now you are brave,' says the Green Knight, and then heaving the axe for the third time, he brings it down upon the neck of Gawain, but only breaks the skin. 'Now is our covenant fulfilled,' exclaims Gawane. 'If you strike more, I will return the blow.' 'Aye,' the Green Knight replies, 'the covenant is fulfilled, and well fulfilled. I gave you stroke the first and hurt you not: that was for the merry time we spent together in my castle. I gave you stroke the second and hurt you not: that was because you gave me all my wife's kisses in return for what I brought you from the chase. Stroke the third, which did hurt you, I gave because you got a girdle from my wife and gave it not to me.' Gawane, ashamed, owns his fault and gives up the girdle; but

the Green Knight praises him for his bravery and for his chaste withstanding of the cunning wiles with which he had been assailed, gives him the girdle as a gift, and begs him to stay awhile with him at the castle. But Gawane, bidding him farewell with all courtesy, returns to the Court of King Arthur to recount his adventures to the knights of the Round Table.

In style and form this poem closely resembles the 'Pystyll of Swete Susan,' by the same brightness of colour, the same delight in minute detail and realistic description, the same elevation of sentiment. The form is strophic, like the 'Susane,' but the strophes are of a more elastic character and easier to handle. We quote Stanza XVI. of the Second Fytt, describing Gawane's reception at the castle of the lord who afterwards turns out to be the Green Knight.

## XVI.

' A cheyer<sup>1</sup> by-fore the chemne, ther charcole brenned,  
 Was graythed<sup>2</sup> for Sir Gawan graythely<sup>3</sup> with clothes,  
 Whyssynes<sup>4</sup> upon queldepoyntes,<sup>5</sup> tha koynt wer bothe ;  
 And thenne a mere<sup>6</sup> mantyle was on that mon cast,  
 Of a broun bleeaunt<sup>7</sup> enbrauded ful ryche  
 And fayre furred wyth inne with felles of the best  
 Alle of ermyn in erde, his hode of the same ;  
 And be-sets in that settel semlych ryche  
 And achaufed<sup>8</sup> hym chefly and thenne his cher<sup>9</sup> mended.  
 Sone was telded<sup>10</sup> up a tapit on trestes<sup>11</sup> ful fayre  
 Clad wyth a clene clothe that cler quyt schewed,  
 Sanap<sup>12</sup> and salure<sup>13</sup> and syluer in spones.  
 The wyghe wesche at his wylle and went to his mete,  
 Segges<sup>14</sup> hym serued semly in noghe  
 Wyth sere<sup>15</sup> sewes<sup>16</sup> and sete<sup>17</sup> sesounde of the best,  
 Double felde,<sup>18</sup> as hit falles, and fele kyn fisches,  
 Summe baken in bred, summe brad<sup>19</sup> on the gledes,<sup>20</sup>  
 Summe sothen,<sup>21</sup> summe in sewe, sauered with spyces  
 And aysawes so sleghes<sup>22</sup> that the segge lyked.  
 The freke<sup>23</sup> calde hit a fest ful frely and ofte

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<sup>1</sup> *Chair* ; <sup>2</sup> *prepared* ; <sup>3</sup> *readily* ; <sup>4</sup> *cushions* ; <sup>5</sup> *hassocks* ; <sup>6</sup> *simple* ; <sup>7</sup> *a rich cloth* ; <sup>8</sup> *warmed* ; <sup>9</sup> *cheer* ; <sup>10</sup> *set up* ; <sup>11</sup> *trestles* ; <sup>12</sup> *napkin* ; <sup>13</sup> *salt-cellar* ; <sup>14</sup> *servants* ; <sup>15</sup> *several* ; <sup>16</sup> *made dishes* ; <sup>17</sup> (?) *sweet* ; <sup>18</sup> (?) *foiled* ; <sup>19</sup> *roasted* ; <sup>20</sup> *embers* ; <sup>21</sup> *boiled* ; <sup>22</sup> *ingenious* ; <sup>23</sup> *man*.



Ful hendely,<sup>24</sup> quen alle the hatheles re-hayted<sup>25</sup> hym at ones,  
As hende ;<sup>26</sup>  
“ This penaunce now ye take,  
And eft hit schal amende.”  
That mon much merthe con make  
For wyn in hys hed that wende.’<sup>27</sup>

The similarity of the poem on Gawane to that on ‘Susane’ in form, style, treatment and date of language, coupled with its obvious agreement with both the title and the general criticism given by Wyntowne in the passage which we have quoted, would seem a sufficient ground for concluding that it is the work of Huchown of the Awle Ryale. And indeed it was so regarded by those who were acquainted with the work in its manuscript form. But after Mr. Morris had published it for the Early English Text Society, he came to the conclusion, on philological grounds, that it is not the work alluded to by Wyntowne; and in this opinion he is followed by most German philologists who have devoted themselves to the study of Early English literature—Maetzner, for example, and Ten Brink—although this opinion of German writers seems to be based rather upon the authority of their English predecessor than upon any independent inference.

Freedom of discussion, invaluable privilege though it be, has its disadvantages, not the least of which is that a question of history, literary or political, may be kept for ever open, and matters which are already difficult to see for lack of any clear light of probation are further obscured by accumulations of successive arguments. The establishment of a tribunal empowered to settle all matters would, to say the least, save much useless logomachy, by settling, for instance, such questions as the true interpretation of Shakspeare’s sonnets, whether they were written by Lord Bacon, the authenticity of the poems of Ossian and the marriage of Stella. Presented before such a court, the case on behalf of Huchown, as claimant to the authorship of this poem on Sir Gawane, would be something like this.

The passage from Wyntowne quoted at the outset is, hap-

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<sup>24</sup> *Courteously* ; <sup>25</sup> *cheered* ; <sup>26</sup> *courteous* ; <sup>27</sup> *had gone*.

pily, not liable to that conflict of interpretation which has assailed the somewhat similar passage from Robert Mannyng of Brunne, by which Thomas of Erceldoune's claim to the authorship of 'Sir Tristrem' has been made to stand or fall. It is conclusive on two points—for Wyntowne's veracity is unimpeached—first, that Huchown, a poet, did exist, and second, that he wrote works on 'Arthur,' 'Gawane,' and 'Susane.' The only question which remains for decision, therefore, is whether the work we have just described is the one referred to by Wyntowne; though it is open to observation that, even if it be not that work, it is similar in subject, date, and style, and is thus of value to the historian of Scottish literature in giving at least as nearly approximate a notion of Huchown's work as it is possible to get. If it is not Bran, as the Highlander says in reference to Fingal's dog, it is Bran's brother. There is another consideration suggested by this passage which, although to some extent beside the question, has yet too important a bearing upon it to pass unnoticed. Those who, following Morris, refuse to ascribe the poem in question to Huchown, are compelled to assume that this poem is the work of an unknown author, and that Huchown is the author of a poem which is unknown to us. This destructive inference of modern scientific philology, this doctrine of *omne mirabile pro ignoto*, with its sceptical basis and negative consequences, shuts out reasonable probability as a criterion of literary history and must therefore, if the literary history of remote times is to have any basis of fact at all, be received with equal scepticism. Nothing short of demonstration can be received at its hands.

But no one of its advocates will venture so far as to place final force upon his scientific opinion. Morris, while rejecting Huchown's claim on the ground that the manuscript in which the poem is preserved and which was written in England, suggests, from its grammatical forms, that the poem was written in the West Midland dialect of Middle English, admits that it is 'not improbable' that it may have been copied from the Scottish; but goes on to contend, with questionable consistency, that it has a literary merit and an uniformity of grammatical constructions which are incompatible with the idea of transcription. These are

the sole grounds of his conclusion, and with a passing reference to the dubious nature of the hypothesis that transcription is incompatible with the preservation of literary merit and with the translation of grammatical forms, we proceed to enquire what the considerations are which give support to the other view.

It is to be noted in the first place, that the opinion of the majority of those English experts who have considered this question, is against Mr. Morris and his German followers. Sir Frederick Madden, the first editor of the 'Awntyr of Gawane,' gives it as his opinion that this poem is the work of Huchown, and those earlier philologists who had seen the poem in the manuscript, such as Guest, for example, concur in that view. The author of the *History of English Rhythms* adduces, moreover, a piece of circumstantial evidence which, in view of the conflict of opinion, seems to us to be of very considerable weight. In the blank at the head of the poem, he says, referring to the manuscript in which the 'Awntyr of Gawane' is preserved, a hand of not much later than the Fourteenth Century has scribbled the name '*Hugo de —*' If we complete the unfinished inscription of this mediæval hand by the addition of the words '*aula regali,*' we have a literal Latin version of the Scottish name and designation of our poet, Huchown of the Awle Ryale.

Again, if we set out from the uncontroverted basis of the 'Pystyl of Swete Susane,' and compare that poem with the 'Awntyr of Gawane,' we find that the two poems have many points of resemblance. They are like each other in metrical form in so far as they both employ the combination of alliteration and rhyme and that peculiar *cadenza*—to use a musical figure—of the bob and wheel for the conclusion of their stanzas—their identity in this special respect rendering them almost unique in the literature of their period. Then, as regards their matter, it is evident that they were both written by a person acquainted with the uses and courtesies of the formal aristocratic life of his time, with the laws of arms and of venery—a courtier in fact; and here we may recognise an affinity with the name Hugh of the Royal Palace.

These considerations seem to us sufficiently conclusive of the

proposition with which we have been dealing, that the poem above described and cited is a transcription of the work mentioned by Wyntowne. But there is a further consideration which not only confirms the conclusion which we hold to be already well established, but also suggests a corollary of no small importance to the fame of our early Scottish poet. It is this. Both of these poems, 'Susane' by its subject and treatment, 'Gawane' by its treatment alone, proclaim themselves to be the work of one to whom religious matters and reflections were more constantly present than to a mere romancer. In its bearings upon the poems of 'Gawane' and 'Susane,' this consideration only adds another to the many points of resemblance between them, but it also enables us to ascribe to Huchown three poems which are not mentioned by Wyntowne. These three poems are contained in the manuscript which contains the unique exemplar of 'Gawane.' But it is on better grounds than their physical proximity, that they are proclaimed to be the work of the same author.

'Juxtaposition is great, but, I tell you, affinity is greater.'

And the manifest affinity in style, thought, and language, between these poems and 'Gawane' has compelled even those who are inclined to deny that 'Gawane' is Huchown's work, to admit that these are the work of the author of 'Gawane'; so that those who are on the side of the poet of the Palace find it necessary to include in their account of his writings some remarks upon these three religious allegories or paraphrases.

The first of them, that which has been entitled 'The Pearl,' is written in 1211 lines of iambic tetrameter and divided into twenty-one stanzas, each of about sixty lines in length. The lines are rhymed alternately and the same pair of rhymes is often sustained throughout the whole stanza and seldom restricted to the quatrain by which it is introduced. The poem is the monologue of a father, who, lamenting the loss of his child,—'his pearl,' as he calls her in the allegory—falls into a dream. He is in a strange and beautiful country and wanders to a stream, on the other shore of which stands a place so fair that it must be Paradise. Looking over the river, he sees a maiden clad in white, crowned with pearls, and standing at the foot of a crystal cliff. Her he recognises as the child whom he has lost; but when he speaks to her, she tells

him that she is not lost, but is in great bliss. And then, after exhorting her father to be patient under her absence from earth, she recounts to him the glory of one who is crowned a queen in heaven. She has to explain to his dull understanding, many of the contradictions which her story arouses in his mind. This she does by narrating and referring to passages in Holy Scripture, such as the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard, the Proverbs of Solomon, and the Revelation of St. John. Then her father asks her to let him have a sight of the heavenly city. She consents. The father sees it as St. John saw it; but he sees also a procession of white-robed maidens crowned with pearls, before whom walks the Lamb. Among these maidens the father sees his little queen, when so great a delight comes upon him that he tries to cross the stream; but the effort is too much for him, and he awakes again on earth.

The Scriptural paraphrases and the religious argumentation between the father and the daughter's spirit embody, no doubt, the main purpose of the poem; but the allegory in which they are embraced is developed with grace and feeling, and is throughout true to a keynote of natural pathos. This will be illustrated by the following passage selected mainly on account of the lyrical flavour which distinguishes it from the somewhat familiar didacticism of the paraphrastic parts.

' O perle, ' quoth I, ' in perles pyght,<sup>1</sup>  
 Art thou my perle that I haf playned,<sup>2</sup>  
 Regretted by myn one,<sup>3</sup> on myghte ?  
 Much longeyng haf I for the layned<sup>4</sup>  
 Sythen in to gresse thou me a-glyghte.<sup>5</sup>  
 Pensyf, payred,<sup>6</sup> I am for-payned,<sup>7</sup>  
 And thou in a lyf of lykyng lyghte  
 In paradys erde, of stryf vnstrayned.  
 What wyrde<sup>8</sup> hatz hyder my iuel vayned<sup>9</sup>  
 And don me in thys del<sup>10</sup> and gret daunger !  
 Fro we in twynne wern townen and twayned  
 I haf ben a Joyles Juelere.'

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<sup>1</sup> *Placed*; <sup>2</sup> *lamented*; <sup>3</sup> *only*; <sup>4</sup> *kept secret*; <sup>5</sup> *slipt from*; <sup>6</sup> *impaired*;  
<sup>7</sup> *sorely troubled*; <sup>8</sup> *fate*; <sup>9</sup> *brought*; <sup>10</sup> *sorrow*.

proposition with which we have  
 above described and cited is  
 by Wyntowne. But this  
 only confirms the canon  
 established, but also  
 to the fame of our  
 poems, 'Susane'  
 treatment alone  
 whom religious  
 present the  
 poems of  
 another  
 also  
 mer  
 th  
 J

when<sup>13</sup> graye,  
 orient  
 can ho say:—  
 myse-tente<sup>14</sup>  
 al awaye,  
 comly clente<sup>16</sup>  
 gracios gaye,  
 longe<sup>17</sup> for-euer and play.  
 mornyng come neuer here,  
 forser<sup>19</sup> for the in faye  
 a gentyl Jueler.  
 Jueler gente, if thou schal lose  
 for a gemme that the watz lef,<sup>20</sup>  
 the put in a mad porpose  
 And busyes the about a raysoun bref;  
 For that vou lestes watz bot a rose  
 That flowred and fayled as kynde<sup>1</sup> hit gef.  
 Now thurgh kynde<sup>1</sup> of the kyate<sup>2</sup> that hyt con close  
 To a perle of prys hit is put in prief;  
 And thou hatz called thy wyrde<sup>3</sup> a thef  
 That oght of noght hath mad the cler.  
 Thou blameth the bote<sup>4</sup> of thy meschef,  
 Thou art no kynde Jueler.'  
 A Juel to me then was thy geste,<sup>5</sup>  
 And Jueles wern hyr gentyl sawes.  
 'I-wyae,' quoth I, 'my blysfyl beste,  
 My gret dystrease thou al to-drawes.  
 To be excused I make requeste,  
 I trawed<sup>6</sup> my perle don out of dawes.<sup>7</sup>  
 Now haf I fonde hyt I schal ma feste  
 And wony with hyt in schyre<sup>9</sup> wod schawes<sup>10</sup>  
 And loue my lorde and al his lawes  
 That hath me broght thys blys ner;  
 Now were I at yow bi-yonde thise wawes<sup>11</sup>  
 I were a joyful Jueler.'

The poems which follow 'The Pearl,' and which have been entitled 'Cleanness,' and 'Patience,' are both but paraphrases of Bible stories, made with a view to laying down and enforcing

<sup>11</sup> Raised; <sup>12</sup> face; <sup>13</sup> eyes; <sup>14</sup> misunderstood; <sup>15</sup> coffin; <sup>16</sup> fustened;  
<sup>17</sup> abide; <sup>18</sup> sin; <sup>19</sup> fortress; <sup>20</sup> dear; <sup>1</sup> nature; <sup>2</sup> chest; <sup>3</sup> fate; <sup>4</sup> Saviour;  
<sup>5</sup> tale; <sup>6</sup> believed; <sup>7</sup> days; <sup>8</sup> dwell; <sup>9</sup> bright; <sup>10</sup> groves; <sup>11</sup> waves.

rules of life the observance of the virtues of Purity and  
ce. They are both written in the unrhymed alliterative  
asure. The first extends to 1812 and the second to 531 of  
the long lines with four accents. In manner the two poems are  
precisely alike, treating their subjects with pious sympathy and  
depth of feeling, and revealing in their author that power of  
vivid description to which we have already adverted in comment-  
ing on the poem on 'Gawane.'

In matter only do they differ. The stories selected to illus-  
trate the beneficence of Purity are—(1) the Parable of the  
Marriage Feast; (2) the Fall of the Angels; (3) the Story of  
the Deluge; (4) the Visit of the Three Angels to Abraham;  
(5) the Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah; (6) the Invasion  
of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar; (7) Belshazzar's Feast; and  
(8) the Invasion of Babylon by the Medes.

To commend the virtue of Patience only one story is narrated,  
that of Jonah. 'Patience' is, in short, with the exception of a  
brief introduction, a paraphrase of the book of Jonah.

In referring to these three religious poems we passed from  
Wyntowne's enumeration of Huchown's works to an inferential  
conclusion as to poems which the old chronicler has not  
mentioned. Returning now to the lines of the 'Orggynall  
Cronykill,' we find that there remains ascribed to Huchown yet  
another work, called by three names, the 'gret Gest of Arthure,'  
the 'Gest Historyalle' and the 'Gest of Broyttys auld story,'  
for, as we shall presently show, these several titles refer to one  
and the same work. The poem which we identify as the 'gret  
Gest of Arthure' is one of a series of similar poems called the  
Thornton Romances, so named because the manuscript in the  
Library of Lincoln Cathedral which has preserved them, was  
written by one Robert of Thornton, who in 1439 was Archdeacon  
of Bedford in the diocese of Lincoln. '*R. Thornton dictus qui  
scripsit sit benedictus. Amen,*' runs the colophon which ends this  
version of Arthur's story, and we may repeat the benediction.  
The poem is a work of that crudely epic form in which the  
Arthurian legends make their first appearance in our poetry. It  
extends to 4347 of those long alliterative lines which seem to the

dreamy musing of a reader's fancy to hold memories of a sea-faring people in the regularly reiterated undulation of their double movement, just as a shell seems to whisper echoes of the sea's continuous music.

The story, into which the writer leaps headlong after a brief prayer for the grace of God, falls naturally into the simple division of main narrative and episodes. The main narrative recounts how King Arthur refuses tribute to the ambassadors of Sir Lucius, Emperor of Rome, and gives them seven days to get within hearing of the sound of the sea and Sandwich bells; how Lucius marshals a great host, and King Arthur, leaving Sir Modred as the guardian of his Kingdom and his Queen, takes ship for war; how landing in France, he slays a child-devouring giant and distributes his treasure between the clergy and the people; how battles are fought to the glory of the Round Table and the discomfiture of Rome on the plains of Normandy, in Saxony, where King Arthur meeting a giant says, 'You are too high by half,' and cuts him down; and in Germany, where he lays seige to Metz; how the King makes victorious progress through Switzerland and Italy; how there he learns that Sir Modred has been false to his trust in both of its directions; how the King meets this false Regent in battle, and albeit fighting only with the sword 'Caliburn' (for the Queen had given the King's best blade, 'Clarent' to her paramour) does him to death; how in sore grief the King enters the Isle of Avelon, names his heir, forgives his guilty wife, says 'Into Thy hands!' passes away and there lies Arthur, King that was and King that is to be. The episodes are four. Two recount dreams of the King and their interpretation by philosophers sound in the seven sciences, the Dream of the Dragon and the Bear, a vision like that of Joseph or of Romulus, foreshadowing the superiority of the dreamer; and the Dream of the Duchess and her Wheel, a vision of the fickleness of Fortune. The other two relate adventures of Sir Gawane, who, indeed, figures much and boldly in the main narrative.

The style of the poem may be illustrated by a passage containing King Arthur's lament over Gawane, the simple pathos of which recalls the manner of the poem on 'Susane':—



' Dere kosyne o kynde, in kare am I levede !  
For nowe my wirchipe es wente, and my were endide !  
Here es the hope of my hele, my happyng of armes !  
My concelle, my comforthe that kepide myne herte !  
Of alle knyghtes the kyng that undir Criste lifede !  
My wele and my wirchipe of alle this werlde riche  
Was wonnene thourghe Sir Gawaine and thourghe his witte one !'

Mr. Morris, in the place to which we have already referred, disputes the identity of this poem with the one mentioned by Wyntowne, and does so on the same grounds as he adduces against Huchown's claim to the authorship of 'Gawane.' He says, namely, that this poem is not written in the old Scottish dialect, but was originally composed in one of the Northumbrian dialects spoken south of the Tweed. This scientific opinion may be met by the contrary conclusion of other philological experts, and now we have a German doctor on our side, Schipper, Professor of English Philology at the University of Vienna; but, when doctors disagree, it is perhaps justifiable to assume that sufficient material does not exist for the induction of a truly scientific certainty, and it is at least natural to suppose that a popular poem may have been so often transcribed as to puzzle a philologist in his search for the original form, or to fancy that the distinction between the Northumbrian dialect spoken south of the Tweed and the old Scottish dialect of the Fourteenth Century, was not so strongly marked as to be a good basis for absolute conclusions. If we assume and suppose all this, leaving out of sight the opinion of scientific philologists, we have ample means in Wyntowne's words to test the identity of the poem. In the first place Wyntowne refers to the 'Gest Hystoryalle' of Huchown as treating more knowingly than himself of Arthur's refusal to do homage to the Emperor of Rome and of the Emperor's haughty message. All this we find in the opening of the Thornton Romance, with a singular concurrence between Wyntowne and the author of that romance in their enumeration of Arthur's conquest. Then Wyntowne goes on to excuse Huchown for calling 'Lucius Hiberius empyoure,' and 'in tyll hys Gest Historyalle,' and, on referring to line 86 of the Thornton Romance we find these words, 'Sir Lucius Iberius, the

Emperour of Rome.' And finally, Wyntowne gives in the following lines as exact a summary of the contents of the Thornton Romance as it is possible to produce in the same space and with the same regard to rhyme.

' How he [Arthur] held in til his yherys  
 Hys Tabyll Rownd wyth hys Dowchsperys ;  
 How that he tuk syne hys wayage,  
 Fra Lucyus had send hym the message,  
 Till Ytaly wyth hey mychtys  
 Off kyngys, lordys and off knyghtys,  
 And discumfyte the Empryowre  
 And wan gret wryschype and honoure  
 Off Frawns nere the bordwrys sete  
 In were as thai togyddyr mete ;  
 And off tresowne till hyme done  
 Be Modred hys systyr sone,  
 Quharfor in hast he come agayne  
 And wyth hym fawcht in till Brettayne,  
 Quhare he and hys Rownd Tabyll qwyte  
 Wes wdone and discumfyte ;  
 Huchown has tetryd curyowaly  
 In Gest off Broyttys auld story.\*

The exactness of the applicability of these and the other lines of Wyntowne to the Thornton Romance is to us conclusive of the fact that it is the poem to which he refers, while it also shows that he used the different titles indiscriminately for the one poem.

The conviction that this Thornton Romance is the work of Huchown, materially strengthens our prior conclusion that Huchown is the author of 'Gawane' and the three religious poems, for there are many points of resemblance between these poems and the 'Gest of Arthure.' Thus both 'Arthure' and 'Gawane' open with descriptions of a Christmas revel, and the two descriptions are remarkably alike; while the fortunes of Gawane are followed with a quite special anxiety in the 'Gest of Arthure.' This poem, too, bears evidence of that religious sympathy which we noted as characteristic of our poet. King Arthur divides his spoil among the people *and the clergy*. The

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\* Book v., ch. xii., l. 4349, ed. Laing ii. p. 13.

author seeks his illustrations in Scripture. 'Never, not even in the valley of Jehoshaphat was there such a jousting,' he says, in reference to the combat between Sir Gawane and a knight of Lorraine, who, being of the blood of Alexander and Hector of Troy is related to Judas and Joshua. It might, therefore, have been possible without Wyntowne's specific description of this poem to infer from its manner that it was the one to which he referred under the general title; but since we have the more convincing proof, these lighter considerations may serve to make assurance still more sure.

All these works, whether regarded singly or collectively, give Huchown of the Awle Ryale, a position in the history of Scottish Literature which has been but scantily recognised. That literature is generally considered to begin with the work of John Barbour, and if any name has been held worthy to precede that of the Archdeacon of Aberdeen on the chronological roll of Scottish poets, it has been that of the fabled *vates*—poet and prophet—Thomas the Rhymer. But to one who measures their merit by the standard of work achieved, it is clear that the Courtier and not the Rhymer is the more real, the more historical figure of the two. The tendency of modern research is plainly destructive of the Rhymer's fame, while Huchown, as it seems to us, still awaits substantial justice. The bubble reputation of the poet of Ercildoune is but a thin film of fact blown into large and lovely roundness by the airy imaginations of the popular fancy of earlier and the poetic spirits of later times. It was not strong enough to contain all the claims with which successive enthusiasts filled it, and it was in real danger of bursting into nothing. But Huchown's position is more securely based. The authorities which support it are trustworthy and in the strictest sense historical. There can be no doubt that he was a poet who produced much, and the works which we have examined, both by their quantity and by their quality, justify their author's claim to a higher place in our literature than has hitherto been assigned to him. Although it cannot be said of them that they reveal that supreme, unquestionable power which gives immortality to the highest expression of the imaginative faculty, they are nevertheless works of high purpose and of high achievement, capable

yet of awakening the sympathetic interest of any one who loves poetry for its own sake. It was no unreasoning partiality that dictated Wyntowne's description of their author. He must have been a scholar well studied in the literature of his time, and a poet well exercised in the prevalent methods of artistic expression.

Huchown's most prominent quality is a certain skill in minute description. All his descriptive passages are what a Frenchman would call *bien vus* and forcibly impel a reader to the conclusion that they are transcripts from a reality and not the creation of pure imagination. If this is so, their author must have been a man acquainted with the aspects of things in town and in country, on land and sea—in a word, he must have travelled and kept his eyes about him on the way. He must have been familiar with the life and manners of the high-born, the etiquette of court and hunting field, and must, moreover, have had a direct acquaintance with the Norman and Anglo-Norman romances which were in his day the poetic *pabulum* of the aristocracy. All these considerations, joined with a regard to the probable date of his works and to the designation which he receives from Wyntowne, lead us to think that he was a nobleman or a courtier at the Scottish Court during the chequered and intermittent reign of David II.

A lack of documents renders it extremely difficult to identify our poet any more clearly. But we may proceed by a train of probable inference from Wyntowne's words until we fit, although with doubt, the personality of Huchown of the Awle Ryale upon a nobleman of King David's court who figures in the records of the Fourteenth Century. To do this, we must assume that Huchown was the Christian name of the poet, and there seems no danger to truth in such a postulate; for it is well known that Huchown is an old Scottish forename, a diminutive of Hugh, and that poets were frequently designated by their Christian name alone. When we have gone so far, we can adduce from another pen than Wyntowne's good testimony to the fact that there did exist an early Scottish poet of that name. Our Scottish Horace, William Dunbar, writing his 'Lament for the Makars' about 1507, mentions in his list of those poets who had played their pageants here and then gone to the grave, the 'gude Sir Hew

of Eglintoun.' Here is the passage—the 'he' referred to in the first line being 'that churl,' Death :

He has done piteously devour  
The noble Chaucer, of makars flower,  
The monk of Berry and Gower, all three :  
*Timor mortis conturbat me.*

The gude Sir Hew of Eglintoun  
And eik Heryot and Wyntown,  
He has tane out of this countrie :  
*Timor mortis conturbat me.*

The point of his enumeration at which Dunbar makes mention of Sir Hew is of importance to our present purpose, for the immediate connection with Chaucer, Gower and Wyntowne brings Sir Hew's date into nearer concurrence with that of Huchown than we could perhaps expect from a poetical summary. And this element of contemporaneousness forms the last link in our chain of probable reasoning, for we find in authentic documents of history, in chronicles, peerages and papers of the royal household, that Sir Hew Eglinton was a nobleman of the Scottish Court in the middle of the Fourteenth Century. He was a man of high birth, a member of the family of Eglinton of Eglinton, and he rose to higher rank, for he was knighted by King David when the young monarch led an expedition over the Border,

'Galling the gleaned land with hot assays,'

before his youthful rashness at the battle of Neville's Cross sent him into exile and captivity. Sir Hugh held offices of some importance in the State. He was at one time justiciary of Lothian, at another a commissioner for negotiating a treaty with England; and the many safe-conducts in the *Rotuli Scotiae* which bear his name show that he often travelled, or at least that he often had occasion to travel, to England. He married a half-sister of that king whose office in the royal household gave its name to the Stewart dynasty, and he died early in the last quarter of the Fourteenth Century. In all these points of date and circumstance there is nothing inconsistent with the conclusion that he was that Huchown of the Awle Ryale whom Wyntowne commemorates.

We would fain know more of our poet. We would fain be more certain of the little that we claim to know; and the disappointment which results on an examination of all available sources of information is not the less keen because our baffled curiosity is worthy of a better name. But perhaps some solace may be found if we make a virtue of necessity and take a glance at the cheery side of our disappointment. If it be true that Time refines the fame which it transmits, letting but the best survive; if it be true that through the veil of oblivion which hides from us all a poet's history there still can shine what was most beautiful and loveable in him, his poetry; then surely we need not regret our impotence to pry further into what must be his less worthy, his more ignoble aspect. Certainly the experience of these later days shows how perfect knowledge of a great writer's life can lead to unworthy criticism and insolent recrimination of the dead. So, when they ask us who was this Huchown of the Awle Ryale, we may content to answer all we know in the simple line of Dunbar—

'The good Sir Hugh of Eglinton.'

GEO. P. McNEILL.

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#### ART. IV.—EMERSON, THE THINKER.

1. *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson.* By JAMES ELLIOT CABOT.
2. *The Life, Writings and Philosophy of Emerson.* By GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.
3. *Ralph Waldo Emerson.* By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.
4. *Emerson at Home and Abroad.* By MONCURE D. CONWAY.
5. *Ralph Waldo Emerson, a Biographical Sketch.* By ALEXANDER IRELAND.
6. *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson.* Edited by Prof. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON.
7. *Transcendentalism in New England.* By OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM.

SINCE Emerson's death we have had three charming monographs illustrating his life and career; these are the *Memoir* by Oliver Wendell Holmes, in the series of *American Men of Letters*; *The Life, Writings and Philosophy of Emerson*, by George Willis Cooke; and *Emerson at Home and Abroad*, by Moncure Daniel Conway. Other essays have, of course, appeared, notably those of Arnold, Morley, Whipple and Ireland. But the latter have been more in the way of reminiscence and criticism than of biography. We have now the legal life of the poet and idealist, written by James Elliot Cabot, the lifelong friend and literary executor of Mr. Emerson. Mr. Cabot was well equipped for his task, having at different times materially assisted the subject of his memoir, in the preparation and arrangement of his lectures and addresses for the press. The book is largely made up of extracts from Emerson's journal and private letters. These tell their own story, and though the life which they describe was uneventful in a measure, as a poet's life perhaps ought to be, still the book possesses much real interest to the general reader. Mr. Cabot attempts no critical estimate of his hero's work. He leaves that task for the sharpened stiletto of Mr. Matthew Arnold, the Saint Beuve of English literature. And, on the other hand, he does not destroy the perfect harmony of events by fulsome adulation of the chief actor in them. His work is judiciously done, and of the eight hundred pages before us the reader will not willingly skip a line. Some may think that too much stress is paid to the transcendentalism of Emerson, and his struggles with religious belief. But it must not be forgotten that the new religion in its day tinged and influenced the whole thought and movement of the best intellects of America. Frothingham was an apostle of his teachings, Ripley gave up all that he had for it, and even sold his library to help its growth and development. Whittier espoused it, and Lowell wrote some of his sincerest papers for the *Dial*, the organ of the movement. Margaret Fuller was bewitched by it, Sylvester Judd published his novel of *Margaret* as an illustration of the creed, and Theodore Parker, and Curtis, and Hawthorne, had their warmest sympathies awakened by it.

Even George Bancroft believed that the New Faith would live. Of all that famous group of New England Singers and Thinkers, Bronson Alcott alone remains staunch to his early principles. The idea, after saturating the life-work of its teachers and disciples, quietly died away, and to-day it is merely a memory. No one doubts the sincerity of those who took it up, and demanded so much for it. As a religion, it promised its devotees more than Kant, or Fichte, or Coleridge, or Wordsworth ever dreamed of granting. But its growth was so rapid that its promoters were surprised and startled. From the rocket at last, however, came the stick.

Mr. Cabot, as we have indicated, emphasizes this period in Emerson's life, as well as his experiences in the pulpit. We have much of the preacher, and too little, it may be said, of the poet and philosopher. But the reader will be thankful for the copious accounts of the man, the lecturer, and the traveller. In his time, Emerson was a conspicuous force in the letters and mental activity of his country. His fame extended to Europe. A future generation must determine his place in literature.

He was the outcome of eight generations of orthodox preachers. His father was the Rev. William Emerson, and he was born on the 25th of May, 1803, in Summer Street, Boston, Mass. His home was an austere one, though perfect sympathy existed in the family circle, and the four brothers, William, Ralph, Edward, and Charles, bore only the kindest relations towards one another. Ralph was under three years of age when his school-days began. He had only been two months at Miss Whitwell's school, when his father wrote, 'Ralph does not read very well yet.' In 1813 he entered the Latin school. A fellow-student, Dr. Furness, says of his friend:—

'We were at the Boston Latin School together. From 11 to 12 every day we went to a private school kept by Mr. Webb, master of one of the public Grammar schools. After the public school was dismissed, Mr. Webb had a few boys who came to him, chiefly to learn to write. Ralph and I used to sit together, I can see him now at his copy-book; quite a laborious operation it appeared, as his tongue worked up and down with



his pen. But then, thank Heaven! he never had any talent for anything,—nothing but pure genius, which talents would have overlaid. Then it was that he wrote verses on the naval victories of the war of 1812. He wrote in verse also a history or romance—or was it an epic?—entitled, “Fortus,” which I have a dim remembrance of having illustrated. I think Waldo repaid my admiration of his verses with his for my pictures. He was rather jealous of any amendments that I ventured to suggest. At the Latin School his favourite piece for declamation was from the “Pleasures of Hope,” “Warsaw’s Last Champion,” etc. This passage is a telephone to my ears. I hear the ringing of his voice.’

In 1817 he entered Harvard College, and was graduated four years later. He had early felt the pinch of poverty, and he went to College as President’s Freshman (page), and Waiter at Commons. As President’s Freshman, he had his lodging free of charge, in the President’s house, and his duty was to summon delinquents, and to announce to the students the orders of the Faculty. For waiting at Commons, three-fourths of the cost of his board was remitted. He was well liked by professors and classmates. Mathematics had no charm for him, but Chaucer, Montaigne and Plato were ever in his hands. Before leaving College he tried school teaching, but he was disgusted with the occupation, and when he took it up again, after concluding his studies, he felt the same distaste, regarding the episode of school-keeping as the one gloomy passage in his life. ‘A hopeless schoolmaster,’ he calls himself, ‘toiling through this miserable employment without even the poor satisfaction of discharging it well; for the good suspect me, and the geese dislike me.’ But Emerson was a much better schoolmaster than he was disposed to admit. He spent three years in teaching, much as he disliked it, and his earnings from that source were very good, far beyond his personal needs. Like all boys he had a dream. To be a brilliant pulpit orator, swaying multitudes with his eloquence, and bringing men nearer to God, was the ideal career that he had marked out for himself. To achieve that end he studied Theology, but as the years passed away doubts and misgivings found their way to his heart, and the boyish vision grew more and more dim. His journals shew his discouragements and disappointments. However, he was not the man to draw back. In 1824 he

joined the Divinity School at Cambridge, Mass, and in October, 1826, having been 'approved to preach,' he delivered his first public sermon at Waltham, in Mr. Samuel Ripley's pulpit. The three divisions of this sermon were—1. Men are always praying; 2. All their prayers are granted; 3. We must beware, then, what we ask. The idea was suggested by a labourer whom he had seen working in the fields. Though rude, says Emerson, he had some deep thoughts. Ill health sent the young preacher to South Carolina and Florida for a time. The change helped him wonderfully, and he returned North, and preached for a few weeks at the First Church, and later at Northampton and New Bedford. In February, 1829, he was selected as the colleague of the Rev. Henry Ware, Jun., of the Second Church in Boston. In March he was ordained, but it was not long afterwards that his mind experienced that change which produced so marked an effect on his life. He no longer felt that the pulpit was his place. Preaching became irksome to him. His theological views drifted more and more out of harmony with the old orthodoxy of his fathers, and mental troubles, and illness in his family made him despondent. He was nearing the end of his career as a minister of the gospel, but before the blow fell, he met Ellen Louisa Tucker, the lovely daughter of a Boston merchant, whose hand he espoused after a brief engagement. She was a lady of great charm of manner and beauty. Her spirits were gay and buoyant, so buoyant, in fact, that none of her friends suspected that she was suffering from an incurable and malignant malady. In September the marriage took place, and Emerson felt that he had reached the zenith of earthly happiness. But happy as he was, he feared that it would not hold, and he wrote to his aunt, 'there's an apprehension of reverse always arising from success.' And yet Emerson was not the one to borrow trouble as a rule; but he could not shake off the forebodings which pressed heavily on his heart. Meanwhile, he went on with his preaching, charming the young hearers of the congregation, and shocking those older men and women who thought his discourses unsanctified because they were unconventional and untheological in style. Dr. Hedge praises their

simplicity, and says that Emerson won his first admirers in the pulpit. Still, as a pastor, he does not appear to have been successful. His biographer says of him :—

‘As to his performance of the other pastoral duties—the visiting of the sick or the well, and generally his personal and social relations to his flock, Emerson says of himself, that he did not excel, like Dr. Charles Lowell, in “domiciliaries,” and Dr. Charles Robbins, his successor at the Second Church, had a story of some Revolutionary veteran on his death-bed summoning the minister for the appropriate consolations, and rising in his wrath when Emerson showed some hesitation, as he thought, at handling his spiritual weapons : “Young man, if you don’t know your business, you had better go home.” Dr. William Hague, also minister of the First Baptist Church in Hanover Street when Emerson was at the Old North, says that once when Emerson was to take part with him in a funeral service, the sexton said that “while Mr. Emerson’s people think so highly of him, he does not make his best impression at a funeral ; in fact, he does not seem to be at ease at all, but rather shy and retiring ; to tell the truth, in my opinion that young man was not born to be a minister.”’

The beautiful wife continued to droop and pine. The husband watched over her tenderly, hoping against hope. At times the courage she displayed cheered him a little. But the harsh spring winds proving too severe, a second sojourn at the South was proposed. While preparing for the journey, Mrs. Emerson died. Twelve months later, in 1832, at the close of his third year as incumbent of the Second Church, Emerson determined to break off his connection with his charge. He had been gradually reaching the climax, and declared plainly ‘that he could not regard any longer the rite of the Lord’s Supper as a sacrament, established by Christ, for his followers in all ages.’ Provided the use of the elements was dispensed with, and the rite made one merely of commemoration, he was willing to continue the service, but on no other conditions. His proposal was referred to a select committee, which met and finally reported that they had entire confidence in their pastor, but declined to advise any change. The precise nature of the rite they did not feel disposed to discuss. This left the question to Emerson alone for solution. He went to the White Hills to think it over, and to decide whether he would resign the pastorate or continue to administer the communion as usual. While there, he enters in his journal :—

‘The Communicant celebrates, on a foundation either of authority or of tradition, an ordinance which has been the occasion to thousands,—I hope to thousands of thousands,—of contrition, of gratitude, of prayer, of faith, of love, of holy living. Far be it from any of my friends—God forbid it be in my heart—to interrupt any occasion thus blessed of God’s influences upon the human mind. I will not, because we may not all think alike of the means, fight so strenuously against the means as to miss of the end which we all value alike. I think Jesus did not mean to institute a perpetual celebration, but that a commemoration of him would be useful. Others think that Jesus did establish this use. We are agreed that one is useful, and we are agreed, I hope, in the way in which it must be made useful, namely, by each one making it an original commemoration. I know very well that it is a bad sign in a man to be too conscientious and stick at gnats. The most desperate scoundrels have been the over-refiners.’

He could not consent to withdraw his opinion, and, on his return, he preached the remarkable sermon in which he resigned his charge. His people were very loth to part with him, and an attempt was made to arrive at some arrangement by which he could remain, but nothing came of it.

The death of his wife, his mental torture, and the severance of the tie which bound him to a congregation that he loved with all his heart, so undermined his health, that a journey to Europe was advised. Addressing a farewell letter to his people, he sailed out of Boston harbour on Christmas day, 1832, in the brig *Jasper*, and on the 2nd of February he landed at Malta. His letters and journal are full of his impressions of Malta, of Sicily, of Italy, and of England. At Rome he admired most the pictures, the antiquities, and the churches. Raphael’s Transfiguration and Andrea Sacchi’s Vision of Romuald never passed out of his mind. He left the Eternal City on Shakespeare’s birthday, and journeyed to Florence, admiring the Duomo, ‘Set down like an archangel’s tent in the midst of the city.’ He dined and breakfasted with Walter Savage Landor, who, he writes to his brother Charles, ‘did not quite show the same calibre in conversation as in his books.’ Venice he arrived at on the 1st of June, and soon had enough of the ‘city for beavers,’ which made him feel that he was in prison and solitary. ‘It is,’ he writes, ‘as if you were always at sea.’ The 20th of the month saw him at Paris, the most hospitable of cities. He went to the Sorbonne, and

heard Jouffroy, Thénard, and Gay Lussac. Mme. Mars he saw in Delavigne's 'Les Enfants d'Edouard.' On the 4th July he dined with Gen. Lafayette and one hundred Americans.

The visit to England was rich in interest to Emerson. He arrived in London on the 21st of July. It was Sunday, and he went to St. Paul's. Mr. Cabot says:—

'He stayed in London about three weeks; visited Coleridge, as he has related in "English Traits," and saw a few other persons, among them Dr. Boring, who took him to see Bentham's house, and made him remark that there were but two chairs in the apartment where he received his guests, as it was his invariable rule to receive but one at a time—a rule which seemed to Emerson worthy of universal adoption by men of letters. Also John Stuart Mill, who gave him a card (which, however, he never delivered) introducing him to Carlyle. . . . He preached in Edinburgh, Mr. Ireland tells us, with great acceptance, at the Unitarian Chapel; and a week later, having meantime made a little tour towards the Highlands—spoiled by constant rain, "since the scenery of a shower bath must always be much the same,"—drove across from Dumfries to Craigenputtock, where Carlyle had been living for the last five years, and spent the afternoon and night there. He writes next day in his journal:—"Carlisle in Cumberland, Aug. 26. I am just arrived in merry Carlisle from Dumfries. A white day in my years. I found the youth I sought in Scotland—and good and wise and pleasant he seems to me, and his wife a most accomplished, agreeable woman. Truth and peace and faith dwell with them and beautify them. I never saw more amiableness than is in his countenance."

"That man (Carlyle said to Lord Houghton) came to see me. I don't know what brought him, and we kept him one night, and then he left us. I saw him go up the hill; I didn't go with him to see him descend. I preferred to watch him mount and vanish like an angel."

'To Emerson the interview was a happy one, and gratified the chief wish he had in coming to England; though he did not find all that he had sought. He had been looking for a master; but in the deepest matters Carlyle, he found, had nothing to teach him. "My own feeling (he says in a letter to Mr. Ireland a few days afterwards) was that I had met with men of far less power who had got greater insight into religious truth." But he had come close to the affectionate nature and the nobility of soul that lay behind the cloud of whim and dyspepsia, and he kept to that; and, for the rest, confirmed his expectations thenceforth to what Carlyle had to give. "The greatest power of Carlyle (he afterwards wrote), like that of Burke, seems to me to reside rather in the form. Neither of them is a poet, born to announce the will of the god, but each has a splendid rhetoric to clothe the truth.'

On his way to Liverpool he stopped at Rydal Mount and paid his respects to Wordsworth, whom he found 'ever young,' and calmly reciting his own sonnets. Emerson's first lectures in England were on Natural Science, a department of thought at which in his early days he looked rather askance, as Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes says. His papers were, in a measure, successful. On the fourth of September he sailed from Liverpool for New York, and on arriving home he rejoined his mother at Newton, Mass. A year later mother and son went to reside at Concord, and in 1835 Emerson became engaged to Lydia Jackson of Plymouth, whose name he changed to that of Lidian. Of his journey to his bride's home to get married we have this account:—

'A lady, then a little girl, who accompanied him as far as Boston on his drive, remembers that the stable-keeper, no doubt in honour of the bridal journey, had furnished him for the occasion with a pair of new reins of yellow webbing. Emerson noticing them, stopped at the stable and had them changed. "Why, child, the Pilgrims of Old Plymouth will think we have stopped by the wayside and gathered golden-rods to weave the reins with." The marriage took place at the Winslow House, a well-preserved colonial mansion belonging to Miss Jackson, who had proposed that they should live there. But he could not leave Concord. "I must win you (he writes to her during their engagement) to love it. I am born a poet—of a low class without doubt, yet a poet. That is my nature and vocation. My singing, to be sure, is very husky, and is for the most part in prose. Still I am a poet in the sense of a perceiver and dear lover of the harmonies that are in the correspondences between these and those. A sunset, a forest, a snowstorm, a certain river view, are more to me than many friends, and do ordinarily divide my day with my books. Wherever I go, therefore, I guard and study my rambling propensities. . . . Now Concord is only one of a hundred towns in which I could find these necessary objects. But Plymouth, I fear, is not one. Plymouth is streets." As if there were no woods or sunsets in Plymouth! But the attractions of Concord were too strong. In Concord, accordingly, they set up house-keeping; Emerson got his study arranged, and settled down to the manners of life from which he never afterwards departed. There was a small flower garden already laid out, in which Mrs. Emerson established her favourite plants from Plymouth; and there was also a vegetable garden, where Emerson began his husbandry, leaving his study to do a little work there every day. While thus engaged one day in the following spring, one of his townsmen came to warn him that a stray pig was doing mischief in the neighbouring grounds. He then learned that he had been appointed one

of the hog-reeves for the year, according to the town custom, which pointed out newly-married men as particularly eligible for that office.'

Emerson, though he had left his church, continued to preach at intervals until 1847, when he abandoned the function altogether. 'Leaving the pulpit,' he interpreted to mean the renunciation of all claim to priestly authority. His sermons numbered in all, one hundred and seventy one. Of these two only were ever printed, viz., the sermon at the ordination of the Rev. H. B. Goodwin, in 1830, and the discourse on the Lord's Supper, at the Second Church, when he gave up his charge. It was his wish that the others should remain in manuscript. The office of minister had its attractions for him. He loved the Sunday service, and was ever ready as a layman to read a sermon. In his journal, he writes on this :—' A new audience, a new Sabbath, affords an opportunity of communicating thought and moral excitement that shall surpass all previous experience, that shall constitute an epoch, a revolution in the minds on whom you act, and in your own.' It was intimated to him, later, that a church would be offered to him in New Bedford. He sent word that he must stipulate that he should not be expected to administer the communion, nor to offer prayer unless he felt moved to do so. Of course, to such terms, the church could not agree. He lectured a good deal about this time on natural history subjects and speculative philosophy. These thoughts afterwards found a place in his books. His fame as a speaker extended throughout the whole of the American Union, and he soon found his time fully occupied at the Lyceum. After completing a course at Boston, he went to Providence to deliver the same series. His lecture on 'Religion' had excited so much feeling in Boston, that he decided to omit it from his list, but the people of Providence insisted on having it read to them. At the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. Farley, he consented to do this, and read the lecture before a small audience, in a private room. Farley asked him to preach for him, and on Sunday he accepted the invitation, selecting from Greenwood's Collection, hymns of a purely meditative character, without any distinctively Christian expression. For the Scripture lesson he read a passage from

Ecclesiasticus, and from the same book he took his text. The sermon was like one of his lectures, the prayers were simply meditations on Nature, Beauty, Order, Goodness, Love, and wholly without supplication. The congregation was very large. On returning home, Dr. Farley found Emerson with his head bowed on his hands, which were resting on his knees. He looked up and said, 'Now tell me plainly, honestly, just what you think of that service.' Dr. Farley replied that before he was half through, he had made up his mind that it was the last time he should have that pulpit. 'You are right,' he rejoined, 'and I thank you. On my part, before I was half through I felt out of place. The doubt is solved.'

Emerson, as far back as 1837, was an Abolitionist, preaching and lecturing against slavery, though he was not so strong an apostle of the movement as Garrison or Whittier. His life was now spent happily. He read many books to his wife, wrote letters and kept up his literary work with astonishing industry. In 1847 he decided on making a second visit to Europe. The account of his journeyings there, and of the eminent people whom he saw, forms a most interesting part of Mr. Cabot's book. The visit proved a great social success, and Emerson went the rounds of the literary, artistic and scientific circles, dining and breakfasting everywhere. We have a kindly picture of Carlyle and his wife, different far from Mr. Froude's ungracious portrait, and one which we would rather keep in our hearts. Emerson went at once to the home of his friend at Chelsea. Years before he had seen him at Craigenputtock, in that rude house, 'amid desolate heather hills, where the lonely scholar nourished his mighty heart,' and he remembered the talk they had had about books and men, and he longed to grasp again the hand of the brave thinker. The door was opened by Jane Carlyle, and the man himself was behind her with a lamp in the entry.

'They were very little changed,' he writes, 'from their old selves of fourteen years ago, when I left them at Craigenputtock. "Well," said Carlyle, "here we are, shovelled together again." The floodgates of his talk are quickly opened and the river is a great and constant stream. We had large communication that night until nearly one o'clock, and at break-



fast next morning it began again. At noon or later we went together, Carlyle and I, to Hyde Park and the palaces, about two miles from here, to the National Gallery, and to the Strand—Carlyle melting all Westminster and London down into his talk and laughter as he walked. We came back to dinner at five or later, then Carlyle came in and spent the evening, which again was long by the clock, but had no other measures. Here in this house we breakfast about 9; Carlyle is very apt, his wife says, to sleep till 10 or 11, if he has no company. An immense talker he is, and altogether as extraordinary in his conversation as in his writing—I think even more so. You will never discover his real vigour and range, or how much more he might do than he has ever done, without seeing him. I find my few hours' discourse with him in Scotland, long since, gave me not enough knowledge of him, and I have now at last been taken by surprise. . . . Carlyle and his wife live on beautiful terms. Nothing could be more engaging than their ways, and in her book-case all his books are inscribed to her, as they came, from year to year, each with some significant lines.'

In another place he writes :—

'I had good talk with Carlyle last night. He says over and over for years, the same thing. Yet his guiding genius is his moral sense, his perception of the sole importance of truth and justice, and he too says that there is properly no religion in England. He is quite contemptuous about *Kunst* also, in Germans, or English or Americans. . . . His sneers and scoffs are thrown in every direction. He breaks every sentence with a scoffing laugh—"windbag," "monkey," "donkey," "bladder;" and let him, describe whom he will, it is always "poor fellow." I said :—"What a fine fellow you are, to bespatter the whole world with this oil of vitriol!" "No man," he replied, "speaks truth to me." I said : "See what a crowd of friends listen to and admire you." "Yes, they come to hear me, and they read what I write; but not one of them has the smallest intention of doing these things."

Emerson met George Bancroft and his wife, and they drove him to Rogers' house, where the poet received them with 'cold, quiet, indiscriminate politeness.' Afterwards he breakfasted at this famous house, where he encountered some distinguished people. At Edinburgh he was presented to David Scott, the painter—'a noble stoic'—to whom he sat for a portrait. Wilson, too, he saw, and Lord Jeffrey and Dr. Brown. Of De Quincey he says :—

'De Quincey is a small old man of seventy years, with a very handsome face, and a face, too, expressing the highest refinement; a very gentle old

man, speaking with the greatest deliberation and softness, and so refined in speech and manners as to make quite indifferent his extremely plain and poor dress. For the old man, summoned by message on Saturday by Mrs. Crowe to this dinner, had walked on this stormy, muddy Sunday ten miles from Lasswade, where his cottage is, and was not yet dry, and though Mrs. Crowe's hospitality is comprehensive and minute, yet she had no pantaloons in her house. Here De Quincey is very serene and happy among just these friends where I found him ; for he has suffered in all ways, and lived the life of a wretch for many years, but Samuel Brown and Mrs. C. and one or two more have saved him from himself, and defended him from bailiffs and a certain Fury of a Mrs. Macbold (I think it is), whom he yet shudders to remember, and from opium ; and he is now clean, clothed, and in his right mind. He talked of many matters, all easily and well, but chiefly social and literary ; and did not venture into any voluminous music. When they first agreed, at my request, to invite him to dine, I fancied some figure like the organ of York Minster would appear. In *tête à tête*, I am told, he sometimes soars and indulges himself, but not often in company. He invited me to dine with him on the following Saturday at Lasswade, where he lives with his three daughters, and I accepted.'

Prof. Wilson he heard lecture to the students on Moral Philosophy. 'He is a big man, gross and tall, with long hair and much beard, dressed large and slouching. His lecture had really no merit.' Jeffrey he describes as being very talkative and disputatious, every sentence interlarded with a French phrase, and speaking a dialect of his own, neither English nor Scotch, marked with a certain *petitesse*, as one might well say, and an affected elegance. Dining with De Quincey the next day, he found him surrounded by his three pleasant daughters. They had a good deal of talk, and after dinner De Quincey went to Edinburgh with Emerson, and heard him lecture. Helen Faucit, the actress, 'who is a beauty,' Sir William Allan, the painter, 'Walter Scott's friend,' and Dr. Simpson, were all presented to Emerson. And the next night he met at tea, De Quincey and Miss Faucit, where they saw *Antigone* at their ease. Robert Chambers offered to take him to see the crypts of the town, but this he had to give up, being pressed for time. On his way to London he stayed two days with Harriet Martineau, and spent an hour and a half with Wordsworth. In London, he was elected into the Athenæum

Club, during his stay in England, and this honour he highly prized. He writes :—

‘Milnes and other good men are always to be found there. Milnes is the most good-natured man in England, made of sugar ; he is everywhere and knows everything. He told of Landor that one day, in a towering passion, he threw his cook out of the window, and then presently exclaimed, “ Good God, I never thought of those poor violets ! ” The last time he saw Landor he found him expatiating on our custom of eating in company, which he esteems very barbarous. He eats alone, with half-closed windows, because the light interferes with the taste. He has lately heard of some tribe in Crim Tartary who have the practice of eating alone, and these he extols as much superior to the English. . . . Macaulay is the king of diners-out. I do not know when I have seen such wonderful vivacity. He has the strength of ten men, immense memory, fun, fire, learning, politics, manners and pride, and talks all the time in a steady torrent. You would say he was the best type of England.’

He dined at the Barings, where his fellow-guests were Lord and Lady Ashburton, Lord Auckland, Carlyle, Milnes, Thackeray, and the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce). Charles Buller came in the evening to call on him. Further we find in his diary :—

‘April 2—Yesterday night I went to the *soirée* of the Marquis of Northampton, where may be found all the *savants* who are in London. Here I saw Prince Albert, to whom Dr. Buckland was showing some microscopic phenomena. The prince is handsome and courteous, and I watched him for some moments across the table as a person of much historical interest. Here I saw Mantell, Captain Sabine, Brown, the great botanist, Crabbe Robinson (who knew all men, Lamb, Southey, Wordsworth, Madame de Staël, and Goethe), Sir Charles Fellowes, who brought home the Lycian Marbles, and many more. Then I went by an invitation sent me through Milnes, to Lady Palmerston’s, and saw quite an illustrious collection, such as only London and Lord Palmerston could collect ; princes and high foreigners ; Bunsen ; Rothschild (that London proverb), in flesh and blood ; Disraeli, to whom I was presented, and had with him a little talk ; Macaulay ; Mr. Cowper, a very courteous gentleman, son of Lady Palmerston, with whom I talked much ; and many distinguished dames, some very handsome. Last Sunday I dined at Mr. Bancroft’s with Lady Morgan and Mrs. Jameson, and accepted Lady Morgan’s invitation for the next evening to tea. At her house I found, beside herself (who is a sort of fashionable or London edition of Aunt Mary ; the vivacity, the wit, the admirable preservation of social powers, being retained, but the high moral genius being left out), Mrs. Gore, of the fashionable novels, a handsome

Lady Molesworth, a handsome, sensible Lady Louisa Tennyson, Mr. Kinglake, Mr. Conyngham, a friend of John Sterling's, and others.

'Pray, after this ostentation of very fashionable acquaintances, do you believe that my rusticities are smoothed down, and my bad manners mended? Not in the smallest degree. I have not acquired the least facility, nor can hope to. But I do not decline these opportunities, as they are all valuable to me, who would, at least, know how that other half of the world lives, though I cannot and would not live with them. I find the greatest simplicity of speech and manners among these people; great directness, but I think the same (or even greater) want of high thought as you would notice in a fashionable circle in Boston. Yes, greater. But then I know these people very superficially.

'I saw Tennyson, first at the house of Coventry Patmore, where we dined together. I was contented with him at once. He is tall and scholastic looking, no dandy, but a great deal of plain strength about him, and though cultivated, quite unaffected. Quiet, sluggish sense and thought; refined, as all English are, and good-humoured. There is in him an air of great superiority that is very satisfactory. He lives with his college set, . . . and has the air of one who is accustomed to be petted and indulged by those he lives with. Take away Hawthorne's bashfulness, and let him talk easily and fast, and you would have a pretty good Tennyson. I told him that his friends and I were persuaded that it was important to his health an instant visit to Paris, and that I was to go on Monday if he was ready. He was very good-humoured, and affected to think that I should never come back alive from France; it was death to go. But he had been looking for two years for somebody to go to Italy with, and was ready to set out at once, if I would go there. . . . He gave me a cordial invitation to his lodgings (in Buckingham Place), where I promised to visit him before I went away. . . . I found him at home in his lodgings, but with him was a clergyman whose name I did not know, and there was no conversation. He was sure again that he was taking a final farewell of me, as I was going among the French bullets, but promised to be in the same lodgings if I should escape alive. . . . Carlyle thinks him the best man in England to smoke a pipe with, and used to see him much; had a place in his little garden, on the wall, where Tennyson's pipe was laid up.

After this, Emerson saw Paris, and returned in June to begin his course of lectures, which were only fairly successfully pecuniarily, and disappointing in a degree to the author. He wrote often to his wife and friends, telling of his progress on the platform, and of the people he continued to meet. The Duchess of Sutherland was very gracious and invited him to

Stafford House, where he lunched and looked at the pictures. Lady Byron, whom he saw at Mrs. Jameson's, appeared quiet and sensible, with this merit among others, she never mentioned the name of her lord or her connection with him. The world she allowed to discuss her supposed griefs or joys in silence. Leigh Hunt proved a very agreeable talker, gentle and full of anecdote. The 'young and friendly' Duke of Argyll was his guide through Stafford House. 'I have seen nothing so sumptuous as was all this,' he writes to his sister Elizabeth. 'One would so gladly forget that there was anything else in England than these golden chambers, and the high and gentle people who walk in them! May the grim Revolution with his iron hand—if come he must—come slowly and late to Stafford House, and deal softly with its inmates.'

Of his lecturing tour in England, we have these impressions :

'I am a wanderer on the face of this island, and am so harried by this necessity of reading lectures—which, if accepted, must be accepted in manner and quantity not desirable—that I shall not now for a fortnight or three weeks have time to write any good gossip, you may be sure. What reconciles me to the clatter and routine is the very excellent opportunity it gives me to see England. I see men and things in each town in a close and domestic way. I see the best of the people, hitherto never the proper aristocracy, which is a stratum of society quite out of sight and out of mind here on all ordinary occasions—the merchants, the manufacturers, the scholars, the thinkers, men and women—in a very sincere and satisfactory conversation. I am everywhere a guest. Never call me solitary or Ishmaelite again. I began here by refusing invitations to *stay* at private houses, but now I find an invitation in every town, and accept it, to be at home. I have now visited Preston, Leicester, Chesterfield, Birmingham, since I returned from Nottingham and Derby, of which I wrote you, and have found the same profuse kindness in all. My admiration and my love of the English rise day by day. I receive, too, a great many private letters, offering me house and home in places yet unvisited. You must not think that any change has come over me, and that my awkward and porcupine manners are ameliorated by English air; but these civilities are all offered to that discerning writer, who, it seems, has really beguiled many young people here, as he did at home, into some better hope than he could realize for them. A manly ability, a general sufficiency, is the genius of the English. They have not, I think, the special and acute fitness to their employment that Americans have, but a man is a man here; a quite costly and respectable production, in his own and in all other eyes.'

After his return home, Emerson lectured on England in the Western States. Seven years later *English Traits* appeared. For twenty years he devoted the winter months to lecturing, his notes afterwards finding their way into volumes of essays. In the Anti-Slavery conflict, he behaved well, acting honourably throughout, though many thought that he might easily have done more for the cause at the start, and given the leaders the influence of his pen and speech. Hesitancy as to the extent to which he should go, did not last long, and he boldly plunged into the breach, fighting well and dealing heavy blows. From the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill in 1850, to the emancipation proclamation of Lincoln, Emerson's journals show the growth and development of his sympathies in the crusade against the slaveholder. John Brown, he characterized as that 'new saint, than whom none purer or more brave was ever led by love of man into conflict and death,—the new saint awaiting his martyrdom, and who, if he shall suffer, will make the gallows glorious like the cross.' This speech spoiled Emerson's welcome in Philadelphia, and the invitation which had been sent to him to lecture, was withdrawn. Wendell Phillips asked him to speak in Tremont Temple, Boston, in 1861, but the mob roared so lustily that he could not be heard, and he retired pained and much moved. During the Civil War, his voice was often heard in the North, and his pen was in active use. The beginning of the year 1862 found him in financial straits. From his books not a penny had been received since June of the previous year. No dividends had reached him from the Banks, or from his wife's Plymouth property. There was no income to be expected from lecturing, the Lyceum having practically closed. His constant study was to pay three or four hundred dollars with fifty. Altogether he was in a bad way, and rigid economy was his only course. In 1863 he tried lecturing again, and the President appointed him one of the visitors of the Military Academy at West Point. From that time he got on better. The Saturday Club was formed in Boston, Emerson, with Dr. Holmes, Professor Longfellow, Mr. Lowell, and other leaders of thought, being among the original members. Once a month they dined together, usually in the afternoon, at Parker's, each member, with liberty to bring guests, and coming

in morning dress, 'no white chokers, and without "smarting up,"' as Dr. Holmes puts it in a private note, before me. The talk at these important gatherings was always charming. It could scarcely be otherwise, for the company was genial, and Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Agassiz, James T. Fields, Whipple, Parkman, Norton, Edward E. Hale, Emerson, and James Freeman Clark were often present. Emerson enjoyed the meetings greatly, and went frequently to them, but we find little about the club and its members in his journals. Holmes describes him as sitting 'generally near the Longfellow end of the table, talking in low tones, and carefully measured utterances to his neighbour, or listening, and recording any stray word worth remembering on his mental phonograph.' Dr. Holmes also says, in his paper before the Massachusetts Historical Society, 'Emerson was sparing of words, but used them with great precision and nicety. If he had been followed about by a shorthand-writing Boswell, every sentence he ever uttered might have been preserved. To hear him talk was like watching one crossing a brook on stepping stones. His noun had to wait for its verb or its adjective until he was ready; then his speech would come down upon the word he wanted, and not Worcester or Webster could better it from all the wealth of their huge vocabularies.' This hesitancy of speech became worse as he grew older. Frequently the names of persons or things escaped him, and he had often to stop short in his talk, until they came to him again. Mr. Cabot remembers seeing him get up at a dinner of the Saturday Club to speak on Shakespeare. 'He looked about him tranquilly for a minute or two, and then sat down, serene and unabashed, but unable to say a word upon a subject so familiar to his own thoughts from boyhood.'

The close of the war found him identified with Harvard University. He was a regular lecturer there, and one of its overseers. In 1872 his house took fire, the neighbours rendered prompt assistance, saving most of the books, manuscripts and furniture, but the house perished. A temporary study was set up in the court house, but the philosopher, much shocked by the catastrophe, sailed for Europe, for a third time. During his absence, his friends rebuilt the house on exactly the same lines as

it was before. He enjoyed the change of scene, the sea air proved a valuable tonic, and he visited in turn, England, Scotland, Egypt and France. The Nile disappointed him, and he was glad to return to England. On his way, he paused at Paris, where he saw the Lowells, Renan, Taine, James Cotter Morison and Tourgennief. Arriving in London, he breakfasted twice with Mr. Gladstone, at whose house he met Browning. Carlyle, he saw for a brief moment, and at Oxford he was the guest of Max Müller. Jowett, of course, he saw, as well as Dodson, the author of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, and Prince Leopold. He heard Ruskin lecture, and pronounces the effort, 'the model, both in matter and in manner, of what a lecture should be.' In May he returned home, and was received at the station in Concord by the townspeople. Cabot says, 'the whole town assembled, down to the babies in their wagons, and as the train emerged from the Walden Woods the engine sent forth a note of triumph, which was echoed by the cheers of the assemblage. Emerson appeared, surprised and touched, on the platform, and was escorted with music between the rows of smiling school children to his house, where a triumphal arch of leaves and flowers had been erected.'

The last ten years of his life were passed very peacefully. He saw many people at his lovely Concord home, for he was hospitable always, and ever took an interest in men and women. He read a paper occasionally, managing the task, at times, with something of his old skill and power, even when, says his biographer, 'he retained but a slight recollection of what he had written, and would comment on it as if it were another person's.' Mr. Cabot helped in the preparation of new editions of his books, and in the revision of new lectures and essays. He was failing very fast then. The change was coming. 'The old alertness and incisiveness were gone, but there was no confusion of ideas, and the objects of interest were what they always had been. He was often at a loss for a word, but no consciousness of this or of any other disability seemed to trouble him. Nor was there any appearance of effort to keep up the conversation, he liked, perhaps, to listen rather than to talk; he 'listened and smiled,' as a man might who was recovering from illness, and felt himself removed for a time from his ordinary activities, but he often talked freely.



Towards the last, his books interested him only in a passive way, and he did not touch on literary matters often. A prolonged illness was spared him. On the 27th of April 1882, he died of pneumonia.

The biographer has done his work faithfully, and with much modesty, but to our mind he gives us too little of the poet. Emerson is exhibited in a strong and bold light as a man of deep religious feeling, with a theology of limited breadth. The author shows him at his best; as a moral and social philosopher, as a lecturer of surprisingly brilliant parts, and as a traveller seeking men rather than investigating countries. Emerson's poetry has never been sure of a wide circle of readers. It is thoughtful but not always clear, and laborious effort is needed often to grasp the full meaning of the poet. Ripley said that it is Emerson's 'subtle thinking and meditative wisdom which impart such a rich and substantial vitality to his verse.' Stress in these volumes is paid to the transcendental period in Emerson's life. The contribution to the literature of that subject will serve a useful purpose, though the New England episode, to-day, has little of an attractive character for the general reader. Emerson, despite his marked individuality, leaves few followers. It is a question whether he has even founded a school. Readers he will always have. His genius had its limitations. Outside of a very small circle he made few intimate friends. His character was high and noble, his disposition sympathetic and sweet, and his influence on men's minds for forty years was great and penetrating. In his particular department of mental activity he stood alone.

GEORGE STEWART, JUN.

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ART. V.—SONGS AND RHYMES FROM THE DIALECTS  
OF SOUTH ITALY.

THERE is so much to be studied in Italy, so many new impressions meeting one at every step, that the difficulty is to choose which group of objects shall claim our special

attention, and what shall be the guiding thread in the labyrinth which reveals itself when we try to give to our random investigations some character and purpose of their own.

Putting aside Art and History on a grand scale, for to study either of these aright is the work of a lifetime, a thousand suggestive subjects of speculation, inquiry, and discussion, might probably be found in any and every part of this varied peninsula, and the more the farther we stray from the beaten track of travellers and tourists.

In England we speak vaguely of Italy as a whole, but the longer we reside south of the Alps, and the more we mix with the people of the country, instead of enveloping ourselves in the transplanted habits and customs of the English colony which soon manages to spring up in any of the large centres, the more clearly do the great ineffaceable differences existing, not only between the great divisions of North and South, but even between the inhabitants of adjacent provinces and towns, separated by but little distance from each other, show themselves. These are as well marked in the popular songs as in the schools of Art, where we are more accustomed to expect them.

In the following limited examples, translated from songs in the Neapolitan dialect, and various floating fragments collected in the central and southern provinces, a certain local colouring and national characteristic may be traced, even in a version which, in order to preserve the melodies to which the originals are adapted, has often to take the form of a paraphrase.

All the glossy calmness of the enchanting gulf, which reflects Vesuvius and the headland of Posilipo are expressed, for instance, in this boatman's song :—

VIENTO 'MPOPPA.

Taglia l' acqua doce doce  
 Sta varchetta co li rimme,  
 'Nmare o 'ncielo oje nenna, simme ?  
 Che decrio ch'è chisto cà !  
 Voca, voca marenare,  
 Mo ch'è tiempo de vocare  
 Arm 'a vela nmiezo mare  
 Cà lo viento 'mpoppa sta !

A FAIR WIND.

Gently, gently, through the water,  
 To the oar-stroke glides our boat ;  
 Maiden, tell me, is it Heaven  
 Or the sea, whereon we float ?  
 Pull, oh pull, my sailor brother,  
 For the time to row is now,  
 Spread the sail far out at sea  
 Where the wind is blowing free !

'Ncè la luna che resbrenne  
 Ncoppa a chesta varchetella !  
 'Ncielo friccec' ogne stella !  
 Bella cosa è navegà !  
 Voca, vaca marenare,  
 Mo ch'è tiempo de vocare  
 Arm' a vela nmiezo mare  
 Ca lo viento 'mpoppa sta !

See, the moonlight so resplendent  
 Clothes our bark in silv'ry veil ;  
 Stars are sparkling high in Heaven ;  
 Oh ! what joy it is to sail !  
 Pull, oh pull, my sailor brother,  
 For the time to row is now,  
 Spread the sail far out at sea  
 Where the wind is blowing free !

or in the still better known *Santa Lucia*,\*

Comme se fricceca  
 La luna chiena !  
 Lo mare ride,  
 L'aria è serena ;  
 Vuie che fa-cite  
 Nmiez' a la via ?  
 Santa Lucia ! Santa Lucia !

Lo ! on the silver sea,  
 Moonbeams are sparkling ;  
 Swiftly the breezes blow,  
 Tiny waves darkling !  
 Enter my little boat,  
 Soon I am near,  
 Santa Lucia ! Santa Lucia !

Sto viento frisco  
 Far resciatate  
 Chi vo spassarese  
 Jenno ppe mmare :  
 E'pronta, e lesta  
 La varca mia,  
 Santa Lucia ! Santa Lucia !

Rocked by the gentle wind,  
 See our bark cleaving  
 Through paths of moonlight,  
 O'er the waves heaving.  
 Come, lads and lasses all  
 From far and near !  
 Santa Lucia ! Santa Lucia !

Inanno sse nfuria  
 Na gran tempesta  
 Lo marenaro  
 Tanno se mpesta,  
 Ca ppe ppescare  
 Vo carmaria,  
 Santa Lucia ! Santa Lucia !

Floating 'twixt wind and wave  
 In sweetest striving,  
 Is not a sailor's life  
 Well worth the living ?  
 Hark ! how his gladsome cry  
 Sounds far and near !  
 Santa Lucia ! Santa Lucia !

Napole bello  
 D'ogne stagione  
 Tu addecreare  
 Faie le ppersone ;  
 E susce a l'anema  
 Spasso, e allegria  
 Santa Lucia ! Santa Lucia !

Oh, lovely Napoli  
 Beautiful city,  
 He who is banished thee  
 Exciteth pity !  
 Heaven and earth unite  
 In radiance clear !  
 Santa Lucia ! Santa Lucia !

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\* Original version.

Ma fora chiacchiere,	List to the charming
Già l'ora avanza ;	Of the sweet singer,
Olà mmarcatave	Softly the breeze doth blow,
P'enghi la panza ;	Why do ye linger ?
Pozzo accostare	Then in my little boat,
La varca mia ?	May I draw near ?
Santa Lucia ! Santa Lucia !	Santa Lucia ! Santa Lucia !

## IN ITALIAN.

Sul mare lucica	Mare sì placido
L'astro d'argento,	Vento sì caro
Placida è l'onda,	Scordar fa i triboli
Prospero è il vento :	Al marinaio,
Venite all' agile	E va gridando
Barchetta mia ;	Con allegria
Santa Lucia ! Santa Lucia !	Santa Lucia ! Santa Lucia !
Con questo zeffiro	O bella Napoli
Così soave	O suol beato,
Oh ! come bello	Ove sorridere
Star su la nave !	Volle il creato ;
Su, passeggeri	Tu sei l'impero
Venite via !	Dell' armonia !
Santa Lucia ! Santa Lucia !	Santa Lucia ! Santa Lucia !

Or che tardate ?  
 Bella è la sera,  
 Spira un aurette  
 Fresca e leggera,  
 Venite all' agile  
 Barchetta mia !  
 Santa Lucia ! Santa Lucia !

*La Chiajese, or The Girl of Chiaia,* gives a more vivid picture of the shore where the flitting sails and sparkling waters are only the background incidentally touched in, while all the chief interest centres in the one forlorn figure on the beach. This in the Neapolitan Dialect is as follows :

M' affaccio a la fenesta la matina	I draw near to my window at the
E bedo Cicco e Cola int'a la varca	dawning,
Che lassano da poppa Morveglina	See Mat and Tonio wait the breeze's
E strillan 'a Sorriento a chi se mmarca.	blowing ;
Le dico buon viaggio e po penz' io	They push off to Sorrento in the
Pure accossi partette Ninno mio.	morning,

	And call to those who with them would be going.
	I wish them fairest speed ; my eyes I cover,
	And think : " Ah, thus thou leavest me, my lover ! "
Mamma mme dice lava, io lavo e spanno Li panne de li frate int' a l'arene.	" Go to thy washing, child ! " exclaims my mother ;
Ma po mme vene a chiagnere penzanno Ca Ninno cchiù non dà li panne a mmene.	I spread my brother's linen on the sand,
Nce li stirava co tutto lo core E mmo Ninno non c'è. Uh ! che dolore.	But then I weep, remembering that other Once brought me his, and lingered on the strand.
	I washed it white, and ironed it so clearly,
	And now he's gone, he whom I love so dearly !
Se a tavola me metto pe magnare Nu muorzo 'ncuorpo non ce vò trasire.	I thirst and hunger sitting at the table,
Po tornano li vuzze da pescare E sulo Ninno mio non bò venire.	Though all the boats from fishing back have come ;
Vene la sera e torna la matina E io chiagno sempe e guarda Morveg- lina.	To eat a morsel I am quite unable, For my dear love alone has not reached home.
	The evening sinks to night ; morn comes again ;
	With weeping eyes I search the sea in vain !
Nennillo mio d'amore, tu partive E Rosa toja chiagnenno te guardava.	When swift thy bark away from her was sailing,
Nzignale co la mano le facive, Lo moccature io sbentoliava.	Thy Rosa's watching eyes were filled with tears ;
Ogne bela che bedo tu mme pare Torna, a Nennella toja se jetta a mmare.	To see thy signal sight was unavail- ing, She waved her kerchief, heart-as- sailed with fears !
	Each sail I see, thine it appears to be ! Oh come ! or I will plunge into the sea !

A wilder note is struck in another song, *Voca, fuimmo'*, where disappointed love seeks to court death in those bright but treacherous waves of the Mediterranean :

Voca fuimmo, s'e maritata  
 Non è cchiù mi, non è chiù mia,  
 Voca fuimmo che a chella ngrata  
 Ll'nocchie da fronte, le scepparria.  
 Essa diceva ment'i parteva  
 Va, torna priesto, t'aspetto 'a te.

Ma non sapeva cha chella sera  
 Mmiez'a lo mare io sbatteva ;  
 Mmece de fare quacche prejera  
 To sul'a essa stev'a penzà.  
 Non era meglio si me perdeva  
 Pe me lo munno non serve cchiù.

Mo comme faccio, mo comme resto ?  
 Si chella ngrata non è cchiù mia,  
 Curre varchetta cchiù alla fenesta  
 Quann'io la sera stev'à passà,  
 Voca fuimmo' varchetta mia  
 Mmiezo a lo mare voglio mori.

Row, row ! Let us fly, my false love  
 is married,  
 No more she is mine, ah ! mine no  
 more !  
 Row quickly, oh row ! our swift  
 course be hurried !  
 Ah, would I were dead, my heart  
 is so sore !  
 She, when we parted,  
 Cried, broken-hearted,  
 " Return soon, my love, I wait and  
 I weep ! "

I could not return at the long-pro-  
 mised hour,  
 For danger drew nigh on the thun-  
 dering sea ;  
 No prayer did I breathe, I defied its  
 wild power,  
 I thought but of her who has now  
 betrayed me !  
 Would that wild ocean  
 In its mad motion  
 Had swept me to death in its fathom-  
 less deep !

What shall I do ! my brain's full of  
 madness—  
 No more she is mine, I have lost  
 her for ever !  
 A look at her window once filled me  
 with gladness ;  
 One look now, the last ! for return  
 will I never !  
 Bark, we will fly  
 Under the sky !  
 T'were sweetest amid the wild waters  
 to die !

And finally, in *Il Giardiniero*, we have the other aspect of Neapolitan nature, its wild luxuriance and splendour of varied flowers, which intervenes between the often bleak winter and the scorching heat later on, which destroys all floral vegetation with its scalding fire, and reduces the South Italian landscape to long stretches of dry rock and bare stones.

Rosa, son' un giardiniero  
 E te dò stu rammaglietto,  
 Ogne sciore cchiù perfetto  
 Attaccato nce stà ccà.  
 Te lu donco, pigliatillo  
 Rosa bella de stu core,  
 Ccà nce stà purzl nu sciore  
 Che maje sicco se farrà.

Nc'è la rosa e primmavera  
 Lu carofano ch' addora,  
 La viola ch' nnammora,  
 E nu giglio e qualita.  
 Te lu donco, pigliatello  
 Rosa bella de stu core  
 Cca nce stà purzl nu sciore  
 Che maje sicco se farrà.

Io pe farte stu rialo  
 Sciso sonco a lu giardino,  
 Era l'ora de matino,  
 E lu steva arravuglià.  
 Ogne sciore ch' attaccava  
 Io de lagreme ufunneva,  
 Ca na voce me diceva,  
 N'auto sciore aje da trovà.

Mo lu sciore aggio trovato  
 Nfra li rose l'aggio puosto,  
 Sotta sotta sta nnaucosto,  
 Pe nun fartelo abbedè.  
 Si te piglie lu mazzetto,  
 T'è a piglià purzl stu core,  
 Ca pe te chist'è lu sciore  
 Che maje siceo se farrà !

Rosa, dearest, I'm a gardener ;  
 All the perfect flowers I find  
 I did deftly twist and bind  
 In this nosegay, love, for thee.  
 Thee I give it, take it kindly  
 Heart's beloved, fairest maid,  
 For within it is a flowret  
 That will never, never fade !

Here's the rose and palest primrose,  
 Violets, pinks that scent the air ;  
 Proud and pure the lily fair,  
 All the lovely flowers that be.  
 Thee I give them, take them kindly,  
 Heart's beloved, fairest maid,  
 For among them is a floweret  
 That will never, never fade !

I, to cull for thee this nosegay,  
 Went into the garden early,  
 On the flowers lay dew so pearly,  
 Catching all the morning light  
 Every blossom in my nosegay  
 With salt tears I did bind  
 For a voice repeated ever,  
 'Thou thy flower wilt never find !'

But I yet have found the flowret,  
 And so slyly, unforbidden  
 'Mid the roses it lies hidden,  
 Where thine eyes will spy it soon.  
 If then, thou dost take my nosegay,  
 Must also take my heart, sweet  
 maid,  
 For this, and this alone's the flowret  
 That will never, never fade !

There is yet another side to the Neapolitan character ; beside the passionate love and jealousy of the South, alternating with dreamy idleness wherein mere sentient existence is revelled in as a luxury, there is a vein of latent humour, a subtle perception of the comical side of situations, which often makes the people such merciless critics of more staid and earnest natures who probably regard them as insignificant in intellectual power, because uncultivated. So, after the Romeo and Proteous-like raptures in the songs just cited, we come to *La mano della gnora*, or *The*

*Signorian Hand*, where a very *Mercutio* seems to have held the pen :

Io voglio tanto bene a Nenna mia, Che la quiete mia m'aggio jocata ! Non pozzo mai scontrala pe la via, E cu la mamma sta sempe' nzerrata ! Vurria schitto dircella na parola, Ma non la pozzo maje combinà sola !	For love of Nenna is my soul dis- solving, My restless thoughts are with her night and day ; And how to see her I am aye re- volving, For oh ! her mother's always in the way ! Could I in secret say but one word to her ! But she is ne'er alone ; then, how to woo her ?
A jera mente jevano alla messa E ntra la folla stavamo allo stritto, Io lesto mme nfelaje accanto a essa, Pe lle potè parlare zitto zitto, La mamma se votaje da chillo lato E io faceva bedere llo stonato.	But yestermorn, when coming from the mass, Good fortune brought us near ; amid the crowd I gently tried close to her side to pass And speak to her in tones not over- loud. Her mother caught me ! what a dreadful fright, I stood ashamed and in a sorry plight !
Mme scosto pe no poco e po tornaje, E essa me faceva la resella, Io pe llo troppo ammore mme nfuscaje Voleva po pigliare la manella, Pe la paura sto tremano ancora— Pigliato avea la mano de la gnora !	I went away, but soon returned again ; My girl with sweetest smiles my heart did bless ; I felt quite suffocated with love's pain, And tried her little hand to take and press. I tremble still ! oh, was it not a bother ; Within my hand I held that of her mother !
La gnora lesto me stregnette a mano. Dicennome ' Da me vuje che bolite ? So vedovella già da tre semmane, E tengo ncapo de piglià marito !' A sto discorso sto redenno ancora Vi ch' equinozio avea pigliato gnora !	She held mine fast, and pressed it kindly too, And said ' You shall not need to sue in vain ; I'm widow'd long, and oft I've noticed you, And am not loth to be a wife again.' I laugh at night, and when at morn I wake To think of the old lady's sad mistake !



Beautiful as fairyland, luring men to their destruction with a magic brilliance such as no princely garden can display; garlanded with verdure seeming to strangle itself with its own unchecked luxuriance; signs, to the thoughtful, of the hidden danger in the soil that can make of a small rocky island a paradise on earth—Ischia lies before us golden and radiant in the morning sun.

We wander bewildered and dazzled through a scene hardly seeming to be made for mortal eye, and at the close of the day, turning over the sketches in which we have tried to preserve some memory of its glories, are forced to confess them poor and meagre efforts to reproduce the charm of that siren beauty. As the light fades over the sea with all its inexpressible gradations of colour, we stroll through the village street and listen, as in a dream, to the girls and young men singing. Ah! there we have it, truly given, the glow and beauty and wonder of the fairy isle! Heine in his best efforts, of which the words so strongly remind us, never rendered it more truly than these stanzas of *The Castle in the Sea* :

I would like to clothe me in roses, \*  
 The rose is so dear to me;  
 To build me a castle of roses,  
 Far off in the blue blue sea.

The steps I would make of silver,  
 The doors of crystal so fine;  
 The keys should be chased and golden,  
 And all should glitter and shine.

And if there then passed near me  
 The dearest maiden mine,  
 I would throw my net and catch her—  
 Her and the bright sunshine!

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\* Of this and some of the following songs we regret not to be able to give the Italian text, as such does not exist either written or printed. We are indebted for our knowledge of them to Mr. Woldemar Kaden, of Naples, whose German version may be read in his delightful books, *Wandertage in Italien*, and *Italien's Wunderhorn*. He collected most of them orally from the lips of the peasants in their peculiar dialects which, unlike the Neapolitan, have not yet been expressed in any written form.

Heine-like also in its boldness of metaphor is the song that tells of the

IMPRISONED SUNSHINE.

I hear the sky a-weeping ;  
For he has lost the sun,  
To all the stars, the small ones,  
He tells the mischief done.

My maiden holds the sun-globe  
Within her little hand ;  
Tied to a golden threadlet  
And to her service banned.

The sun shines in the darkness  
Now only for my love,  
At night must shine and sparkle,  
Held by a silver dove.

And through the world so gladly,  
I sing both loud and bold :  
That my own sweetest maiden  
The sun itself doth hold.

And there is an echo of the old ballad, despite its slender framework, in the *Ring in the Sea* in the Ischian dialect :—

'Nncoppa la montagnella  
'Ddò' stanno li pastor,  
Nte stanno tre sorelle  
E tutte e tre d'ammor.

High up upon the mountain,  
Where wild beasts make their lair,  
Dwelt lonely sweet and loving,  
Three sisters, young and fair.

Cecilia, la cchiù bella,  
Violetta navegà,  
Ppe' vede', pavoriella  
Fortuna de' trava ?

Cecilia, the youngest,  
With sad unquiet mind,  
Went down unto the sea-shore  
To see what she might find.

—Bello pescatoriello,  
" Vene a pescà' cchia cca',  
E pescame l'aniello  
Ch'a mare mm'è cascà ? "

"Thou young and handsome fisher,  
Come here and fish for me,  
And fish—for I have lost one—  
A ring from out the sea."

Vote de campaniello,  
Respanne 'o pescator :  
"Se piglierò l'aniello,  
Ma che mme daje allor ? "

With a voice both sweet and clear,  
The fisher then said he :  
"If I go fishing for thee,  
What wilt thou give to me ? "

“ ‘Na povera zitella  
Che te po’ rialà ?  
“ D’ammare ‘n occhiatella  
Basta ppe’ mme pagà ? ”

“ How can a poor maiden  
Give anything to thee ? ”  
“ A single glance from thy bright eyes  
Sufficeth to pay me. ”

But it is false as well as fair in Ischia, and as the land, so her maidens, and we find in *Another Nest*, the deceived lover prepared to repay the faithless one in kind—

Once I was a little bird,  
And rapid was my flight ;  
High upon the tree of love  
I softly did alight.

Then a maiden caught me there,  
And in her bodice hid me.  
But alas, with fickle change,  
She soon to stay forbade me.

Now she is quite sorrowful,  
Would fain entice me to her,  
And, for yet another time,  
Let me softly woo her.

Once I gladly stayed with her ;  
She was a fickle goddess ;  
Now I’ll build another nest  
In another bodice !

While a deeper feeling gives the key-note to the following :

I will go out a-fishing !  
I know a small still sea,  
Since many years the waters  
Were there alone for me !  
I come with confidence, and lo !  
—I scarcely can believe it so—  
’Tis not alone for me !

In the bright sunshine gliding  
More boats have left the shore !  
Adieu, thou sweet and fairest,  
My boat shall come no more !  
Adieu, thou coloured Snake,  
Let thee another take !  
My boat shall come no more !

Quaint conceits and an endless wealth of variations on one single theme are the characteristics of certain rhymes, sonnets,

and poetical fragments, we find among the peasants of the Abruzzi, a land which has little intercourse with the outer world, lying as it does between two principal highways of the Mediterranean and Adriatic coasts, and just missed by the travellers on either route. We should have scarcely expected to find here a native literature, recalling Herrick, Lovelace, and Suckling, among our own song-writers, yet who can fail to be struck with a certain resemblance to these poets on reading such lines as the following:

Blest be the steps whereon thy feet do rest,  
 And all thy marble staircase, too, be blest !  
 The chamber fine, with all its dainty show,  
 Where thou, Nenella, goest to and fro.  
 I bless the curtains and the little bed  
 Whereon at night thou lay'st thy lovely head ;  
 I bless the palace, shining marble-white,  
 Raised by the master to such noble height.  
 A lily in thine hand so pure and fair  
 Thou holdest—with flowers thy breast is dight,  
 And now my loveliest one a sweet good night.

or still more in these—

Quante si bella il lunedì mattina,  
 Masciamente il martedì seguente ;  
 La mercoledì me pare 'na bambina,  
 La giovedì 'na stella rilicente ;  
 La venerdì 'na rosa damaschina,  
 La sabbate si bella veramente,  
 La demeneca può quanne te veste  
 Ecche la pasqua den tutti li feste.

On Monday lovely thou hast been,  
 But lovelier still on Tuesday, sure ;  
 On Wednesday thou wert a queen,  
 On Thursday a bright star so pure ;  
 On Friday a rose without a thorn,  
 On Saturday a goddess born,  
 And when on Sunday thou'lt thyself  
 array,  
 'Twill seem of all the week the  
 Easter-Day.

La rosa è bella, ed ha la cruda spina,  
 La spina non può star senza la rosa.  
 Vididi la rosa, e non curai la spina,  
 La spina ascosa sta sotto la rosa.  
 Colsi la rosa, e mi ferì la spina,  
 La spina sta per guardia della rosa.  
 Rosa, morir mi fai colla tua spina ;  
 La spina mi ferì, sanommi Rosa !

The Rose is sweet and has the prickly  
 Thorn,  
 The Thorn can ne'er exist without the  
 Rose.  
 I saw the Rose, neglected quite the  
 Thorn,  
 That hid itself beneath my sweetest  
 Rose.  
 I plucked the Rose ; then wounded  
 me the Thorn,  
 That stood as faithful guardian to the  
 Rose.

Oh Rose ! I'm like to die from prick  
of Thorn ;  
The Thorn was thine, then heal me  
now, oh Rose !

Besides love-songs we find cradle-songs and lullabys in these popular poets' favour, and we give one characteristic specimen from the Basilicata—

Come, sweet sleep ! oh, slumber, draw near !  
May the madonna send sleep without fear—  
Ninna, \* my darling, oh ninna !

Sleep, my little one, sleep and rest,  
Over thy cradle red roses are prest—  
Ninna, my dearest, oh ninna !

Sleep, my pet, may all good thee tend,  
E'en as the moon to her height doth wend—  
Ninna, my darling, oh ninna !

Sleep, my dear ; may thy race be well run  
Glorious and brave like the conquering sun—  
Ninna, my dear one, oh ninna !

Lovelier than all is thy dear face  
As more than all grasses the corn hath grace—  
Ninna, my sweet one, oh ninna !

Sweet smells my pet, like a jessamine-star,  
Sweet from near and sweet from afar—  
Ninna, thou flower, oh ninna !

Three rosy apples hang on the tree ;  
Soon should I die if I could not see thee—  
Ninna, my heart's love, oh ninna !

Three pears hang on the pear tree wild ;  
Mother would die if far from her child—  
Ninna, my beauty, oh ninna !

Christ has created thee ; angels of rest  
Held thee ; and Mary did give thee the breast—  
Ninna, my little one, ninna !

The holy saints from Rome all came  
To give my child his beautiful name—  
Ninna, my treasure, oh ninna !

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\* Signifies 'lullaby.'

Thee to her breast holy Mary will fold,  
Nurse thee, and give thee an apple of gold—  
Ninna, my own joy, oh ninna !

Sleep ! come and bring sweet violets and roses,  
Shed peace around while my darling reposes—  
Ninna, my flower, oh ninna !

All my words with their sweet refrain  
May they become a golden chain—  
Ninna, my pretty one, ninna !

Among the South Italians the Calabrians are reputed as reckless and untameable in their nature, fit for any desperate undertaking and implacable in revenge and hate. The darkest aspect of disappointed love is touched upon in this short poem from that province :

If these sad strains can lure thee to draw nigh  
Listen oh dear one ! hear how I can die !  
At midnight sounds the solemn bell ;  
At morning pass the bearers all.  
There is no Cross of God to tell,  
No hymning, and no velvet pall,  
Unblessèd to my grave I'm borne,  
Unwept, and unredeemed, alas !  
Step to thy window, maiden, then,  
And boast, ' I brought him to this pass !'

But happily such dismal notes do not often intrude even here upon the general harmony and gaiety. *My Love at Church* is serious but not sad :

When thou, my sweet one, passed into the church,  
The altar-lamps from thee renewed their light ;  
And when thy hand the holy-water touched,  
The drops left on thy brow were jewels bright !  
The chair before which thou didst kneel and pray,  
In a fair garden marvellous did stand ;  
And when from forth the church-door thou didst go,  
An angel came and led thee by the hand !

While of two others the one thought is the surpassing beauty of the loved one untroubled by any lovers' doubts or fears :

I dreamt one night I pushed off in my boat,  
To fish for all the stars in heaven set ;

As through the clear air I did gently float  
I caught the radiant moon within my net.  
Forth came the sun, and loudly did lament ;  
'How can the heavens miss the moon divine ?'  
Oh sun ! despair not of night's ornament,  
'Stead of the moon, my darling's face shall shine !

THE ONLY BEAUTY.

He who would grandeur, must to India go,  
And he to Spain, who would magnificence.  
He to Catania, who noble would be named,  
He who would riches, to Peru far-famed.  
For courtesy he must to Britain go,  
And to the Sultan's realm for precious stone.  
In all these lands for beauty seek in vain !  
That can be found in my love's face alone !

A still lighter vein appears in—

ROSE AND ROSES.

I'd like to dress me in roses,  
In Rose I do so delight !  
To build a house of roses,  
And a ladder of roses white.  
Then up the ladder of roses  
I'd climb to the Rose I love.  
Alas ! if I fell to the garden,  
How my Rose would weep above !

The Greek colonies in Calabria furnish a ballad which again recalls the old German poetry of this class :

THE WAGER.

Said the Turk, 'With our swift horses,  
Let us race, and end the strife !'  
'Done,' the youth replied ; 'the forfeit,  
Thou, a slave, or I, my wife !'  
When the young bride heard the wager,  
Full she filled her basket small ;  
Sad and fearfully she hastened  
Where the steed stood in the stall.  
'Oh, thou swift one, do not fail us,  
On the field to-morrow morn !  
I will with a silver girdle  
And rich velvet thee adorn !

*Songs and Rhymes of South Italy.*

'Oh, thou swift one, do not fail us !  
 In my casket there do lie  
 Precious stones to deck thy bridle !  
 And the steed neighed in reply.

O'er the field the morning after  
 Greek and Turk rode like the wind,  
 And the Greek outstripped the Moslem,  
 Leaving him a mile behind.

At the window stood the maiden  
 Watching till the sun had sped ;  
 To the garden then descended,  
 Plucked the roses white and red.

Roses white, and red carnations  
 Laid she on the bridal bed,  
 Sat and wove two wreaths of flowers  
 For the foot and for the head.

Hastened then to meet her bridegroom,  
 Proffered him a cup with speed ;  
 And an up-heaped barley measure  
 Placed before the noble steed.

'Hail to thee, my lord and master !  
 And long live our noble horse !'  
 'See, my bride, what I have brought thee,  
 This, the prize won by my course.

A Turkish woman, strong and healthy,  
 What her fate, 'tis thine to say.'—  
 'She shall nurse thy son, whom, next year,  
 I will in his cradle lay !'

And something of Heine's spirit we find again in the Terra d'  
 Otranto—

By chance I passed a garden fine,  
 And unaware,  
 I know not how, the whole day long  
 I still stood there !

Stole to the gate a maiden]sweet,  
 'Come in,' she said,  
 'Come in, and rest within my bower ;  
 Be not afraid !'



She offered figs and cherries red  
With virgin grace ;  
I could not eat, but only gazed  
At her sweet face !

' If figs and cherries please thee not,  
Be not afraid ;  
Two roses bloom upon my lips,  
Take those,' she said.

These are but a few scattered indications of what a more systematic research might discover. No Umland has arisen yet in Italy, as far as we know, to make them the subject of special study, though some writers have noted here and there those of a special province, and many, like those of Naples, have gained a wider celebrity on account of the melodies to which they are set.

A comparison of the popular poetry of the North of Italy, though it would probably be less abundant, could not fail to afford some interesting glimpses of the variations in customs and manners, thought and feeling, among the inhabitants of a land which has received a more mixed population, and preserved their peculiarities more intact, during successive ages, than any other country of a similar extent, although we are now habituated to class them together as Italians, and few persons have any notion of the very great diversity which in reality exists between one and the other.

EDITH MARGET.

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#### ART. VI.—SCOTLAND AND HOME RULE.

HOME Rule is the great political question of the day. It is therefore the duty of all serious politicians to endeavour to make up their minds upon it, and it is particularly the duty of Scotsmen, who have been complimented by Mr. Gladstone for their solidity of judgment, to consider to what extent this country is interested in the question, and how far they may be useful in re-uniting the Liberal party for the purpose of carrying an advantageous measure of Home Rule.

The first matter to be considered is the meaning of 'Home Rule.' An Englishman's home, and not less that of a Scotsman or Irishman, is said to be or ought to be his castle. However much outsiders may think themselves better able to regulate a man's home than he does himself, no man would dream of allowing intrusion into his home for such a purpose. He may be willing to admit that other homes are better furnished, other families better managed, but he considers himself the best judge, and wishes naturally to manage his own affairs and family so as to please himself and not other people. The principle which applies to the home is equally applicable to a man's relations in all the other spheres of life. He is a member probably of a township or what is known more generally on the Continent as a *Commune*, or to use the word, which from the looseness of our system of local government in this country, is most applicable here, a locality. He and his neighbours are, no doubt, best able to judge what is most convenient and suitable for their own locality in all matters in which they have a common interest. The development of Home Rule in a township is well known in America, where an intelligent and enterprising community are constantly acting the part of pioneers. When a locality has been sufficiently settled to admit of joint action for the making and maintenance of roads, bridges, schools, etc.,—the uniform practice is for a few of the neighbours to call a meeting of the inhabitants, at which the necessary individuals are appointed to attend to the several matters affecting the joint interests of the inhabitants, such as town clerks, collectors, road surveyors, school masters, etc., and an annual meeting is held to receive the reports and renew the appointments of such functionaries. A collection of such townships forms a county, and the common business of the county is transacted by persons appointed at a meeting of delegates from the townships. A similar development of joint interests is to be found in the collection of counties forming a State in America. A state there is larger sometimes than our own country although its population is not nearly so great, and the state manages its own affairs by means of a legislature to which all powers necessary for the regulation

of the interests of the state are deputed. The bond of union between the several states is the federal government, to which in America each of the states has deputed all powers necessary for the protection of the union and the regulation of the laws and other matters affecting the country as a whole.

The general principle of government in the United States is Home Rule—each community being allowed to manage all affairs affecting itself which can be done better by itself than by others. This then, may be taken as the meaning of ‘Home Rule.’

It was this natural desire for Home Rule and the objection to concede it on the part of the mother country that led to the declaration of independence by the United States, and nothing strikes one more in reading the history of that wonderful movement than the apparently small questions which were made the grounds of quarrel between Great Britain and her American colonies. All these questions, however, turned upon the legitimate claim of a free people to Home Rule.

The theory of Home Rule and its name have come back to the mother country from America, and taken root first in Ireland, in consequence of the large emigration from that country to the United States and the close bonds of fellowship which are maintained between the Irish in America and the Irish in Ireland. The demand for Home Rule is no new cry in Ireland, and now that it has been constitutionally expressed by the great body of the people through their representatives in the Imperial Parliament, it cannot be expected, even if it were desirable, that the wish for Home Rule should be repressed. It is sometimes said that Ireland has no claim to be called a nation, but whatever may be argued from its history to that effect, we must acknowledge a strong and natural desire on the part of the Irish to become a nation, if they have never been so before.

No one can deny that Scotland achieved its right to be considered a nation, and no one who understands the strength and cohesion which national sentiment gives to even a small people, can wish that the national feeling of Scotland should ever grow less. It must, however, be acknowledged that

national feeling and patriotism have been falling off in Scotland. A false cosmopolitan feeling and the idea of its being more fashionable to be regarded as an Englishman are to be found largely permeating the upper classes. Many of them are sent for their education to England, and consequently lose the traditions of their own country, or at least regard them as too far bygone to be of any practical importance. Many who imitate the upper classes imbibe the same mistaken ideas, and it is humiliating sometimes to hear a middle-class Scotsman expressing the sentiment that if Scotland is not a mere province of England, the sooner it becomes so the better. But a very different spirit is to be found among the rank and file of native Scottish people. The history and traditions of their own country are often their only, or at least their chief inheritance, and they are shewing so largely their appreciation of the importance of the question of Home Rule, which has now been raised in Scotland, that it cannot fail to secure ere long the dominating political influence in the country.

The desire for Home Rule is thus not only natural in itself but owes its origin to the Republic, which springing from this country has given the greatest example to the world of the rapid development of a great state and people. But the process by which Home Rule may become the dominating principle in the government of a country so old as ours must necessarily be almost the reverse of its development in America. The tendency of most European Governments—with a remarkable exception, however, in the case of Switzerland—has been towards undue Centralization, and Home Rule may be regarded as *Decentralization*, the re-delegation to each community of self-government in matters exclusively its own. The expression 'Home Rule' may be regarded as of foreign origin in as much as the United States were formed against the will of Great Britain, but, since we lost that portion of our dominions by resisting the desire for Home Rule, we have retained most of our other colonies only by conceding it. Perhaps Canada furnishes the most interesting example of the growth and concession of Home Rule. Like the United States, a congeries of dependent colonies, Lower Canada, the largest, was inhabited

by the French, from whom we took the country, and Upper Canada was colonized mainly by immigrants from the United States, to whom the war of independence was obnoxious. The first movement in Canada was for self-government, and was led by Papineau in Lower Canada, and by Mackenzie in Upper Canada. It produced rebellions in both these provinces much more serious than any which have taken place in Ireland during this century, but in 1840, after Canada had enjoyed the imperfect system of self-government introduced by Pitt, Home Rule was conceded by Great Britain, accompanied by a legislative union of both the provinces under a Governor, a legislative council, and a legislative assembly. The result of this concession was a great increase in the prosperity of the two Canadas; but owing to the differences of nationality, the absence of provision for sectional government, and other causes of dissent, the legislative union, after nearly twenty years' duration, was still regarded as a failure. A new agitation arose, led by George Brown, a native of Scotland, which resulted in the confederation of the provinces in 1868. The Parliament of the Dominion of Canada now regulates interests which are common to all the provinces, but each province has a Lieutenant-Governor and legislature for the guidance of its own local affairs.

Home Rule has in like manner been conceded to most of the other colonies of Great Britain, and where several are situated together, such as the Cape Colonies and those in Australia, there has been a great desire for federation either among themselves or with the mother country.

The mother country, however, while undertaking the protection of her colonies at great expense, derives no pecuniary benefit from them; although arrangements are now in progress, by which some of the Australian Colonies are for the first time to contribute towards the expense of a protective navy. The colonies are virtually independent. The only ties between them and the mother country consist of the governors who represent Her Majesty and the nominal connection kept up through the Colonial Office.

Great Britain and Ireland and the colonies present the

extraordinary spectacle of the largest empire in the world with probably the least cohesion between its composite branches.

The rest of the British Empire consists mainly of the great dependency of India, governed from London by means of a resident Viceroy and governors, whose powers have been constantly becoming larger; but even in India a demand for Home Rule is being heard.

Perhaps next to the United States the greatest and strongest government in the world is to be found in the recently consolidated German empire, which also affords an example of Home Rule. It is sometimes argued that the consolidation of the various states forming the German Empire is an example of cohesion rather than the supposed separation involved in Home Rule; but the various states were only brought together by conceding fully their several rights to domestic legislation and administration. The most remarkable example of any was the newly conquered province of Alsace-Lorraine, with an attachment to France and a dislike to Germany, to which the supposed hostile feelings of the Irish toward Great Britain afford no parallel. 'Bismarck, the greatest statesman of modern times,' as stated in his *Life* by Mr. Lowe, 'not only resolved to give the Alsace-Lorrainers representation in the Imperial Parliament, but, believing Home Rule to be one of the best guarantees of federal cohesion, he determined to try the effect of this cementing agency on the newest part of the imperial edifice. The result so far has been most satisfactory. While the Reichsland continued to be governed from Berlin, the making of its laws was more and more confined to Strasburg. Although the provinces did not yet possess anything like complete legislative independence, this did not gall them half so much as the fact that they did not live face to face with their rulers, and that the simplest matters of administration had to pass through a circumlocutionary office of heartbreaking weariness.'

It is well known that the Government of France proceeds upon an entirely different principle. Paris is often said to be France, for it is from the capital that all the provinces and municipalities are governed, so much so that, during the many

revolutions which of late years have changed the government of the country, the possession of Paris has been found sufficient to secure the domination of France.

It is interesting to find our countryman Mr. Mackenzie Wallace, in his book on 'Egypt and the Egyptian Question,' attributing the main defects of the Government of that country, on which we are experimenting, to the highly centralized administration after the French model introduced by Mohammed Ali in a country where the supreme authority wishes to be ubiquitous and omniscient, and where a great majority of the officials, being timid, apathetic and incapable of initiative, prefer always to ask for instructions rather than act on their own responsibility.

Various other instances of Home Rule in European States might be cited. Perhaps the most interesting for the purpose of comparison with Scotland is to be found in Switzerland. 'The patriot Tell, the Bruce of Bannockburn' were engaged about the same time in resisting the usurped authority of great neighbouring powers. Bruce became King of Scotland, and when not engaged in defensive wars against England, he and his successors on the Scottish throne had to reduce to submission the powerful chiefs and clans who struggled for Home Rule in these barbarous times—the result being that the domination which England failed to achieve over Scotland by force of arms, she ultimately gained after the union of the Crowns, by an insidious treaty depriving the smaller country of Home Rule. Tell, on the other hand, when he had, with the co-operation of kindred spirits in neighbouring Cantons, thrown off the Austrian yoke, resumed his position in his native state, and the Swiss Cantons, surrounded by the most powerful and aggressive countries in Europe, have maintained to the present day that combination of Home Rule in each Canton and Federal Union and strength for self-defence and other common interests which have made Switzerland the envy and admiration of the world. Each Valley Canton makes its own laws and manages its own local affairs. Their local assemblies produce a remarkable effect on the Swiss people. Their debates have an importance far beyond that of a British Town Council, or even a Colonial Parliament, for their power is

infinitely greater, and the population are more immediately interested in them. The interest thus created among the Swiss people explains the intelligence and public spirit for which they are so remarkable. Other instances of Home Rule in various forms are to be found in Austria-Hungary with its dual government, Norway and Sweden, Finland, &c., and nearer home, in our own Isle of Man and Channel Islands, where self-government coexists with an unusual degree of loyalty and contentedness among the people. An interesting example of Home Rule in its beneficent effects, followed by the deterioration of the people when deprived of it, is to be found in Iceland. Lord Dufferin, writing thirty years ago in his *Letters from High Latitudes*, about the government of Iceland then centralized in Denmark, ascribes to the loss of its ancient Home Rule 'the apathy which invariably benumbs the faculties of a people too entirely removed from the discipline and obligation of self-government. It then lapped in complete inactivity,—moral, political, and intellectual,—these once stirring islanders,' but by a new constitution received in 1874, their ancient Althing, which had been partially re-organized in 1843, obtained legislative powers in all matters concerning Iceland, and the great increase which has taken place in the population and prosperity of the Island may be ascribed to the restoration of Home Rule.

While, thus, all experience leads us to conclude that Home Rule is a salutary principle, uniformly successful when properly applied, and the neglect of which is sure to lead to dissatisfaction on the part of the people, we require to consider whether the Government of the British Empire is such as to give it all the strength and its subjects all the satisfaction which can be desired. It would indeed be strange if a great empire, which has grown so gradually to such an enormous and widely separated dominion, were incapable of improvement in its system of government.

At the time of the Union between England and Scotland now 180 years ago, federal government, except in Switzerland, was almost unknown, and although the patriotic party in Scotland strove manfully for a federal, as opposed to an incorporating union, they were compelled to content themselves with a United Legislature and with such Treaty provisions as might secure a continu-



their own system of laws and the institutions which they

and not be desirable even were it necessary to advocate constitutional changes now required on the ground of oppression and neglect by the larger country. It should be sufficient to contrast the business of the United Parliament of 1708 with that of the Imperial Parliament of 1887. Ireland has since been added to the Union and the Empire has multiplied itself over and over again in extent and population. The requirements of law and administration in the more developed state of society are infinitely more exacting than they were; and it has become physically impossible for the Imperial Parliament and administration to overtake the immense amount of work now imposed upon them.

As regards Ireland, which has been subjected to a much more painful experience without the compensation which Scotland has had in the traditions of its independence, we find now a people who will never be satisfied without the management of their own internal affairs. Some say that the Irish are incapable of self-government, but it must be acknowledged that all the experiments of governing them from London have utterly failed to content the Irish people.

Lord Salisbury, arguing last winter at Derby against the concession of Home Rule to Ireland, was bold or ignorant enough to refer to the case of Scotland as an example of the contentment with which a nation, as high-spirited as Ireland, has accepted the extinction of its nationality, which his Lordship contended must be in these times the inevitable fate of all small countries. For fifty years, said Lord Salisbury, Scotland fought against its union with England with a bitterness and vigour greater than has ever been evinced in Ireland, and yet, now, 'The Union is Scotland's proudest boast!' Such are the arguments used to confirm the Conservative party in its opposition to the claims of Home Rule for Ireland. A Scotsman, who knows the very different feeling which permeates the great body of his fellow-countrymen, is tempted to think that Lord Salisbury was posing at Derby for Mr. R. L. Stevenson's late amusing portrait of 'the Englishman' who 'sits apart swelling with pride and ignorance.' Scotsmen

have never forgotten, and will cease to be Scotsmen when they forget the noble figures of Fletcher of Saltoun and Lord Belhaven, who led the great mass of the Scottish people in their unhappily futile opposition to the incorporating Union, and the chicanery and corruption, which, dismally—like the same influences used a hundred years afterwards by England in Ireland—dragged the attenuated Scottish Parliament into London, a helpless captive at England's chariot wheels. It is not, however, our object to rake up the dead scandals of 1707 in the present argument. They are alluded to merely for the purpose of disclaiming as binding either on Ireland or Scotland at the present day Unions which were brought about in both countries by the bribery of Parliaments, neither of which had been elected to deal with them, the only difference between Scotland and Ireland being that, while the Irish got a good share of English money, the Scots were bribed with a very little of their own.

Coming now to consider the way in which the Home Rule movement must practically affect Scotland, it is necessary to keep more particularly in view the position of Scotland with reference to the United Kingdom and the Imperial Parliament.

In the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland, provision was made for maintaining the system of Scots law, which, being founded on that of Rome, was thought by the Scottish people superior in many respects to the law of England,—the mere creature of precedent. The Courts of Scotland were also to be upheld, and Scottish causes were to be excluded from the jurisdiction of the English Courts. The Church of Scotland, as then established, was to be maintained in its integrity, and care was taken to secure a fair proportion between the taxation of England and that of Scotland and to give to the poorer country, which had been the object of very unnecessary jealousy on the part of its wealthy neighbour, the same commercial rights as were enjoyed by the latter. But all these Treaty provisions were endangered by the unfortunate stipulation that the legislature of the two countries should be a joint body sitting at Westminster to which Scotland sent only 45 Representatives who were outvoted by the English Members in the proportion of about 11 to 1. The consequence was that, after some ineffectual struggles

including an attempt—led by the great Duke of Argyll, and all but successful—to repeal the Union, the Scottish Members were obliged to succumb in many important matters to the overwhelming majority of the English. At that time, Parliamentary discussions, so far at least as Scotland was concerned, could be scarcely regarded as public, and the Scottish Members were consequently deprived of the assistance they might have had if fortified by a strong public opinion in Scotland. The weakness of the Scottish members to protect their own country and the inefficacy of a treaty when exposed to the omnipotence of the legislature, were soon made manifest by the introduction, almost unknown to Scotland, of the famous Act of Queen Anne which subjected the Scottish Church to the evils of patronage. Every effort was made to repeal the Patronage Act, which was justly considered an infringement of the Treaty of Union, but the Scottish members found themselves powerless; and the Scottish Church has since been repeatedly rent by secession and disruption attributable really to what was an illegal act of the Imperial Parliament. Convinced of their impotence, the Scottish members were thankful thereafter when they could save their country from being made the vile body for experiments by ignorant English legislators. Occasionally, however, the spirit of Scotland was roused, and it is pleasant to think that our great countryman, Sir Walter Scott, although a Tory, maintained throughout his life, and signally under the *nom de plume* of Malachi Malagrowther in resisting the abolition of our one pound Notes, the attitude of a patriotic Scotsman. The education to which the Scottish Tories have since been subjected by English Statesmen seems to have extinguished the patriotism which might otherwise have secured them a place in the heart of the great body of the Scottish people who, since the time of the Reform Bill, have been distinctly Liberal in their politics.

The removal of the legislature from Scotland and the gradual extinction of the shadow of administrative power which was left in this country have had their natural effect on the character of the inhabitants. Engaged in the pursuit of wealth, in which, notwithstanding the poverty of the country, they have succeeded,—owing mainly to the system of parochial education founded long

before the Union and surviving it,—the Scots, until awakened by the struggle for Reform, paid little attention to politics. This neglect, which was apparent chiefly among the upper classes, has produced a strange contrast between the Representatives of Scotland in the Imperial Parliament and our countrymen abroad, where they have distinguished themselves for energy, integrity and ability all over the world. But it would not be fair to blame altogether the upper classes who remained in Scotland for their neglect of politics and their supposed incapacity for political duties. Until the municipalities were reformed, the great bulk of the upper and middle classes in Scotland had little or no opening for distinguishing themselves in public or political life. When, however, the Town Councils became elective bodies, they were filled by hard-headed Scotsmen of the middle classes who have shewn no want of capacity for the discharge of municipal duties. To the upper classes, including country gentlemen and those who had acquired an independence in their professions, there was no field open for public and patriotic exertion between the Town Council and the Imperial Parliament. The Imperial Parliament, however, necessitated residence for a great part of the year in London, and the expense and breaking up of family life inseparable from a seat in Parliament excluded from it many of those who would have made the best and most independent representatives of the country. Those who were not deterred by such difficulties have often returned from their Parliamentary duties with feelings of disgust. The Scottish business in which they were chiefly interested was delayed until past midnight and received little attention when it was reached. The administrative business of Scotland, which had devolved mainly upon the Lord Advocate, was latterly being managed or rather mismanaged by the Home Secretary, and when question or complaint was made by Scottish members, it was met by insolence or derision on the part of the Home Secretary or the Treasury. And so it has happened that the Representation of Scotland is now too largely in the hands of English barristers, (we have 16 of them and the cry is still they come!) who find a seat in Parliament a pathway to professional success. In addition to such professional gentlemen, we find occasionally Scottish members belonging to the class of

adventurers, to whom admission to Parliament is sometimes attractive as giving them a seat at the Boards of Directors in London where they get some pecuniary compensation for their trouble.

It happens occasionally, when the neglect of Scottish business is followed by the refusal of the pecuniary grants to which Scotland is fairly entitled from the Treasury, or when the English Courts evince a disposition to extend their jurisdiction over Scotsmen or the estates of Scotsmen who have died leaving them, by some quibble, at their mercy, that resentment has become so strong in Scotland as to lead to some public demonstration. Of this an eminent example was lately afforded when the demand for a Scottish Secretary was conceded after a public meeting on the subject almost national in its character. But the Scots are a law abiding people and demonstrations like these are not easily got up—the consequence of which is that our Imperial Statesmen have shewn little regard as yet to the discontent that smoulders in Scotland. Even Mr. Gladstone, although he has found in Midlothian an advantageous battle-field for many political triumphs, has, like most other statesmen, shewn himself less amenable to the quiet demands of reason and justice than to the louder complaints of a more excitable people backed by demonstrations of physical force—a fatal feature of modern legislation which is demoralizing now the God-fearing Crofters of the north-western seaboard of Scotland. When Mr. Gladstone, owing largely to the almost unanimous support he received in Scotland, had succeeded in carrying his great Irish measures of disestablishment and land law reform, and at least dealt in his Reform Bill with the Franchise of Ireland on exactly the same footing as he dealt with the Franchise of England and Scotland, there was a hope on the part of reflecting Home Rulers throughout the United Kingdom, that he would deal with the great question of national local government by a measure applying equally to each of the United Kingdoms. But regarding the claim of Ireland as more urgent than that of the sister countries, Mr. Gladstone introduced a bill dealing with Ireland alone. It provided for the establishment in Dublin of an Irish Parliament and administration for the management of Irish affairs, while it terminated the representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parlia-

ment and reduced it to the position of a tributary state. In these circumstances, it cannot be a matter of surprise that many who were convinced of the necessity of a measure of Home Rule for each of the United Kingdoms, thought that more consideration was required before dealing with such a great constitutional question. It is perhaps not to be regretted, therefore, that, by the defeat of Mr. Gladstone's Government through a combination of Conservatives and Liberal Dissenters, time has been allowed for Home Rulers of every nationality to take counsel together. The feeling among Scottish Home Rulers was that, if they had lived in Ireland, they would have rejected with scorn a measure which, while enabling them to manage their own domestic affairs, deprived them of all say in the Government of the great British Empire which Irishmen have contributed by their blood to win and cement. So strong was this feeling, that Home Rulers in Scotland were led to suspect, on the part of the Home Rulers in Ireland who had accepted such a measure, some concealed ideas tending to that separation of Ireland from Great Britain which had sometimes been foolishly suggested. Although such ideas are now repudiated by the Irish members, we have no reason to expect that Ireland would now, more than our American colonies did a hundred years ago, submit tamely to taxation without representation, and the Scottish people, who have always been made a financial scape-goat for England and Ireland, cannot afford to run the risk of Ireland repudiating its proposed tribute of nearly four millions a year.

As regards the interests of Scotland, Home Rulers here were convinced that it would require the united efforts of all like-minded members of Parliament, both from Ireland and from Scotland, to secure a proper measure of Home Rule dealing fairly with the interests of the three United Kingdoms. That solidity of judgment attributed to Scotsmen leads them to think that the grave constitutional problem involved in a measure of Home Rule making due provision for the interests of the whole British Empire, requires the utmost deliberation, and ought if possible to be so solved as to satisfy the great body of the people concerned.

The practical grievances requiring redress by such a measure of Home Rule are mainly attributable to the proved incapacity

of the Imperial Parliament to manage aright the domestic affairs of the three Kingdoms and at the same time to provide for the important and widely varied needs of all the constituent parts of the British Empire. It is often described as one upon which the sun never sets, being much larger and more diversified in climate and population than either the American Republic or the German Empire. And yet, as compared with the Federal Government of the States, the system by which the British Empire is held together resembles the cohesion of a fortuitous concourse of atoms. But while the Federal Relations of the colonies with the Mother Country have been too much neglected when endowing them with Home Rule, the benefits of Home Rule have been denied to each of the United Kingdoms, and the Imperial Parliament insists on mismanaging both their domestic affairs and the more important interests common to the British Empire.

The clear remedy for a system so inconsistent, which has now become practically unworkable, is to devolve upon a legislature for each of the three or four nationalities composing the United Kingdom the management and administration of its own domestic affairs, reserving to their representatives in the Imperial Parliament the regulation of the great interests common to all as well as to the British Colonies and dependencies. It is not for any individual at the present stage of the question to dogmatize regarding the details of the measure by which the reorganisation of the British Empire may thus be accomplished. It cannot be doubted, however, that in dealing with Ireland alone, Mr. Gladstone undertook a much more serious problem. The difficulty which he failed to solve in legislating for Ireland alone was that of giving its representatives the management of its internal affairs in Dublin, and of, at the same time, retaining at Westminster the representation of Ireland as a contributory part of the United Kingdom. Mr. Gladstone saw that it was impossible, while excluding the Imperial Parliament from any share in the management of the domestic affairs of Ireland, to allow Ireland to send representatives to the Imperial Parliament, and thereby to share in the management of the domestic affairs of the sister countries. He avoided this difficulty by proposing to exclude Ireland from any repre-

sentation in the Imperial Parliament, but by so doing his Bill struck upon a constitutional rock. It could not exempt Ireland from taxation for Imperial expenses. By making Ireland a tributary State, the Bill infringed the great constitutional maxim 'No taxation without representation,' and this difficulty was not met by the provision that no increase in the tribute should be made without recalling the representatives of Ireland to Westminster. It is the constitutional right of a taxed people to vote not merely as to the amount of the tax but as to its expenditure from time to time.

Had Mr. Gladstone dealt in the same way with England and Scotland as he proposed to deal with Ireland, he would have left the British Empire without any Imperial Parliament at all, being surely a *reductio ad absurdum*.

If, however, Mr. Gladstone had felt himself at liberty to undertake the apparently greater task of conferring Home Rule upon each of the three Kingdoms by a single measure,—following the precedent of his great Reform Act,—he would not have experienced the difficulty which wrecked his Bill.

The object to be accomplished has its best living example in the Constitution of the United States of America, and the Imperial Parliament is more favourably situated for accomplishing that object than the statesmen of America were when they had to draw up a Constitution for the Federal Union of the States. Each of these States was at that time a separate Dominion possessing sovereign powers, and the problem was solved by a Constitution, to which they all became parties, whereby each of them surrendered to the Federal Government such portions of its sovereign powers as were necessary to form a United Republic. It was difficult in such circumstances to avoid the risk of secession on the part of some of the States on the ground that certain of their sovereign rights had been infringed by the Federal Government. It was a risk of this nature which led to the late rebellion of the Confederate States in consequence of the interference by the Federal Government with slavery, which was a domestic institution.

But in the United Kingdom the Imperial Parliament is supreme, and requires only to delegate to a legislature for



each of its nationalities the specific powers necessary for the management of its own domestic affairs. The Imperial Parliament will remain supreme, and at liberty to increase or withdraw such powers if necessary, while their exercise might be usefully controlled by such a supreme Court as has been so successfully established in the United States to protect life, liberty, and property against infringement even by the legislatures, and to settle constitutional questions between the Federal and State Legislatures, and disputes among the States themselves.

As regards the practical course to be followed in making such important alterations in the British Constitution, there is fortunately a good example to be found in the development of our own Dominion of Canada. From its History by Mr. MacKenzie, we find that in 1864—

‘ A Coalition Government was formed with the express design of carrying out a Confederation of the two Canadas, with a provision for the reception of the other provinces and of the north-west territory. The new Cabinet entered promptly upon the task which it had undertaken. Within a few weeks there met in Quebec for conference on this momentous question thirty-three men representing the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. They met in private, and discussed for seventeen days the details of a Union which should harmonise and promote the interests of all. The desired reconciliation was not easily attained ; for each province estimated with natural exaggeration the advantages which it brought into the Confederation, and sought a higher position than the others were willing to concede. But in the end a scheme of Union was framed, and the various Governments pledged themselves that they would spare no effort to secure its adoption by the legislatures. A party of resistance arose, and years of debate ensued. But time fought on the side of Union. The evils of the existing political system became increasingly apparent in the light thrown by incessant discussion. The separated provinces were weak for purposes of defence: their commerce was strangled by the restrictive duties which they imposed on one another. United they would form a great nation, possessing a magnificent territory, inhabited by an intelligent and industrious people ; formidable to assailants ; commanding a measure of respect to which they had hitherto been strangers ; with boundless capabilities of increase opening to all their industrial interests.

‘ Under the growing influence of views such as these, the Confederation of the Provinces was at length resolved on by the Legislatures of Canada,

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick ; and in the following year a Royal Proclamation announced the Union of these provinces into one Dominion, which was styled Canada. A little later Manitoba, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island were received into the Union. Newfoundland refused to join her sister States, and still maintains her independent existence.

In citing the course followed for the Confederation of the Dominion of Canada as a useful precedent for the union of the British Empire, small things are of course being compared with great. Upper and Lower Canada had previously been united for legislation just as England, Scotland, and Ireland have been, but the population of Upper and Lower Canada were much less homogeneous than those of Great Britain and Ireland. There seemed no prospect in fact of removing the hatred and prejudice which existed between the people of Upper Canada, who were mainly British, and the people of Lower Canada, who were chiefly of French origin. As regards the adjacent Colonies, there was little more connection between them and the Canadas and among each other than exists at present between the United Kingdom and its Colonies and among the Colonies themselves, and yet by such a course of action in Canada as is described by Mr. MacKenzie all the important Colonies of the United Kingdom in North America were welded into one great Dominion with a Federal Government supreme over all for the management of their common interests and a legislature and administration in each of the Provinces for the management of its domestic affairs.

The problem now before the United Kingdom is to give to each of its component nationalities such a measure of Home Rule as will enable them to manage their own affairs better than the Imperial Parliament can do for them, and at the same time to preserve to each of these nationalities representation in the Imperial Parliament. This problem once successfully solved, the Imperial Parliament would then have time to give its whole attention to those Imperial interests which of late have been so much neglected, and the way would thus be opened for each of the British Colonies to become a member of the Federation and to send representatives to the Imperial Parliament.

Those who advocate such a policy are the true 'Unionists' and those who oppose it are really 'Separatists.' The former, believing Home Rule to be a good thing in itself and to be the only means of conciliating the Irish people, will work for such a measure of Home Rule as will give the Irish people all that they can reasonably desire in the way of managing their own affairs, and at the same time preserve to Ireland that Representation in the Imperial Parliament, without which she would be reduced to the position of a tributary of Great Britain.

As regards Scotland, those to whom her national rights and traditions are dear, will not be contented unless she also obtains the management of her own affairs and retains her position as an integral part of the British Empire, which her sons abroad have done so much to form and extend.

It is equally the policy of Scotland to insist that the domestic affairs of England shall at the same time be relegated to a legislature and administration of her own, so that, in the Imperial Parliament, each of the three Kingdoms may meet on the same footing as integral parts of the British Empire.

Assuming Home Rulers in each of the three Kingdoms to recognise this as the object of their common policy, its accomplishment might be promoted if, in place of leaving us in doubt as to whether Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill is to be regarded as dead or alive, delegates of the Home Rule party representing each of the nationalities demanding Home Rule were to meet for the purpose of preparing such a Bill as would carry out their common wishes. If such a measure were prepared after careful deliberation and discussion, it is surely not unreasonable to hope that it might re-unite in its support the great body of the Liberal party in the United Kingdom, and so supported, that it might, after due discussion in Parliament, pass into law. In the meantime Scotland should proceed by way of Resolution,—a resolution to preserve the *status quo* until her claims and necessities, in view of the delegation of Home Rule to Ireland, are duly considered and provided for by the leaders of the Liberal party.

While, as has been said, it is not desirable for anyone at this stage to dogmatize on the details of such a measure, it

may be useful—merely by way of suggestion—to consider how Home Rule could be granted with the least possible dislocation of existing constitutional arrangements. In this view, it might be advisable to make the present representatives of each nationality in the House of Commons a Lower House for the management of its domestic affairs in its own country.

It may be objected to this that it would be putting double work upon such representatives, who would require not only to attend the meetings of the legislature of their respective nationalities but also the meetings of the Imperial Parliament. But it must be kept in view that the incapacity of the present Imperial Parliament satisfactorily to overtake its work has arisen from there being more work to do than *one* Parliament can satisfactorily accomplish. The Imperial Parliament has been compared to a corn mill to which various estates, more or less distant, were 'thirled.' The mill could thresh and grind only the corn from one of these estates at one time, and while its corn was in the mill, the corn and the servants from each of the other estates were kept waiting for their turn of the mill. The remedy for the difficulties arising when the mill had too much corn to thresh and grind would clearly be that each of the separate estates should have a smaller mill on its own ground to thresh its own corn, thereby saving the expense and the delay of taking its corn to the large mill which was at an inconvenient distance, and had become overworked. Such a remedy would become the more desirable if, as in the present case, there remained plenty of grinding and outside work for the large original mill to do.

Applying this idea to the case of the Scottish members, it seems clear that, if they could devote themselves, for a short Session in Edinburgh, to the legislation required for Scotland, it could be better and more easily carried through than in the scramble at Westminster, where the majority of the members of Parliament are really ignorant of the work to be done. But the objection on the ground of double work being imposed on present M.P.'s would be obviated if, as was provided by Mr. Gladstone's Irish Bill, each constituency were to return two members to its National Legislature, one of whom only would sit in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster.

The Imperial Parliament, assembling afterwards at Westminster, could devote its whole time to Imperial legislation and it also could be better and more quickly carried through. The Scottish Members returned for the Imperial Parliament would thus require to be absent from their own country for a comparatively short time, and neither in Edinburgh nor at Westminster would they be subjected to the same exhausting and unsatisfactory work which prevents so many of our best men from offering themselves as Parliamentary Representatives. It may be thought that the construction of national legislative bodies in this way would require a different arrangement with reference to a National Upper House. Mr. Gladstone's proposals on this subject, contemplating as they did an entire change in the composition of the Upper House of the Irish Parliament, did not meet with much favour, but, on the other hand, the composition of the present House of Lords is in many respects unsatisfactory. The principal objection is, that the Members of the House of Lords have no other qualification excepting that of birth, but it is acknowledged that the House of Lords has been a Chamber of which any nation might be proud.

Some progress might be made towards the Reform of the House of Lords by providing that the Upper Chamber of each National Legislature should consist of National Peers (hereditary and life) elected by its Lower House at the first sitting of each Parliament, the Peers so elected representing or delegating some of their number to represent Scotland in the House of Lords at Westminster.

Some weak advocates of Home Rule have objected to any separate administration excepting that which now exists in connection with the Imperial Parliament, but a Home Rule Legislature without an executive would be like a cart without a horse. There is in fact no practical difficulty in providing for a separate administration for domestic affairs in connection with each Nationality. England, Scotland and Ireland are each at present furnished with executive officers charged with the administration of the domestic affairs of their respective countries, and the chief additional officers required would be a Chancellor and a Treasurer

of each National Exchequer. The enormous growth of taxation within late years, and the incapacity of the Imperial Parliament to check expenditure have been the gravest evils connected with the present system of Government, and perhaps the most serious grievances of which Scotland has had to complain have been over-taxation, as compared with England and especially with Ireland, which pays £1 for every £2 6s. 8d. paid by Scotland, and the grudging spirit in which, notwithstanding, Scotland has been dealt with by the Imperial Treasury—grievances admirably exposed by the author of an article in this Review last October entitled ‘The Union of 1707 viewed Financially.’

What is wanted is merely such a division of labour as becomes necessary and is found advantageous in every trade and profession where there is a large increase of business, and it is ridiculous, as Mr. Dicey and similar martinets have been doing, to raise Constitutional difficulties as a barrier to the Home Rule movement. Such difficulties have been successfully overcome by the Federal and State Legislatures of the United States, Canada and the German Empire, and they present no serious difficulty to the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain which has undisputed power to delegate as may be thought expedient the powers necessary for Local National Government.

It would be interesting to consider the advantages which Scotland might derive from a proper measure of Home Rule, but every public body and man of business have had occasion to complain of the expense and sometimes the impossibility of obtaining legislative powers for public reforms or private enterprises in this country. Until we have a proper measure of Home Rule, and such a legislative body and administration in Scotland as will command confidence and respect, there is no hope of getting rid of many grievances which the public complain of, and of obtaining such legislative and administrative powers as are necessary for the proper conduct of the greatly increased business of the country. The movement which lately originated in the Parliament House of Edinburgh for establishing in Scotland a permanent and expensive tribunal to take evidence and report to the Imperial Parliament on Scottish Private Bills stands self-condemned. A similar change was tried and found useless forty

years ago, and since then it has become a clearly recognized necessity for the judge who is to decide the case to see and hear the witnesses himself. The clear and only remedy is to bring our Scottish legislators to Edinburgh.

It is sometimes brought forward as an objection to the separation of the legislature that it would lead to farther differences in the laws of three countries, which it is desirable should be the same. In reality, the very reverse might be expected, if in each of the countries whose laws are at present different there were a legislative body with the ability and the time to devote itself to the codification of its laws and their assimilation to those of the sister countries. There is a natural disposition on the part of England to consider that its laws are the best, and that the law of Scotland and its Courts should be assimilated to those of England, but there is still enough sense and spirit left in Scotland to know and assert the superiority of many of its laws and judicial arrangements to those of England. The best security for legal reform is that there should be a legislative body in each country able to maintain what is good in its own system of law, but willing at the same time to adopt whatever seems better in that of its neighbour.

It is unnecessary to dwell longer on such matters of detail. They have been adverted to merely as instances of the advantages to be derived from Home Rule. But advantages infinitely greater might be expected from the development of native talent by a national legislature, the attraction it would form to our lairds and monied men to live on their own lands and share their wealth with their own people, and the friendly field it would provide for Scottish Peers and people to take counsel together in their own capital for the improvement of their own country. If, as was stated at the outset, Home Rule is the great political question of the day, it is the duty of every good citizen to make it his study and to approach the question in a calm and kindly spirit. Wherever such a spirit has not been cultivated, hostile feelings and sometimes violent actions have been the result. Much that has taken place in Ireland is deeply to be lamented, but, in condemning violence there, Scotsmen should not forget that, in similar circumstances

abroad, our own countrymen, such as Gourlay and Mackenzie and their followers in Canada, have been led astray by similar violent feelings. There, Home Rule, when granted, extinguished all that had been unworthy of the cause, and surely we need have no reason to doubt that the result will be equally happy at home.

No better words can form the conclusion of a plea for Home Rule than those used some time ago by the great Statesman who has done so much to advance the cause:—

‘Patience and quiet firmness, the moderation of the demands and conduct of Ireland, the gradual extension of historical information, and the progress of reflection on the subject will, in no long time, we may rest assured, bring about the triumph of light.’

W. MITCHELL.

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ART. VII.—CHARLES DARWIN.

*The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin, including an Autobiographical Chapter.* Edited by his son FRANCIS DARWIN. 3 vols. London: 1888.

MR. FRANCIS DARWIN may be congratulated on having written a remarkably interesting, temperate, and instructive life of his illustrious father. To the non-scientific reader many of the pages and letters in his volumes will probably prove somewhat dry and unattractive reading; but to the scientific reader and to others who are at all able to appreciate the importance of their contents, there is not a single page in these three octavo volumes which will not be read with the greatest attention and pleasure. It is the fashion with some writers, as for instance with Mr. Grant Allen and Professor Fiske, to speak of Mr. Darwin as ‘the Newton of Biology,’ and to claim for him and his theory a position in the kingdom of organic and animated nature analogous to that assigned to Newton and his theory or law of gravitation in the universe. For our own part, while cheerfully giving a gene-



ral assent to the theory expounded in *The Origin of Species*, as affording to a certain extent an explanation of certain phenomena, we fail to see that its author is entitled to so high a claim. We admit at once the splendid and almost unique character of his services to science, and are quite willing to add our voice to swell the tribute of his praise, but when it comes to a serious use of terms in respect to him, we are unwillingly compelled to part company with some of his more enthusiastic admirers, and to put in a plea against them. Professor Fiske, himself, to mention no other, has furnished us with a sufficient reason. In his essay on 'Darwinism Verified,' he tells us that 'the comparison of the doctrine of Natural Selection with the Newtonian Theory is made advisedly,' and yet in the same paper he assures us, that while the latter is absolutely verifiable, the former is not, for the simple reason that the causes which operate to produce a variation of species are so extremely complex, that we can never be sure that we have got hold of them all, and, as he might have added, we can never be absolutely sure that we have got hold of the right or most essential one. 'The Newton of Biology,' in fact, seems to us to have a touch of hyperbole about it, to belong more to poetry and less to science, and to be just a little misleading, one of that class of phrases, in short, which scientific specialists are in the habit of indignantly objecting to when used in Theology or Philosophy, but which, when writing themselves, they sometimes calmly assume the right to use. In Mr. Francis Darwin's volumes, let us hasten to say, there is nothing of this. Wherever he has written in them, he has exhibited a moderation, a sobriety, and a judiciousness, which, to say the least, do him infinite credit.

It is not, however, with a view to discussing Mr. Darwin's theories, nor yet of finding fault with the less reserved of his disciples that we have now taken the pen in hand. Our aim is much humbler than the one, and more pleasing than the other. All we intend is to give our readers some account of Mr. Darwin's life, and to make some passing remarks on one or two points which seem to us to call for observation. Not only from the point of view of science, but also from several

others, Mr. Darwin's life is fully entitled to be called great, and deserves to be carefully studied.

According to the earliest records of the family, the Darwins were substantial yeomen residing on the northern borders of Lincolnshire, close to Yorkshire. The first member of the family, of whom anything definite is known, was William Darwin, who, about the year 1500, lived at Marton, near Gainsborough. His great-grandson, Richard Darwyn, who inherited land at Marton and elsewhere, bequeathed in his will, dated 1584, 'the sum of 3s. 4d. towards the setting up of the Queene's Majestie's armes over the quearie (choir) doore in the parishe church of Marton.' William, the son of this Richard, who seems to have been named after his grandfather, was appointed in 1613 to the post of Yeoman of the Royal Armoury of Greenwich by James I., and seems to have been fairly successful, having added to his ancestral lands at Marton, through his wife and by purchase, an estate at Chatham, in the parish of Manton, near Kirton Lindsey, an estate which remained in the family down to the year 1760. His son, also named William, served, when almost a boy, as Captain-Lieutenant in the King's troop of horse, under the command of Sir William Pelham. For his adherence to the Royal cause, his estates, like those of many others, were sequestrated by the Parliament; but on his signing the Solemn League and Covenant, and paying a heavy fine, which brought him, as he afterwards complained, to almost utter ruin, they were restored. Under the Commonwealth he exchanged the sword for the gown, became a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, married the daughter of Erasmus Earle, serjeant-at-law, from whom their great-grandson derived his Christian name, and was finally made Recorder of Lincoln. Of his two sons, the elder married the heiress of Robert Waring, a member of a good Staffordshire family, who also inherited, from the Lassells or Lascelles family, the Manor and Hall of Elston, near Newark. The other son, Robert, was educated as a barrister, but on the death of his mother he threw up his profession and retired to Elston Hall, where he lived during the remainder of his life. He is the first known member of the family in whom the scientific tendency appeared. He was an

early member of the well-known Spalding Club, and a friend of the celebrated Dr. Stukeley, who described him as 'a person of great curiosity.' His taste for science was inherited by at least two of his sons. Robert Waring, the eldest, was a student of Botany, and when an oldish man published a book on the subject entitled *Principia Botanica*, a work which reached a third edition and is said by Mr. C. Darwin to 'contain many curious notes on biology.' Erasmus, the youngest, was the celebrated author of *Zoonomia* and a 'philosophic biologist.' His poetry is now but little read, but he is still remembered in scientific circles not only on account of his connection with his more illustrious descendant, but as one of the prophets of evolution, and as the author of a theory very much akin to Darwinism. Briefly put his fundamental proposition may be said to be, that the infinitely varied forms of organic life are all originally derived from one and the same kind of living filament; while his views as to their development may be gathered from the following lines which occur in his 'Temple of Nature':—

'Organic life beneath the shoreless waves  
Was born, and nursed in ocean's pearly caves;  
First forms minute, unseen by spheric glass,  
Move on the mud, or pierce the watery mass;  
Then, as successive generations bloom,  
New powers acquire, and larger limbs assume;  
Whence countless groups of vegetation spring,  
And breathing realms of fin and feet and wing.'

By Mr. Grant Allen and others, Dr. Erasmus Darwin, the author of *Zoonomia*, has been regarded as pre-eminently the physical and spiritual ancestor of Mr. Charles Darwin. In some respects he probably was, but not in all. While there were points of likeness between them, there were also points of difference. These have been well brought out by Mr. Francis Darwin in the following passage which he prefaces with the not inapposite remark, 'it is always interesting to see how far a man's personal characteristics can be traced in his forefathers.'

'Charles Darwin inherited the tall stature, but not the bulky figure of Erasmus, but in his features there is no traceable resemblance to those of

his grandfather. Nor, it appears, had Erasmus the love of exercise and field sports, so characteristic of Charles Darwin as a young man, though he had like his grandson, an indomitable love of hard mental work. Benevolence and sympathy with others, and a great personal charm of manners, were common to the two. Charles Darwin possessed, in the highest degree, that "vividness of imagination" of which he speaks as strongly characteristic of Erasmus, and as leading to his "overpowering tendency to theorise and generalise." This tendency in the case of Charles Darwin, was fully kept in check by the determination to test his theories to the utmost. Erasmus had a strong love of all kinds of mechanism, for which Charles Darwin had no taste. Neither had Charles Darwin the literary temperament which made Erasmus a poet as well as philosopher. He writes of Erasmus :—"Throughout his letters I have been struck with his indifference to fame, and the complete absence of all signs of any over-estimation of his own abilities or of the success of his works." These, indeed, seem indications of traits most strikingly prominent in his own character. Yet we get no evidence in Erasmus of the intense modesty and simplicity that marked Charles Darwin's whole nature. But by the quick bursts of anger provoked in Erasmus, at the sight of any inhumanity or injustice, we are again reminded of him.

'On the whole, however, it seems to me that we do not know enough of the essential, personal tone of Erasmus Darwin's character, to attempt more than a superficial comparison, and I am left with an impression that in spite of many resemblances, the two men were of different type. It has been shown that Miss Seward and Mrs. Schimmelpennick have misrepresented Erasmus Darwin's character. It is, however, extremely probable that the faults which they exaggerate were to some extent characteristic of the man ; and this leads me to think that Erasmus had a certain acerbity or severity of temper which did not exist in his grandson.'

In the generation to which Dr. Erasmus belonged, the scientific strain seems to have become sufficiently strong in the Darwin family to be in a measure hereditary. Glancing over the table of relationships, and taking the three generations of which that in which he appears is the first, we meet with the names of William Darwin Fox, one of Charles Darwin's earliest Naturalist acquaintances and correspondents; Francis Galton, the author of *Hereditary Genius*; Francis Saverel Darwin, who as the offspring of Dr. Erasmus Darwin's second marriage, inherited a love of Natural History directly from him ; and Edward, the son of this same Francis Saverel, who, writing under the signature 'High Elms,' was the author of a *Gamekeeper's Manual*, which has met with con-

siderable favour and, according to Mr. Francis Darwin 'shows keen observation of the habits of various animals.' Of the poet's sons by his first marriage, Charles, the eldest, died before he was twenty-one, but not before he had given promise of abilities, which, if his life had been spared, would undoubtedly have placed him among the foremost men of science of his day. While but a mere boy he began collecting, and having adopted Medicine as his profession, worked hard at his studies, and received from the Æsculapian Society their first gold medal for an experimental inquiry on pus and mucus. Robert, the second son, wrote poetry like his father, and though without his father's liking for botanical studies, was not without tastes of a more or less scientific cast, having devoted himself to genealogy, coins and statistics. He is said to have counted all the houses in the city of Lichfield, and to have made a census of its inhabitants, which on the official census being made, turned out to be nearly accurate. Robert Waring, the third son, and father of the author of *The Origin of Species*, though probably too much engrossed with the duties of his profession to pay much attention to scientific matters as the subjects of serious study, was in possession of those two prime requisites in a successful Naturalist, fondness for details and accuracy of observation. His son Charles, used to say of him that he was the most acute observer he had ever known.

On the 18th of April, 1796, having just settled down as a medical practitioner in the town of Shrewsbury, the last mentioned son of the author of *Zoonomia*, Dr. Robert Waring Darwin, married Susannah, the daughter of his father's friend, Josiah Wedgwood of Etruria, then in her thirty-second year. The offspring of their marriage were six children, four girls and two boys. Charles Robert, who was destined to throw so much lustre on the scientific traditions of the family, and to make the name of Darwin a household word throughout the length and breadth of the civilized world, was the fourth child and second son. His birth took place on the 12th of February, 1809. The house in which he was born is known as the 'Mount.' It is now in the possession of Mr. Spencer Phillips, and is described as a large, plain, square, red-brick

house, charmingly situated on the top of a steep bank leading down to the Severn, and may be seen by the traveller as he steams into the town by the railway from the North. Mrs. Darwin died when the future Naturalist was a little over eight years of age, and seems to have left no very deep impression upon his mind. 'It is odd,' he writes in his Autobiography, 'that I can remember hardly anything about her except her death-bed, her black velvet gown, and her curiously constructed work-table.' Of his father, for whom he always entertained the profoundest feelings of esteem and veneration, he has written some very pleasant pages of 'recollections.' He appears to have been fond of botany, a remarkably successful practitioner, and distinguished for his sympathy, shrewdness, and insight into character. One of his golden rules was: 'Never become the friend of any one whom you cannot respect.' His son Charles used to speak of him as the wisest man he ever knew, and such, we are informed, was the veneration in which he held him, that while he desired to judge everything else in the world dispassionately, anything his father said he received with an almost implicit faith. His daughter, Mrs. Litchfield, remembers him saying that he hoped none of his sons would ever believe anything because he said it, unless they were convinced of its truth—'a feeling,' Mr. Francis Darwin adds, 'in striking contrast with his own manner of faith.' Erasmus, the elder son of Dr. Darwin, studied medicine at Edinburgh and in London, and took the Bachelor degree of Medicine at Cambridge, but never practised. After leaving Cambridge, he settled in London, and died unmarried at the age of seventy-seven. Carlyle, at whose house he was a frequent visitor, in a passage in his *Reminiscences*, with which Mr. Charles Darwin was far from agreeing, describes him as 'a most diverse kind of mortal,' 'with something of original and sarcastically ingenious in him, one of the sincerest, naturally truest, and most modest of men,' and for intellect would have preferred him to his brother 'had not his health quite doomed him to silence and patient idleness.' Charles Darwin always regarded him with the greatest tenderness and affection, and has left the following sketch of him :—

‘My brother Erasmus possessed a remarkably clear mind with extensive and diversified tastes and knowledge in literature, art, and even in science. For a short time he collected and dried plants, and during a somewhat longer time experimented in chemistry. He was extremely agreeable, and his wit often reminded me of that in the letters and works of Charles Lamb. He was very kind-hearted. . . His health from his boyhood had been weak, and as a consequence he failed in energy. His spirits were not high, sometimes low, more especially during early and middle manhood. He read much, even whilst a boy, and at school encouraged me to read, lending me books. Our minds and tastes were, however, so different that I do not think I owe much to him intellectually. I am inclined to agree with Francis Galton in believing that education and environment produce only a small effect on the mind of any one, and that most of our qualities are innate.’

In the spring of the year that his mother died (1817) Charles Darwin was sent to a day-school in the town of Shrewsbury kept by the Rev. J. Case, minister of the Unitarian Chapel in High Street. Even by this time, though but eight years old, his taste for Natural History, but more especially for collecting was well developed. ‘I tried,’ he writes in his Autobiography, ‘to make out the names of plants, and collected all sorts of things, shells, seals, franks, coins, and minerals. The passion for collecting which leads a man to be a systematic naturalist, a virtuoso, or a miser, was very strong in me, and was clearly innate, as none of my sisters or brothers ever had this taste.’ To one of his schoolfellows he professed to be able to produce variously coloured polyanthuses and primroses by the simple process of watering them with certain coloured fluids, which he remarks ‘was of course a monstrous fable, and had never been tried by me.’\* Another, or the same schoolfellow, who afterwards became a well-known lichenologist and botanist, remembers his bringing a flower to school and saying, that his mother had taught him how by looking at the inside of the blossom the name of the plant could be discovered. The remembrance of freaks like these led him afterwards to write: ‘I may here also confess that as a little boy I was much given to inventing deliberate falsehoods, and this was always done for the sake of causing excitement.’ In this case the child was

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Had he met with the idea in some book ?

not the father of the man; no writer has ever been more solicitous about the perfect accuracy of his statements or more anxious not to mislead his readers in the very slightest degree; few writers, too, have been more indifferent to fame, or less desirous of popular applause.

After staying little more than a year at Mr. Case's school he was removed to the Grammar School at Shrewsbury, then under the charge of the famous Dr. Butler, afterwards bishop of Lichfield. Of the six years he spent there, he writes: 'Nothing could have been worse for the development of my mind than Dr. Butler's school, as it was strictly classical, nothing else being taught, except a little ancient geography and history. The school as a means of education to me was simply a blank. During my whole life I have been singularly incapable of mastering any language.' He was in the habit of believing that when he ceased to attend, he was considered by his masters and father 'a very ordinary boy, rather below the common standard in intellect.' With the progress he had made, his father was far from pleased, and said to him, in what appears to have been a fit of anger: 'You care for nothing but shooting, dogs, and rat-catching, and you will be a disgrace to yourself and all your family.' But not only was this hasty prediction signally falsified, the statement by which it was prefaced was unjust; for though he had made but little progress in classics, the apparently unpromising pupil had not been idle. He had read English literature fairly well for his age, had made some progress in experimental chemistry along with his brother, and had been collecting minerals and insects, and watching the habits of birds; he had even made notes about them, 'wondering in his simplicity,' as he says, 'why every gentleman did not become an ornithologist.'

At the time he was withdrawn from Dr. Butler's school, Erasmus, his elder brother, was completing his medical studies at Edinburgh, and, thither, in the October of 1825, he was sent to join him. Then, as now, the instruction at Edinburgh was altogether by lectures. The opinion he formed of them was that with the exception of those on Chemistry by Professor



Hope, they were intolerably dull. He fell in, however, with a number of young men, who, like himself, were fond of Natural History. Among them was Dr. Coldstream, the author afterwards of some good zoological papers. Another was Dr. Grant, afterwards Professor of Zoology in University College, London, whom he often accompanied in his quests after specimens of marine zoology. He became acquainted also with Mr. Macgillivray, the Curator of the Museum, with whom he had many interesting talks on Natural History, and from whom he received some rare shells. Not the least helpful among his acquaintances were a number of Newhaven fishermen. These he sometimes accompanied as they trawled for oysters; he was also indebted to them for a number of specimens. That his time at Edinburgh was not mainly spent in idleness, or to no purpose, is shown by the following sentences from his Autobiography: 'I made one interesting little discovery, and read, about the beginning of the year 1826, a short paper on the subject before the Plinian Society. This was that the so-called ova of *Flustra* had the power of independent movement by means of cilia, and were in fact larvæ. In another short paper I showed that the little globular bodies which had been supposed to be the young state of *Fucus loreus* were the egg-cases of worm-like *Pontobdella muricata*.' To his intercourse with Dr. Grant at this period, he was afterwards disposed to attribute to a certain extent his defence of some of his grandfather, Erasmus Darwin's opinions in the *Origin of Species*. Referring to the subject he says: 'One day he [Grant], when we were walking together, suddenly burst forth in high admiration of Lamarck and his views on evolution. I listened in silent astonishment, and as far as I can judge without any effect on my mind. I had previously read the *Zoonomia* of my grandfather, in which similar views are maintained, but without producing any effect on me. Nevertheless, it is probable, that the hearing rather early in life such views maintained and praised, may have favoured my upholding them under a different form in my *Origin of Species*.'

The real object of his residence at Edinburgh, however, was

completely frustrated. The medical profession for which his father intended him, and for which he had sent him to Edinburgh to prepare, had no attractions for him; and becoming aware that he would be under no necessity to follow it, in order to gain a livelihood, he ceased to take any interest in it. This coming to Dr. Darwin's ears, he proposed that he should become a clergyman. Singularly enough the proposal was favourably received. The only difficulty felt by the young student in connection with it, was in reference to the Thirty-nine Articles, but having read Pearson on the Creed and a few other books on Divinity, he came to the conclusion, not having at the time, he tells us, the least doubt as to the strict and literal truth of every word in the Bible, that the Creed of the Church of England must be fully accepted. It was resolved, therefore, that he should begin residence at Cambridge with a view to entering the Church. This is not the least curious episode in his life. Looking back to it many years afterwards, he wrote :—

‘ Considering how fiercely I have been attacked by the orthodox, it seems ludicrous that I once intended to be a clergyman. Nor was this intention and my father's wish ever formally given up, but died a natural death when, on leaving Cambridge, I joined the *Beagle* as naturalist. If the phrenologists are to be trusted, I was well fitted in one respect to be a clergyman. A few years ago the secretaries of a German Psychological Society asked me earnestly by letter for a photograph of myself ; and some time afterwards I received the proceedings of one of the meetings, in which it seemed that the shape of my head had been the subject of a public discussion, and one of the speakers declared that I had the bump of reverence developed enough for ten priests.’

Mr. Darwin began to keep terms at Cambridge in Lent, 1828. Whatever may be thought of the purpose with which he went there, and in whatever aspect it may present itself when viewed in the light of subsequent events, there can be no doubt that his residence there was pregnant with great results both to himself and to the world. Previously science had been to him little more than an amusement: at Cambridge he began to look at it more in the light of a serious study. Drs. Grant and Coldstream, Mr. Macgillivray, and the Newhaven fishermen had done

much to foster the natural bias of his mind ; but at Cambridge he fell in with a set of men whose minds and tastes were much more developed than his own, and whose influence upon him was sufficiently strong to determine the whole of his subsequent career. Foremost among them was the Rev. T. S. Henslow, the Professor of Botany, then in the zenith of his fame. In the interest of science he once a week kept open house, and collected around him all such of the undergraduates and older members of the University for whom scientific studies had any attractions. 'To these meetings,' writes Mr. Darwin, 'I soon got, through Fox, an invitation, and went regularly. Before long I became well acquainted with Henslow, and during the latter half of my stay at Cambridge took long walks with him on week days ; so that I was called by some of the dons, "the man that walks with Henslow."' As showing how deeply he was impressed with the sense of his indebtedness to his friendship with Henslow, it may be here remarked that in a passage immediately preceding the one we have just cited from the Autobiography, he speaks of it as the 'circumstance which influenced my career more than any other.' In a letter which he wrote for the Rev. L. Jenyn's *Memoir of Professor Henslow*, and which has already more than once been printed, he wrote in a similar strain. The letter is too long for quotation, but we cannot forego the pleasure of transcribing a few passages from it :—

'I went to Cambridge,' he writes, 'early in the year 1828, and soon became acquainted, through some of my brother entomologists, with Professor Henslow, for all who cared for any branch of natural history were equally encouraged by him. Nothing could be more simple, cordial, and unpretending than the encouragement which he afforded to all young naturalists. I soon became intimate with him, for he had a remarkable power of making the young feel completely at ease with him ; though we were all awe-struck with the amount of his knowledge. Before I saw him I heard one young man sum up his attainments by simply saying that he knew everything. . . He would receive with interest the most trifling observation in any branch of natural history ; and however absurd a blunder one might make, he pointed it out so clearly and kindly, that we left him no way disheartened, but only determined to be more accurate next time. In short, no man could be better formed to win the entire confidence of the young, and to encourage them in their pursuits.

‘His Lectures on Botany were universally popular, as clear as daylight. So popular were they, that several of the older members of the University attended successive courses. Once every week he kept open house in the evening, and all who cared for natural history attended these parties. . . . At these parties many of the most distinguished members of the University occasionally attended; and when only few were present, I have listened to the great men of those days conversing on all sorts of subjects, with the most varied and brilliant powers. This was no small advantage to some of the younger men, as it stimulated their mental activity and ambition. Two or three times in each session he took excursions with his botanical class; either a long walk to the habitat of some rare plant, or in a barge down the river to the fens, or in coaches to some more distant place, as Gamlingay, to see the wild lily of the valley, and to catch on the heath the rare natter-jack. These excursions have left a delightful impression on my mind. He was, on such occasions, in as good spirits as a boy, and laughed as heartily as a boy at the misadventures of those who chased the splendid swallow-tail butterflies across the broken and treacherous fens. He used to pause every now and then and lecture on some plant or other object; and something he could tell us on every insect, shell, or fossil collected, for he had attended to every branch of natural history. After our day’s work we used to dine at some inn or house, and most jovial we then were. I believe all who joined these excursions will agree with me that they have left an enduring impression of delight on our minds.

‘I owe more than I can express to this estimable man. . . .

‘Reflecting over his character with gratitude and reverence, his moral attributes rise, as they should do in the highest character, in pre-eminence over his intellect.

Another under whose influence he came at Cambridge was Professor Sedgwick, the geologist. For some time Darwin fought shy of the Professor and of his lectures, owing to the distaste he had contracted at Edinburgh for lectures of all sorts; but at Professor Henslow’s suggestion he began to attend them, and the two, professor and student, soon began to draw together, and in the July of 1831 the latter was ‘working like a tiger’ at geology and trying to make a map of Shropshire. In the autumn of the same year he accompanied Sedgwick to North Wales, and assisted him in his famous geological investigations among the older rocks there. His principal scientific pursuit at Cambridge, however, was not geology but entomology. He himself designates it ‘collecting beetles,’ and, perhaps, that is all we are strictly entitled to call it; but be that as it may, he pursued it with the utmost zeal.

As a proof of his zeal he relates the following incident: 'One day, on tearing off some old bark, I saw two rare beetles, and seized one in each hand; then I saw a third and new kind, which I could not bear to lose, so that I popped the one which I held in my right hand into my mouth. Alas! it yielded some intensely acrid fluid, which burnt my tongue so that I was forced to spit the beetle out, which was lost as was the third one.' As a collector, he was both ingenious and successful, and managed to secure some very rare species. 'No poet,' he writes, 'ever felt more delighted at seeing his first poem published than I did at seeing in Stephen's "Illustration of British Insects," the magic words, "captured by C. Darwin, Esq."' Nor were the studies for which he had gone up to Cambridge neglected. He read Paley, brushed up his classics and mathematics, and managed to gain a good place among the  $\alpha$   $\tau$   $\omega$   $\lambda$   $\lambda$   $\alpha$  in 1831.

But though ostensibly preparing for one vocation, he was in reality being prepared for another. Towards the end of August, 1831, the event occurred which caused the project of his becoming a clergyman to 'die a natural death,' and served to fix his career in life beyond recall. The offer of the post of Naturalist to H.M.S. *Beagle*, then fitting out under the direction of Captain Fitz-Roy for its celebrated voyage, was made to him on the recommendation of Professor Henslow. At first Mr. Darwin declined it, owing to the objections entertained by his father, chiefly on the ground that his acceptance of it would unfit him for following out the profession for which he was preparing; but the Wedgwoods being in favour of its acceptance, and Josiah Wedgwood on whose judgment Dr. Darwin placed the greatest reliance, having strongly urged it, the latter both withdrew his objections and gave his consent, and the post being fortunately still vacant, young Darwin, who from the first had been eager to accept it, and had declined it only out of deference to his father's wishes, was appointed to it. For any one with Mr. Darwin's predilections, the appointment was in every way most desirable; the only drawback to it was, that owing to the extreme and unwise parsimony of the Government,

‘His Lectures on Botany were universally popular. Darwin was so popular were they, that several of the older members of the *Beagle’s* attended successive courses. Once every week, on every evening, and all who cared for natural history, to complete the At these parties many of the most distinguished men, e.g., commenced by occasionally attended; and when on the shore of Chili, to the great men of those days convened, and to carry a chain most varied and brilliant powers, and the world. The expense of the younger men, as it stimulated the demand of Captain Fitz-Roy, an Two or three times in each class, either a long walk to the river to the ferry, or since risen to greater fame. The ship Gamlingay, to see the end of September, and the voyage, it was rare natter-jack. The vessel was built last about three years. ‘On the whole,’ to my mind. He would have said, ‘it was a grand and fortunate opportunity;’ laughed as he heard of it, as his father’s consent had been given, he set splendid arrangements as his father’s consent had been given, he set He used to be troubled by the preparations for it. One thing alone seems to have collect- a period from his friends, and that was, the scarcity our? of his own personal comfort as on account of his work. the? of his own personal comfort as on account of his work. Mr. objection to the vessel,’ he wrote after seeing it, ‘is its smallness, which cramps me so for room for packing my own body and all my cases, &c., &c. As to its safety, I hope the Admiralty are the best judges; to a landsman’s eye she looks very small. She is a ten-gun three-masted brig; but I believe an excellent vessel.’ In the cabin set apart for him he had just room to turn round, while for his specimens all the space he could obtain was ‘a very small cabin,’ as Admiral Sir James Sullivan writes, ‘under the fore-castle.’

It was at first intended that the expedition should sail at the end of September (1831); but owing to unexpected delays other dates were fixed. One of them was the 4th of November, and some days after it had been fixed Mr. Darwin wrote: ‘What a glorious day the 4th of November will be to me —my second life will then commence, and it shall be as a birth-day for the rest of my life.’ It was not till the 27th of December that the expedition got fairly under weigh, and then, only after having been obliged to put back twice on account heavy gales. Of the voyage Mr. Darwin has himself

detailed description in one of the most charming books  
 I ever issued from the press, now known as *A  
 Voyage Round the World*, but previously owning the  
*Researches into the Natural History and Geology  
 visited during the Voyage of H. M. S. Beagle*  
 a book for which no summary can ever do  
 convey any but the very faintest idea of the  
 information it contains. But it may here be re-  
 manded that the day on which the *Beagle* sailed deserves to be  
 regarded not only as the second birthday of Mr. Darwin, but  
 also as the second birth-day of the science of Natural History ;  
 for on that day began that long series of observations and  
 speculations which have since completely revolutionized its  
 ideas. In the evening of his life Mr. Darwin wrote :

‘The voyage of the *Beagle* has been by far the most important event in  
 my life, and has determined my whole career ; yet it depended on so small  
 a circumstance as my uncle offering to drive me thirty miles to Shrewsbury,  
 which few uncles would have done, and on such a trifle as the shape of my  
 nose. I have always felt that I owe to the voyage the first real training or  
 education of my mind ; I was led to attend closely to several branches of  
 natural history, and thus my powers of observation were improved, though  
 they were always fairly developed.

‘The investigation of the geology of all the places visited was far more  
 important, as reasoning here comes into play. On first examining a new  
 district nothing can appear more hopeless than the chaos of rocks ; but by  
 recording the stratification and nature of the rocks and fossils at many  
 points, always reasoning and predicting what will be found elsewhere, light  
 soon begins to dawn on the district, and the structure of the whole becomes  
 more or less intelligible. I had brought with me the first volume of Lyell’s  
*Principles of Geology*, which I studied attentively ; and the book was of  
 the highest service to me in many ways. The very first place which I  
 examined, namely, St. Jago in the Cape de Verde islands, showed me  
 clearly the wonderful superiority of Lyell’s manner of treating geology,  
 compared with that of any other author, whose works I had with me or  
 ever afterwards read.

‘Another of my occupations was collecting animals of all classes, briefly  
 describing and roughly dissecting many of the marine ones ; but from my  
 not being able to draw, and from not having sufficient anatomical know-  
 ledge, a great file of MS. which I made during the voyage has proved  
 almost useless. I thus lost much time, with the exception of that spent in  
 acquiring some knowledge of the Crustaceans, as this was of service when  
 in after years I undertook a monograph of Cirripedia.

‘During some part of the day I wrote my Journal and took much pains in describing carefully and vividly all that I had seen ; and this was good practice. My Journal served also, in part, as letters to my home, and portions were sent to England whenever there was an opportunity.

‘The above various special studies were, however, of no importance compared with the habit of energetic industry and of concentrated attention to whatever I was engaged in, which I then acquired, everything about which I thought or read was made to bear directly on what I had seen, or was likely to see ; and this habit of mine was continued during the five years of the voyage. I feel sure that it was this training which has enabled me to do whatever I have done in science.’

As a set-off, however, against the occupation, benefits and intense enjoyments of the voyage must be put the sea-sickness from which he suffered. To this he would appear to have been a martyr, and the ill-health which he had to endure and fight against in later years, has been by some attributed to it. But this, it appears, was not his own opinion; he was in the habit of attributing it rather to the hereditary fault which came out in some of the past generations as gout. That he suffered, and suffered greatly, from sea-sickness there can, however be no doubt. Admiral Stokes writing to the *Times*, April 25th, 1883, says he ‘suffered greatly from sea-sickness,’ while Mr. A. B. Usborne writes, ‘he was a dreadful sufferer from sea-sickness.’ The attacks continued all through the voyage whenever the vessel pitched at all heavily. And when taking a ‘short retrospect of the advantages and disadvantages, the pains and pleasures of our circumnavigation of the world,’ he writes: ‘If a person suffer much from sea-sickness, let him weigh it heavily in the balance. I speak from experience ; it is no trifling evil, cured in a week.’ And yet, despite of this almost incessant trouble, his letters were always bright and cheerful. In a letter to his sister he wrote (July, 1832) of his manner of life at sea as follows :—

‘I do not think I have ever given you an account of how the days passed. We breakfast at eight o’clock. The invariable maxim is throw away all politeness, that is, never to wait for each other, and bolt off the minute one has done eating, etc. At sea, when the weather is calm, I work at marine animals, with which the whole ocean abounds. If there is any sea up I am either sick or contrive to read some voyage or travels. At one we dine. You shore-going people are lamentably mistaken about the manner



of living on board. We have never yet (nor shall we) dined off salt meat. Rice and peas and *calceolarias* are excellent vegetables, and, with good bread, who could want more? Judge Alderson could not be more temperate, as nothing but water comes on the table. At five we have tea. The midshipmen's berth have all their meals an hour before us, and the gun-room an hour afterwards.'

Mr. Darwin is here referring to himself and Captain Fitz-Roy with whom he messed, though at his own expense, and with whom, notwithstanding some peculiarities of temper on the part of the latter, he always lived on the best of terms. They had their differences, but they were rare and of very short duration. With the rest of the officers and the crew Mr. Darwin was a great favourite, being known among them as the 'Flycatcher' and the 'dear old Philosopher,' and all were ever ready to render him any assistance they could. Wickham, the first lieutenant, ought perhaps to be excepted, though that is extremely doubtful. Being responsible for the smartness and appearance of the ship, he used to object strongly to his littering the decks, and spoke of specimens as 'd——d beastly devilment,' adding occasionally, 'If I were skipper, I would soon have you and all your d——d men out of the place.' His grumbling, however, seems to have been good-natured, for the two were often companions ashore, and Mr. Darwin used to speak of him as a 'glorious fellow.' Two circumstances seem to have given the wandering Naturalist especial pleasure during the voyage. But these we must let him describe in his own words:

'Towards the close of our voyage,' he writes in his Autobiography, 'I received a letter whilst at Ascension, in which my sisters told me that Sedgwick had called on my father, and said that I should take a place among the leading scientific men. I could not at the time understand how he could have learnt anything of my proceedings, but I heard (I believe afterwards) that Henslow had read some of the letters which I wrote to him before the Philosophical Society of Cambridge, and had printed them for private distribution. My collection of fossil bones, which had been sent to Henslow, also excited considerable attention amongst palæontologists. After reading this letter I clambered over the mountains of Ascension with a bounding step, and made the volcanic rocks resound under my geological hammer. All this shows how ambitious I was, but I think that I can say with truth that in after years, though I cared in the

highest degree for the approbation of such men as Lyell and Hooker, who were friends, I did not care much about the general public . . . and I am sure that I have never turned one inch out of my course to gain fame.'

On the return of the *Beagle* to England after an absence of five years and two days, Mr. Darwin hastened at once to Shrewsbury. His delight at being once more beneath his father's roof and among his friends and relations was unbounded. 'You cannot imagine,' he wrote to his cousin, W. D. Fox, 'how gloriously delightful my first visit was at home: it was worth the banishment.' It was a pleasure, however, that he could not long enjoy. There was much to do and he was eager to do it. Before the end of the month he was at Greenwich, unpacking his specimens and arranging their distribution. In the beginning of December, he went to reside at Cambridge in order to secure quiet for his work. Here he occupied himself during the day with arranging his geological and mineralogical specimens; the evenings he devoted to the preparation of his *Journal of Researches*. While here also he read a short paper at the Zoological Society and another at the Geological Society; the latter being on the recent elevation of the Coast of Chili, and the former having for its title, 'Notes upon *Rhea Americana*.' In the March of the following year he left Cambridge for London, and settled in lodgings at 36 Great Marlborough Street, where he remained, with the exception of a short visit to Shrewsbury, till the following September, being engaged almost the whole of the time on his *Journal*. It was while employed on these works, consequent on his voyage, that he began to realize the immense advantages he had derived from it. Writing soon after his settlement in London to Captain Fitz-Roy, he said: 'However others may look back to the *Beagle's* voyage, now that the small disagreeable parts are well-nigh forgotten, I think it far the *most fortunate circumstance in my life* (the italics are his own) that the chance afforded by your offer of taking a Naturalist fell on me. I often have the most vivid and delightful pictures of what I saw on board the *Beagle* pass before my eyes. These recollections, and what I learnt in natural history, I would not

exchange for twice ten thousand a year.' As yet, however, no arrangements had been made for the publication of the scientific results of the expedition. There was no lack of competent men willing to undertake the work; the only difficulty was the cost. But fortunately this was soon surmounted; for in the August of 1837, while Mr. Darwin was still in Great Marlborough Street, the Government, through the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. F. Spring Rice, made a grant towards it of a thousand pounds, when the work was at once begun and went on apace, Professor Owen taking the Fossil Mammalia, Mr. Waterhouse the Living Mammalia, Mr. Gould the Birds, the Rev. L. Jenyns the Fish, and Mr. Bell the Reptiles, the whole being under the superintendence and editorial care of Mr. Darwin, who provided for the description of each species an account of its habits and range. For the next two or three years, therefore, Mr. Darwin's hands were full. In the February of 1838 he was appointed Secretary to the Geological Society, and in the following year the *Journal* appeared as the third volume of Fitz-Roy's *Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle*. This work had been ready for some time, but owing to the action of the Admiralty its publication had been delayed. Writing to Professor Henslow while it was still in sheets, he said: 'If I live till I am eighty years old I shall not cease to marvel at finding myself an author; in the summer before I started, if any one had told me that I should have been an angel by this time, I should have thought it an equal impossibility. This marvellous transformation is all owing to you.' And again, 'the smooth paper and clear type has a charming appearance, and I sat the other evening gazing in silent admiration at the first page of my own volume, when I received it from the printers!' Coming from the pen of so fertile a writer, these are remarkable words, and show how slight an estimate he had formed of his powers of literary production.

In January 1839 Mr. Darwin married his maternal cousin, Emma Wedgwood, daughter of Josiah Wedgwood of Maer, and grand-daughter of the founder of the Etruria Pottery Works. They began housekeeping and lived for the first few

years of their married life at No. 12 Upper Gower Street, 'a small common-place London house, with a drawing-room in front, and a small room behind, in which they lived for the sake of quietness.' The only redeeming feature about the house was that it had a better garden than most London houses—a strip as wide as the house and thirty yards long, which, small as it was, made the place more tolerable to its two country-bred inhabitants. While here Mr. Darwin continued his work on the *Zoology of the Beagle*, more particularly on the ornithological part, writing the notice of the habits and ranges of the birds, the descriptions of which were being prepared by Mr. Gould. He also worked, though with intermittent zeal, at *Coral Reefs*, wrote a paper on the Boulders and Till of South America, and another on the Formation of Mould by the Agency of Earth-Worms for the Geological Society, and on the birth of his first-born began that series of observations which he ultimately published in *The Expression of the Emotions*. As far as his health would permit he mingled in society and saw much of Lyell and of Robert Brown, the botanist, whom Humboldt styled 'facile Princeps Botanicorum.' But continued and increasing ill-health at last drove him from London, and in September 1842, after residing in Upper Gower Street three years and eight months, he settled at Down in Surrey, not far from the Orpington Station.

The choice of Down as a place of residence is described as the result of despair rather than of actual preference. It was a choice, however, which has sufficed to make it one of the most famous places in the annals of Science, and even of human thought. Here Mr. Darwin resided during the remainder of his life, and worked out those problems in Natural History which have already had so vast an influence in the civilized world, and which have surrounded his own memory with an almost unrivalled fame. In a delightful chapter of 'Reminiscences,' Mr. Francis Darwin has given a remarkably graphic account of his father's life at Down, which to the majority of readers will probably prove the most attractive part of the volumes. We could almost wish that it were possible to transcribe it; but all we can do is to give what must at best prove but an imperfect sketch.

Always after his marriage more or less an invalid, Mr. Darwin's personal habits, which were of the simplest kind, were regulated to a very large extent, if not wholly, by the condition and requirements of his health. Except when interrupted by sickness more than unusually severe, they were extremely regular. 'My life,' he wrote in 1846 to Captain Fitz-Roy, 'goes on like clockwork, and I am fixed on the spot where I shall end it.' He rose early, 'chiefly because he could not lie in bed,' took a short turn, ate his breakfast alone about 7.45, and then went to work at once, considering the hour and a half between 8 and 9.30 one of his best working times. At 9.30 he went into the drawing-room for his letters, 'rejoicing if the post was a light one, and being sometimes much worried if it was not.' Family letters were then read to him as he lay on the sofa. The reading aloud, which also included part of a novel, lasted till about 10.30, when he went back to work till 12 or 12.15. By this time he considered his day's work over, and would often say, in a satisfied voice, '*I've* done a good day's work.' Work over he went out whether the day was wet or fine, and was usually accompanied by his favourite white terrier, named Polly, 'a sharp-witted, affectionate dog.' The midday walk generally began with a call at the greenhouse, where germinating seeds or experimental plants which required a casual examination were looked at. Then followed the 'constitutional,' either round the 'Sand-walk,' a narrow strip of land on the Down estate about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres in extent, with a gravel walk round it, and a broad old shaw on one side, and a quickset hedge on the other, or outside his own grounds and in the immediate neighbourhood of the house. The 'Sand-walk' was the play-ground of the children, and was consequently his favourite walk. Another favourite place was 'Orchis Bank' above the quiet Cudham valley. During these quiet walks he would often stand still or steal carefully along, in order to observe birds or beasts. Once while so engaged some young squirrels ran up his back and legs, while their mother barked at them in agony from the tree. Up to the last year of his life he always found birds' nests, and was considered by his children to have a special

genius in this direction. During his later years the 'constitutional' was varied by a ride on 'Tommy,' 'the easiest and quietest cob in the world.' The walk or ride over, Mr. Darwin returned to the house for luncheon, after which he read the newspaper, lying on the sofa in the drawing-room. After the newspapers came his time for writing letters. These, as well as the MS. of his books, were written by him as he sat in a huge horse-hair chair by the fire, his paper supported on a board resting on the arms of the chair. When he had many or long letters to write, he would dictate them from a rough copy: these rough copies were written on the backs of manuscript or of proof-sheets, and were almost illegible, sometimes even to himself. He made a rule of keeping all letters that he received, a habit which he learnt from his father, and which he said had been of great use to him. When letters were finished, usually about three in the afternoon, he rested in his bed-room lying on the sofa and smoking a cigarette, listening to a novel or to some other book not scientific, during the reading of which he often went to sleep, and used to regret losing parts of a novel, the reading of which was always kept up lest the cessation of the sound should awake him. He drank extremely little and smoked only while resting. His stimulant was snuff, which he took during his working hours for many years, having acquired the habit while in Edinburgh. As a check upon over-indulgence, the snuff was generally kept in a jar on the hall table, at some distance from the study, but the clink of the lid, we are told, was a very familiar sound. 'Sometimes,' Mr. Francis Darwin writes, 'when he was in the drawing-room, it would occur to him that the study fire must be burning low, and when some of us offered to see after it, it would turn out that he also wished to get a pinch of snuff.' Punctually at four he dressed for his walk. From half-past four to half-past five he walked; and was then idle till about six when novel-reading and the cigarette were resumed. Latterly instead of dinner at seven, he had a simple tea, and when this was finished, he used to leave the dining-room, with the apology that he was an old woman and must be allowed to retire with the ladies. A game at backgammon, a short-

spell at reading some scientific book, a little music, and more novel-reading till about half-past ten finished the day. His nights were generally bad, and he would often lie awake or sit up for hours in bed suffering much discomfort.

This quiet and secluded life at Down made him feel confused in large society, and owing partly to this, but chiefly to the state of his health, he was seldom seen in London. Visitors to Down, however, were frequent. 'As a host,' Mr. F. Darwin writes, 'my father had a peculiar charm; the presence of visitors excited him, and made him appear to his best advantage. . . . I think he always felt uneasy at not doing more for the entertainment of his guests, but the result was successful; and to make up for any loss, there was the gain that the guests felt perfectly free to do as they liked.' The most usual guests were those who stayed from Saturday to Monday. Besides these there were the foreigners and other strangers, who used to go down for luncheon and return in the afternoon. Among them were some of the most distinguished men of science and letters. Both Dr. Haeckel and Professor De Candolle have given descriptions of their visits to Down. Both are glowing and enthusiastic, but neither of them seem to us to give so effective a picture of the life there, or of Mr. Darwin as a host, as the one Mr. F. Darwin has sketched in his chapter of 'Reminiscences.' Speaking of his father's way of receiving and parting with his visitors, he says: 'It was pleasant to see the way in which he shook hands with a guest who was being welcomed for the first time; his hand used to shoot out in a way that gave one the feeling that it was hastening to meet the guest's hands. With his old friends his hands came down with a hearty swing into the other hand in a way I always had satisfaction in seeing. His good-bye was chiefly characterised by the pleasant way in which he thanked his guests, as he stood at the door, for having come to see him.' 'When my father had several guests,' he subsequently says, 'he managed them well, getting a talk with each, or bringing two or three together round his chair. In these conversations there was always a good deal of fun, and, speaking generally, there was either a humorous turn in his talk, or a sunny geniality, which

served instead. Perhaps my recollection of a pervading element of humour is the more vivid, because the best talks were with Mr. Huxley, in whom there is the aptness which is akin to humour, even when humour itself is not there. My father enjoyed Mr. Huxley's humour exceedingly, and would often say, "What splendid fun Huxley is!" I think he probably had more scientific argument (of the nature of a fight) with Lyell and Sir Joseph Hooker.'

Mr. Darwin's manner of working was, it need hardly be said, extremely methodical. One characteristic of it was his respect for time.

'He would never forget,' says Mr. Francis Darwin, 'how precious it was. This was shown, for instance, in the way in which he tried to curtail his holidays; also, and more clearly, with respect to shorter periods. He would often say, that saving the minutes was the way to get done; he showed his love of saving the minutes in the difference he felt between a quarter of an hour and ten minutes' work; he never wasted a few spare minutes from thinking that it was not worth while to set to work. I was often struck by his way of working to the very limit of his strength, so that he suddenly stopped in dictating with the words, "I believe I mustn't do any more." The same eager desire not to lose time was seen in his quick movements when at work. I particularly remember noticing this when he was making an experiment on the roots of beans, which required some care in manipulation; fastening the little bits of card upon the roots was done carefully and necessarily slowly, but the intermediate movements were all quick; taking a fresh bean, seeing that the root was healthy, impaling it on a pin, fixing it on cork, and seeing that it was vertical, etc.; all these processes were performed with a kind of restrained eagerness. He always gave one the impression of working with pleasure, and not with any drag. I have an image, too, of him as he recorded the result of some experiment, looking eagerly at each root, etc., and then writing with equal eagerness. I remember the quick movement of his head up and down as he looked from the object to the notes.

'He saved a great deal of time through not having to do things twice. Although he would patiently go on repeating experiments when there was any good to be gained, he could not endure having to repeat an experiment which ought, if complete care had been taken, to have succeeded the first time, and this gave him a continual anxiety that the experiment should not be wasted; he felt the experiment to be sacred, however slight a one it was. He wished to learn as much as possible from an experiment, so that he did not confine himself to observing the single point to which the experiment was directed, and his power of seeing a number of other things was wonderful. I do not think he cared for preliminary, or rough



observations intended to serve as guides and to be repeated. Any experiment done was to be of some use, and in this connection I remember how strongly he urged the necessity of keeping the notes of experiments which failed, and to this rule he always adhered.'

The same care and exactitude ran through all he did. The methods and instruments he employed were always of the simplest. He preferred the simple to the compound microscope, and says in one of his letters, that he always suspects the work of the man who never uses it. His dissecting table was a thick board, let into the window of his study, on which usually lay his ordinary tools. He had a place for everything, and was always careful to preserve the least scrap, holding the belief that if you throw a thing away, you are sure to want it directly. Yet with all his method he was much given to makeshifts. 'If any one,' Mr. F. Darwin observes, 'had looked at his tools lying on the table, he would have been struck by an air of simpleness, makeshift, and oddness.' . . . Considering how tidy and methodical he was in essential things, it is curious that he bore with so many make-shifts: for instance, instead of having a box made of a desired shape, and stained black inside, he would hunt up something like what he wanted, and get it darkened inside with shoe-blackening.' He managed his reading as methodically as his experiments. In his Autobiography he tells of his meeting Buckle, the author of the *History of Civilisation*, and how glad he was to learn from him his system of collecting facts. He seems to have adopted the same plan either originally or in imitation of the historian. In each book or pamphlet he read, the passages bearing on his work were marked. A list of them was then made at the end, and when the book or pamphlet came to be catalogued, they were again looked at, and a rough abstract of the book made. 'This abstract would perhaps be written under three or four headings, the facts being sorted out and added to the previously collected facts on different subjects,' and the whole was then carefully preserved along with his MS. notes. The advantage of this method is obvious; he had all the information he had collected ready for use. When writing a book, these abstracts and notes were the first things consulted; next a rude outline of the treatise was made in two or three pages; and then a larger one in several pages, a few words or one word

standing for a whole discussion. Afterwards each of these headings was enlarged again and often transferred before writing *in extenso* began. The rough copy was written off without the slightest attention to style. When finished it was considered, a fair copy was made, and this was again corrected and copied before being sent to the printers. The main work of revising and correcting was generally done on the proofs, a work which he found especially wearisome.

It will be seen from what has now been said that at Down the whole of Mr. Darwin's working life was given to science. Time was given to his family, to hospitality, to charitable and local affairs, and much was to all appearance lost by reason of sickness, but his main strength, in fact, we might say, the whole of his life was given to scientific pursuits and especially to working out those ideas and problems which were for the most part suggested during the voyage of the *Beagle*. Just before leaving London the volume on *Coral Reefs* was published, and when he settled at Down he was engaged upon the volume on *Volcanic Islands*, which formed the second part of the *Geology of the Voyage of the Beagle*, the volume on *Coral Reefs* forming the first. The preparation of the *Volcanic Islands* occupied him from the summer of 1842 to January 1844 and appeared in the following spring. From July 1844 to the April of the following year he was busy with *The Geology of South America*, and a second edition of his *Journal* being called for, he was engaged on the correction of it from October 1845 to October 1846. The next eight years were practically given to working at the volumes on the Cirripedia and at those on the Fossil Cirripedes, the first of which were published by the Ray Society, and the others by the Palæontographical Society. All these, not to mention a number of minor works, the best known of which is probably *Geology* in the Admiralty Manual of Scientific Enquiry (1840), were written during the first twelve years of his residence at Down and show a remarkable amount of work, especially for one whose labours were frequently interrupted for weeks and months together by illness and who could never boast of having a single day of perfect health. Had he written

no more, he would have been justly entitled to be regarded as one of the foremost men of science of the day.

But his greatest book was yet to come. While engaged on the works above enumerated, and even from as far back as his visit to South America he had been gradually maturing the thoughts with which he startled the world in *The Origin of Species*, undoubtedly from a scientific point of view the greatest book of the century, and probably the most important ever published in connection with Natural History. Its biography has been sketched from time to time both by Mr. Darwin and others, but here in the volumes before us it is fully told for the first time. Mr. Francis Darwin has devoted almost the whole of his second volume to it, while in his Autobiography Mr. Darwin has once more given the story of its inception and of the circumstances which led to its publication. In the first the development of the ideas and the growth of the book in which they were eventually embodied are traced with great minuteness and illustrated by a long series of letters addressed by Mr. Darwin to a number of his friends and ranging over a considerable number of years—the whole forming probably the most complete history which has yet been published of any volume, and possessing an interest which is almost unequalled. To follow the history of the volume in all its detail is here impossible. We must content ourselves with transcribing two or three paragraphs relating to its early stages from Mr. Darwin's Autobiography. His work on the Cirripedes occupied him, it will be remembered, from October 1846 to about the middle of 1854; and after saying that he doubts whether the work was worth the consumption of so much time, he proceeds to say :

‘From September, 1854, I devoted my whole time to arranging my huge pile of notes, to observing, and to experimenting in relation to the transmutation of species. During the voyage of the *Beagle* I had been deeply impressed by discovering in the Pampean formation great fossil animals covered with armour like that on the existing armadillos ; secondly, by the manner in which closely allied animals replace one another in proceeding southwards over the Continent ; and thirdly, by the South American character of most of the productions of the Galapagos archipelago, and more especially by the manner in which they differ slightly on each island of the group ; none of the islands appearing to be very ancient in a geological sense.

‘It was evident that such facts as these, as well as many others, could only be explained on the supposition that species gradually became modified, and the subject haunted me. But it was equally evident that neither the action of the surrounding conditions, nor the will of the organism (especially in the case of plants) could account for the innumerable cases in which organisms of every kind are beautifully adapted to their habits of life—for instance, a woodpecker or a tree-frog to climb trees, or a seed for disposal by hooks or plumes. I had always been much struck by such adaptations, and until these could be explained it seemed to me almost useless to endeavour to prove by indirect evidence that species have been modified.

‘After my return to England, it appeared to me that by following the example of Lyell in geology, and by collecting all facts which bore in any way on the variation of animals and plants under domestication and nature, some light might perhaps be thrown on the whole subject. My first notebook was opened July, 1837. I worked on true Baconian principles, and without any theory collected facts on a wholesale scale, more especially with respect to domesticated productions, by printed enquiries, by conversation with skilful breeders and gardeners, and by extensive reading. When I see the list of books of all kinds which I read and abstracted, including whole series of Journals and transactions, I am surprised at my industry. I soon perceived that selection was the keystone of man’s success in making useful races of animals and plants. But how selections could be applied to organisms living in a state of nature remained for some time a mystery to me.

‘In October, 1838, that is, fifteen months after I had begun my systematic enquiry, I happened to read for amusement, *Malthus on Population*, and being well prepared to appreciate the struggle for existence which everywhere goes on from long-continued observation of the habits of animals and plants, it at once struck me that under these circumstances favourable variations would tend to be preserved, and unfavourable ones to be destroyed. The result of this would be the formation of a new species. Here then I had at last got a theory by which to work; but I was so anxious to avoid prejudice, that I determined not for some time to write even the briefest sketch of it. In June, 1842, I first allowed myself the satisfaction of writing a very brief abstract of my theory in pencil in 35 pages; and this was enlarged during the summer of 1844 into one of 230 pages, which I had fairly copied out and still possess.

‘But at that time I had overlooked one problem of great importance; and it is astonishing to me, except on the principle of Columbus and his egg, how I could have overlooked it and its solution. This problem is the tendency in organic beings descended from the same stock to diverge in character as they became modified. That they have diverged greatly is obvious from the manner in which species of all kinds can be classed under genera, genera under families, families under sub-orders, and so forth; and I can remember the very spot in the road, whilst in my carriage, when to

my joy the solution occurred to me ; and this was long after I had come to Down. The solution, as I believe, is that the modified offspring of all dominant and increasing forms tend to become adapted to many and highly diversified places in the economy of nature.

'Early in 1856 Lyell advised me to write out my views pretty fully, and I began at once to do so on a scale three or four times as extensive as that which was afterwards followed in my "Origin of Species ;" yet it was only an abstract of the materials which I had collected, and I got through about half the work on this scale. But my plans were overthrown, for early in the summer of 1858, Mr. Wallace, who was then in the Malay archipelago, sent me an essay "On the Tendency of Varieties to depart indefinitely from the Original Type ;" and this essay contained exactly the same theory as mine. Mr. Wallace expressed the wish that if I thought well of his essay, I should send it to Lyell for perusal.'

What followed is pretty generally known. An extract from Mr. Darwin's MS. and a letter from him to Dr. Asa Gray together with Mr. Wallace's essay were read before the Linnean Society on July 1st, 1858, as the joint production of Mr. Darwin and Mr. Wallace, and subsequently published in the Journal of the Proceedings of the Society ; and in the September of the same year Mr. Darwin, acting on the strong advice of Sir C. Lyell and Sir J. Hooker, began the preparation of his famous volume. 'I abstracted,' he says, 'the MS. begun on a much larger scale in 1856, and completed the volume on the same reduced scale. It cost me thirteen months and ten days' labour. It was published under the title the "Origin of Species" in November 1859. Though considerably added to and corrected in the later editions, it has remained substantially the same book.' The stir which it caused on its first appearance is now matter of history. Perhaps the most memorable incident in it was the sharp passage of arms, at the meeting of the British Association at Oxford in 1860, between the Bishop of Oxford and Mr. Huxley. The success of the book was assured from the first. On the day of publication the whole of the copies were taken up, and other editions were rapidly called for. No other scientific book has ever been so widely read, and none has ever called forth so vast a flood of literature. Its influence on the study of Natural History is far from exhausted, and it has all the appearance of being one of the few books on science which are destined to live.

The *Origin of Species*, however, was but the first of a series of

works, which, if not so distinctively epoch-making, are at least of inestimable value. Their popularity is immense. Mr. Darwin is one of the few scientific writers who have never lost their hold on the public mind. When it was known that he was engaged upon a work, it was waited for with impatience, and when issued, was bought and read with eagerness. The first to appear was *The Various Contrivances by which Orchids are Fertilized by Insects* (1862); the second *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (1868). This was followed by *The Descent of Man* in 1871. The following year saw *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. In 1875 *Insectivorous Plants* was published, in the following year *The Effects of Cross and Self Fertilisation in the Vegetable Kingdom*, and in the next, *The Different Forms of Flowers on Plants of the same Species*. *The Power of Movement in Plants* appeared in 1880, and was followed in 1881 by *The Formation of Vegetable Mould through the Action of Worms*. The germs of this last are to be found in one of Mr. Darwin's earliest papers, but it was his last gift to the public. In the following April while the world was still marvelling at the patience with which he had studied one of the lowliest forms of existence, the illness from which he had long suffered and against which he had heroically struggled, became mortal, and in a few hours he passed away, leaving behind him not only the vast stores of information he had added to human knowledge, but also that which when placed in the balance, is of greater weight, the memory and influence of a truth-loving, noble life.

Such is a brief and necessarily imperfect account of the life and labours of one who now fittingly reposes within the walls of that great Abbey wherein all that is mortal remains of many of Britain's greatest sons. Like many of those among whom he sleeps, he also was a conqueror, yet not of wide regions of territory that can be marked off by geographical limits, nor of fields drenched with blood, but of fields of ignorance and the thoughts of men. By no other writer, not even excepting Mr. Herbert Spencer, has the current of modern thought been so profoundly affected as by the author of *The Origin of Species*. The doctrine he there promulgated has won its way in spite of every form of opposition.

He himself had the triumph, so rarely granted, of seeing his teaching, new and innovating as it was, very generally accepted by the scientific men of his time, and more or less in favour throughout almost the whole of the civilized world. As Prof. Fiske has reminded us, Harvey's great discovery of the circulation of the blood was scoffed at for nearly a whole generation; and Newton's law of gravitation, though proved by the strictest mathematical proof, received from many eminent men but a slow and grudging acquiescence; but almost immediately on its publication, and while its author was still engaged in working it out in detail, the theory of Natural Selection, though at first greeted with ridicule and opprobrium, won the approval of a majority of those who were best able to judge of its value, and before fifteen or twenty years had passed the eminent naturalists who still declined to adopt it, might have been counted on one's fingers. Its triumph in the present, at least among men of science, is almost complete. Though all the leaders of biological science have not avowed themselves Darwinians, there is not, in the opinion of Prof. Huxley, a single zoologist, or botanist, or palæontologist, among the multitude of active workers of this generation, who is other than an evolutionist, profoundly influenced by Darwin's views. In fact, so widely have these views spread, and so generally have they been adopted by workers in science, that the anticipations as to the effects of his theory which Mr. Darwin set down in the last chapter of *The Origin of Species* are being almost literally fulfilled. But on this point we cannot do better than cite a passage from the chapter contributed by Mr. Huxley to Mr. Francis Darwin's volumes. After remarking that the reality and importance of the natural processes on which Mr. Darwin founds his deductions are now no more doubted than those of growth and multiplication, and that, whether the full potency attributed to them is admitted or not, no one doubts their vast and far-reaching significance, he observes:—

' Wherever the biological sciences are studied, the *Origin of Species* lights the path of the investigator; wherever they are taught, it permeates the course of instruction. Nor has the influence of Darwinian ideas been less profound, beyond the realms of Biology. The oldest of all philosophies, that of Evolution, was bound hand and foot and cast into utter darkness

during the millennium of theological scholasticism. But Darwin poured new life-blood into the ancient frame : the bonds burst, and the revived thought of ancient Greece has proved itself to be a more adequate expression of the universal order of things than any of the schemes which have been accepted by the credulity and welcomed by the superstition of seventy later generations of men.

'To any one who studies the signs of the times, the emergence of the philosophy of Evolution, in the attitude of claimant to the throne of the world of thought, from the limbo of hated and, as many hoped, forgotten things, is the most portentous event of the nineteenth century. But the most effective weapons of the modern champions of Evolution were fabricated by Darwin ; and the *Origin of Species* has enlisted a formidable body of combatants, trained in the severe school of Physical Science, whose ears might have long remained deaf to the speculations of *a priori* philosophers.' (Vol. II., 180.)

Indeed, so deeply has Mr. Darwin impressed his thoughts about Natural Selection on the mind of the age that, as Prof. Fiske has remarked in the essay we have already referred to, 'in order fully to unfold the connotations of the word "Darwinism" one could hardly stop short of making an index to the entire recent literature of the organic sciences.' These words were written nearly a dozen years ago, and they are truer now than they were then. To Naturalists, indeed, the Darwinian theory has, to make use again of the words of Prof. Fiske, 'become part and parcel of their daily thoughts, and is an element in every one of their investigations that cannot be got rid of.'

In one direction alone does Mr. Darwin seem to us to have failed to carry the public along with him. We refer to his speculations as to the origin and descent of man as an intelligent and moral being. Here some of his warmest friends and adherents have felt compelled to part company with him, and though his book has been widely read, more widely than any other, with the exception of *The Origin of Species*, it has failed to carry conviction with it, or to produce so deep an impression on the public mind as the earlier and more popular work. The reasons are, perhaps, not far to find. Towards the end of the *Descent of Man* he remarks: 'For my own part I would as soon be descended from that heroic little monkey, who braved his dreaded enemy in order to save the life of his keeper, or from that old baboon, who, descending from the mountains, carried



away in triumph his young comrade from a crowd of astonished dogs—as from a savage who delights to torture his enemies, offer up bloody sacrifices, practises infanticide without remorse, treats his wives like slaves, knows no decency, and is haunted by the grossest superstition.’ So doubtless, we may remark, would many others. But then, sentiment is not reason; and, on the other hand, reason, even the most cogent, is often, at least for a time, powerless against sentiment. And besides, in dealing with the *Descent of Man*, Mr. Darwin had to grapple with, what in common with many others the present writer is compelled to regard as, another and profounder question than was dealt with in *The Origin of Species*. As set out there, the Darwinian theory deals only with the variations of organisms and the external conditions by which they are induced, not with the inherent principles by which organisms are informed and animated, and by which the variations they assume, subject always, to a greater or less extent, to the modifying influences of circumstances, are all ultimately determined. In other words, Darwinism deals with the outward, not with the inward; with forms and colours, not with essential principles; with the phenomena, not with the powers of life. It may be quite true, that physiologically man is descended from an ape-like animal, or from an ascidian, or from something lower, but in dealing with the problem of his descent, the real question at issue is not this, but the higher and much more difficult question is that which constitutes him an intelligent and moral being, capable of looking behind and before, of weighing the stars in a balance, and of making his life resplendent with feats of moral and spiritual heroism, one and the same and in every way absolutely identical with that which animates any one of the lower forms of animal existence and makes it what it is? On this question, Mr. Darwin says extremely little. He discriminates sharply enough between the powers and the phenomena of life; but while he has much to say about the latter, about the former, in which, as it seems to us, the active principle of all structural changes, and the element which is really differentiating, and without which no variation is possible, is to be found, he is almost absolutely silent. Here and there we have a hint that the *nature* of an organism has something to do in deter-

mining its changes. Once we have the important statement (*Origin of Species*, Ed. 6, p. 8), 'the nature of the conditions is of subordinate importance in comparison with the nature of the organism in determining each particular form of variation; perhaps of not more importance than the nature of the spark, by which a mass of combustible matter is ignited, has in determining the nature of the flame.' But the powers of life are never discussed, nor is any attempt ever made to discriminate between them. It is assumed that they are all identical, or rather it is taken for granted that throughout the whole realm of nature the principle which animates every form of existence is one and the same, and that the various forms it assumes are due not so much to any thing inherent in itself, but to the environments in which it is placed, and to the continuity of the modifications brought about by their means. The consequence is that beyond a certain point—the point at which it becomes of really vital and supreme interest—the problem of the descent of man is left in the same obscurity as it was before, and the question of man's origin being altogether untouched, the *Descent of Man* has failed to commend itself as containing a complete or satisfactory solution to the problem with which it deals.

Intellectually, Mr. Darwin was scientific rather than philosophic. Questions of metaphysics or theology he usually avoided. Though possessed of an extremely and almost abnormally active imagination, with large powers of generalisation, he was incapable, according to his own acknowledgment, of following any long or sustained process of abstract reasoning. 'My power to follow a long and purely abstract train of thought,' he wrote in his Autobiography, 'is very limited; and therefore I could never have succeeded with metaphysics or mathematics'; and in a letter to Miss Julia Wedgwood he speaks of his 'not being at all accustomed to metaphysical trains of thought.' He preferred to occupy his mind with the concrete facts of observation and experience, away from which his mind seemed to lose the power of working; at all events, apart from the facts of observation and experience, he declined to speculate or think.

In some respects this was an advantage. In his calling as a man of science it was decidedly so. It enabled him to circum-

scribe the area of his thoughts, to shut out from his mind those deeper questions which Science, though perpetually suggesting, never answers, and to pursue his investigations untroubled by what some one has called 'the malady of thought.' On the other hand, it confined him intellectually almost wholly to science, and made him to the higher world of philosophy nearly a complete stranger. Such questions as the one we have just referred to, he refused to have ought to do with. It lies very close to Science, and in a book dealing with the descent of man ought, as it seems to us, to have had some treatment, but along with all similar questions he appeared to regard it as outside the sphere of scientific inquiry. 'The first origin of life on this earth,' he wrote in *Animals and Plants under Domestication*, 'as well as the continued life of each individual, is at present quite beyond the scope of science.' For our own part, we do not think it is. A more philosophical, and we should say a more scientific, view of science would imply that the business of science both now and always is to collect and order whatever facts it can, and to attempt the solution of every problem they present or suggest. The dictum, however, is significant, and shows how resolutely Mr. Darwin was bent on avoiding in his speculations the deeper problems of human thought. We mention this, however, in no carping or fault-finding spirit. Every man has his own work; and Mr. Darwin did his as few men have done theirs. Questions of Philosophy he did not feel called upon to discuss; and to look to his writings for solutions to any of them is to look in vain. They treat only of the facts of science and with such laws of the material world as these facts disclose.

On religious topics Mr. Darwin was singularly reticent. The few utterances he gave to the public respecting them have given rise to much discussion, and have received various interpretations. One writer has tried to make him out an atheist, though, as Mr. Francis Darwin has shown, without sufficient reason. He called himself an Agnostic, denied miracles, revelation, and design, spoke frequently of the Creator, and was not without a belief in His existence; but what his *exact* attitude was in regard to these subjects of religious thought, it is not easy to say. 'You must remember,' he once wrote to a student who had applied to him

for the solution of some religious doubt, 'that different persons have different definitions of what they mean by God.' The advice is sound, and cannot be too widely applied. A negative judgment always implies an affirmative one, and before we can understand what a man's denial or disbelief is, we must understand what the affirmation is which his denial or disbelief negatives. Of course we all know our own ideas, but we do not always know another's; and, therefore, though Mr. Darwin has said that he denied this, or did not believe in that, it is not always easy to understand what his exact opinion or position was. For instance, when he tells us that 'Science has nothing to do with Christ, except in so far as the habit of scientific research makes a man cautious in admitting evidence,' we have a pretty clear idea as to what he means, because he helps us to understand what he means by science; but when he says, 'For myself I do not believe that there ever has been any revelation,' we must own to considerable difficulty in clearly marking off his position; not because we do not know what our own ideas are on revelation, but because here his own rule comes in: different people have different ideas on the subject, and not being informed as to what the particular idea of revelation was, in which he did not believe, we are not in a position to say what his precise views on the subject were. It is with considerable diffidence, therefore, that we venture to say anything as to his religious beliefs. That he believed in love and right, and truth and duty, there cannot be the slightest doubt, or even the shadow of a doubt. But he was no theologian; and though he thought seriously at times on religious doctrines, we shall probably do him no injustice if we say, that he did not proceed much further in his inquiries than to ascertain what he did not or could not believe.

Two theological doctrines, or rather two doctrines which are held both by theologians and men of science, acted upon his mind like irritants; and he rarely missed an opportunity of denying them. These were the doctrine of separate creations, and the doctrine of design. Why the first should be an offence to him we can easily understand: it was altogether incompatible with his own opinion, and either the one or the other must go; but why he should have made so dead a set against teleology, is not

so easy to make out, except on the assumption that the idea against which he tilted was of a somewhat rudimentary kind. Something of this sort seems to have been the case; for from several passages in his writings, it would appear that the only form in which he knew the doctrine, was that in which it was presented by Paley. Writing in 1876 he says: 'The old argument from design in nature, as given by Paley, which formerly seemed to me so conclusive, fails now that the law of natural selection has been discovered. We can no longer argue that, for instance, the beautiful hinge of a bivalve shell must have been made by an intelligent being, like the hinge of a door by man. There seems to be no more design in the variability of organic being, and in the action of natural selection, than in the course which the wind blows.' He then refers to the following passage in *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, 2nd edit., Vol. ii., p. 427:—

'An omniscient Creator must have foreseen every consequence which results from the laws imposed by Him. But can it be reasonably maintained that the Creator intentionally ordered, if we may use the words in ordinary sense, that certain fragments of rock should assume certain shapes, so that the builder might erect his edifice? If the various laws which have determined the shape of each fragment were not pre-determined for the builder's sake, can it be maintained with any greater probability that He specially ordained for the sake of the breeder each of the innumerable variations in our domestic plants and animals; many of those varieties being of no service to man, and not beneficial, far more often injurious, to the creatures themselves? Did He ordain that the crop and tail-feathers of the pigeon should vary in order that the fancier might make his grotesque pouter and fantail breed? Did he cause the frame and mental quality of the dog, etc., vary in order that a breed might be formed of indomitable ferocity, with jaws fitted to pin down the bull for man's brutal sport? But if we give up the principle in any one case, if we do not admit that the variations of the primeval dog were intentionally guided in order that the greyhound, for instance, that perfect image of symmetry and vigour might be formed,—no shadow of reason can be assigned for the belief that variations, alike in nature and in the result of the same general laws, which have been the groundwork through natural selection of the formation of the most perfectly adapted animals in the world, man included, were intentionally and specially guided. However much we may wish it, we can hardly follow Professor Asa Gray in his belief "that variation has been led along certain beneficial lines" like a stream "along definite and useful lines of irrigation." If we assume that each particular variation was

from the beginning of all time pre-ordained, then that plasticity of organisation, which leads to many injurious deviations of structure, as well as the redundant power of reproduction which inevitably leads to a struggle for existence, and, as a consequence to the natural selection or survival of the fittest, must appear to us superfluous laws of nature. On the other hand, an omnipotent and omniscient Creator ordains everything and foresees everything. Thus we are brought face to face with a difficulty as insoluble as is that of free will and pre-destination.'

But no one can fail to see that what is here argued against is one of what Mr. Huxley has called the 'commoner and coarser forms of teleology.' There is a higher form of teleology with which, as we shall presently see, Natural Selection is not incompatible; and besides, as we hope to show, not only is Natural Selection not opposed to design; it implies it.

The religious doctrine on which Mr. Darwin's utterances have been the most explicit, is that of the existence of God. On this he writes: 'What my own views may be is a question of no consequence to any one but myself. But as you ask, I may state that my judgment often fluctuates. . . . In my most extreme fluctuations I have never been an atheist, in the sense of denying the existence of God. I think that generally (and more and more as I grow older), but not always, that an Agnostic would be the more correct description of my state of mind.' This was written in 1879. In 1873 he wrote:

'I may say that the impossibility of conceiving that this grand and wondrous universe, with our conscious selves, arose through chance, seems to me the chief argument for the existence of God; but whether this is an argument of real value, I have never been able to decide. I am aware that if we admit a First Cause, the mind still craves to know whence it came, and how it arose. Nor can I overlook the difficulty from the immense amount of suffering throughout the world. I am, also, induced to defer to a certain extent to the judgment of the many able men who have fully believed in God; but here again I see how poor an argument this is. The safest conclusion seems to me that the whole subject is beyond the scope of man's intellect; but man can do his duty.'

Three years later he wrote:

'Another source of conviction in the existence of God, connected with the reason, and not with the feelings, impresses me as having much more weight [than the argument "drawn from the deep inward convictions and feelings which are experienced by most persons.']] This follows from the

extreme difficulty, or rather impossibility of conceiving this immense and wonderful universe, including man with his capacity of looking far backwards and far into futurity, as the result of blind chance or necessity. When thus reflecting I feel compelled to look to a First Cause having an intelligent mind in some degree analogous to that of man ; and I deserve to be called a Theist. This conclusion was strong in my mind about the time, as far as I can remember, when I wrote *The Origin of Species* ; and it is since that time that it has very gradually, with many fluctuations, become weaker. But then arises the doubt, can the mind of man, which has, as I fully believe, been developed from a mind as low as that possessed by the lowest animals, be trusted when it draws such grand conclusions ? I cannot pretend to throw the least light on such abstruse problems. The mystery of the beginning of all things is insoluble by us ; and I for one must be content to remain an Agnostic,'

These passages are sufficiently explicit to show the attitude which their author assumed towards the greatest of all problems. There can be little doubt that in this matter Mr. Darwin is best described by the term he chose for himself—an Agnostic. But his agnosticism was not aggressive. It was reverent and not without a measure of hope and trust—the hope and trust of one who, wearied with his gropings amid the dark, and though not able entirely to relinquish his quest, is yet content to wait till the light appear.

As Mr. Darwin's religious opinions have given rise to much debate and to a variety of interpretations, so has the religious bearing of the scientific doctrine with which his name is associated. Dr. Büchner has claimed it as a vindication of his own atheistic and materialistic way of explaining the universe. Others, without going so far as Dr. Büchner, have denounced it as godless and infidel ; while here and there may be found others who regard the acceptance of Darwinism as quite compatible with a belief in the great verities of the Christian Faith. To the mind of the present writer a sound interpretation of Darwinism is in favour of the last. In reply to a German student in 1879, Mr. Darwin caused the following words to be written : 'He [Mr. Darwin] considers that the theory of Evolution is quite compatible with the belief in God.' The same may be said of the Doctrine of Natural Selection. It is not a theory of the origin of things ; it is simply an attempt to account for the various forms of organic existence, by means

of certain fixed and definite laws. The fundamental doctrine of the existence of the Divine Being it does not touch; nor is it in any way at variance with the idea of His government of the world. Mr. Darwin, as we have seen, was unable to shake himself free from the belief in His existence; and in his printed works he frequently speaks of Him as the Creator, and of the laws of nature as His laws. Nor does it follow that because he often speaks of the various changes with which he deals, as brought about by the operation of Nature or of Nature's laws, that his Theory is opposed to the idea either of the Existence or of the Government and continued activity of God; for whatever is done either by Nature or by Nature's laws, is in reality done by Him, who called both into existence, and gave them the power of becoming what they are, and of doing what they do. Objection might as well be taken to the theory of gravitation because it makes a sparrow fall to the ground by the action of a law rather than by the direct interposition of the Divine Being, as to the theory of Natural Selection because it accounts for the origin of species by the operation of certain laws of nature instead of by separate acts of creation. The two cases are exactly parallel and equally untenable.

On this point, indeed, on the origin of species, that is, Mr. Darwin's theory is not only not opposed to the teaching of the Church, as represented by its ancient and most venerable authorities; it is in perfect harmony with it. This has been abundantly shown by Mr. St. George Mivart in the concluding chapter of his *Genesis of Species*. That each species or organic form represents a separate creative act is a doctrine which the great teachers of the Church do not affirm. Taking as the representatives of their three periods, St. Augustin, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Suarez, Mr. St. George Mivart has, in the chapter of the work referred to, adduced sufficient grounds for believing that the doctrine which they all distinctly teach on the subject, is one that 'harmonizes with all that modern science can possibly require.' 'St. Augustin,' he remarks, 'insists in a very remarkable manner on the merely derivative sense in which God's creation of organic forms is to be understood; that is, that God created them by conferring on the material



world the power to evolve them under suitable conditions.' He says in his book on Genesis:—'Terrestria animalia, tanquam ex ultimo elemento mundi ultima; nihilominus *potentialiter*, quorum numeros tempus postea visibiliter explicaret.' Mr. St. George Mivart has also cited other passages, from the same authority, as well as from St. Thomas Aquinas. The latter, he points out, besides agreeing with St. Augustin, that 'in the first institution of nature we do not look for miracles, but for the laws of nature,' and quoting with approval his assertion that the kinds were created only derivatively *potentialiter tantum*, says, 'In prima autem rerum institutione fuit principium activum verbum Dei, quod de materia elementari produxit animalia, vel in actu vel *virtute*, secundum Aug., lib. 5, de Gen., ad lit. c. 5;' and when speaking of kinds or substantial forms as latent in matter, observes:—'Quas quidam posuerunt non incipere per actionem naturæ sed prius in materia exstitisse, ponentes latitationem formarum. Et hoc accidit eis ex ignorantia materiæ, quia nesciebant distinguere inter potentiam et actum. Quia enim formæ præexistunt eas simpliciter præexistere.' The passages referred to by Mr. Mivart in Saurez, to the same effect, are numerous. So that, between the theory of Natural Selection and the doctrines of religion, there would appear to be no conflict whatever, and sufficient reason to believe that whatever conflict is supposed to exist between them is purely imaginary; the acceptance of the one being quite compatible with the acceptance of the other.

That Darwinism appears to conflict with teleology is due to the unskilful handling of the latter by the author of the *Origin of Species*, or to his failure to appreciate its significance, rather than to any actual antagonism between them. Darwinism, indeed, may be described as but another form of Paley's doctrine. Selection implies one who selects; and further, one who selects with a design or for a purpose. 'He who selects,' it has recently been remarked, 'takes for realisation one out of several possibles. Observing him in a single instance, you cannot tell his act from a mere fortuity; he may have chosen, or he may have chanced, the thing he took. But, if through

a score or a hundred similar opportunities, he repeats the same appropriation, you know that it is no random hit he makes; there is here a new phenomenon over and above the individual events, namely, a certain order among them, consisting in the regular reproduction of the same; and for this phenomenon you need a cause, and have it, in the controlling preference of the agent.\* And what is this but precisely what Mr. Darwin has been showing us in all his books where the doctrine of Natural Selection comes in? His agents are, of course, laws; but these, as we know, are their Creator's, and, when working, are doing His will.

The fact is that, probably unknown to himself, Mr. Darwin, notwithstanding his arguments against teleology, has done much to give it a larger development, and to show on how firm a basis it rests. The position in which the doctrine at present stands has been admirably pointed out by Mr. Huxley in the chapter we have already referred to, and we shall here take the liberty of transcribing his words:—

'The doctrine of evolution is the most formidable opponent of all the commoner and coarser forms of Teleology. But perhaps the most remarkable service to the philosophy of Biology rendered by Mr. Darwin is the reconciliation of Teleology and Morphology, and the explanation of the facts of both, which his views offer. The teleology which supposes that the eye, such as we see it in man, or in one of the higher vertebrata was made with the precise structure it exhibits, for the purpose of enabling the animal which possesses it to see, has undoubtedly received its death-blow. Nevertheless, it is necessary to remember that there is a wider teleology which is not touched by the doctrine of Evolution, but is actually based upon the fundamental proposition of Evolution. This proposition is that the whole world, living and not living, is the result of the mutual interaction, according to definite laws, of the powers preserved by the molecules of which the primitive nebulosity of the universe was composed. If this be true, it is no less certain that the existing world lay potentially in the cosmic vapour, and that a sufficient intelligence could, from a knowledge of the properties of the molecules of that vapour, have predicted, say the state of the fauna of Britain in 1869, with as much certainty as one can say what will happen to the vapour of breath on a cold winter's day. . . . The teleological and the mechanical views of nature are not, necessarily, mutually exclusive. On the contrary, the more purely a mechanist the

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\* Dr. Martineau's *Study of Religion*, vol. i., p. 274-5.

speculator is, the more firmly does he assume a primordial molecular arrangement of which all the phenomena of the universe are the consequences, and the more completely is he thereby at the mercy of the teleologist, who can always defy him to disprove that his primordial molecular arrangement was not intended to evolve the phenomena of the universe.'

Writing to Mr. Darwin, a celebrated author and divine said, that he had learnt to see that it is just as noble a conception of the Deity to believe that He created a few original forms capable of self-development into other and needful forms, as to believe that He required a fresh act of creation to supply the voids caused by the action of His laws. And Mr. Darwin himself, at the conclusion of the *Origin of Species*, said: 'To my mind it accords better with what we know of the laws impressed on matter by the Creator that the production and extinction of the past and present inhabitants of the world should have been due to secondary causes, like those determining the birth and death of the individual. When I view all beings not as special creations, but as the lineal descendants of some few beings which lived long before the first bed of the Cambrian system was deposited, they seem to me to be ennobled.' It is scarcely possible to do otherwise than concur both with Mr. Darwin and his correspondent. On the one hand the doctrine of Natural Selection opens out a vast field for the admiration of the Divine wisdom, and on the other, it reveals in every one of the organisms of Nature infinitudes of skill and patience which were previously undreamt of, and which cannot fail to raise even the lowliest in the esteem of those by whom they are studied. And further, there is something inexpressibly grand and even awe-inspiring in the thought, thrown out at the conclusion of the *Origin of Species*, that 'life, with its several powers were originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one, and that whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being solved.' It gives emphasis to the saying of Holy Scripture that the Divine Being is not altogether such an one as ourselves, and shows, even if but partly true, that His resources are inconceivably greater than any we have or are able to conceive.

The services which Darwinism is capable of rendering to Theology have as yet indeed not been realized, but there can be little doubt that they are far from small. Some indications of what they may be, have, it is true, already been given by Professor Fiske in two little volumes he has recently published. In one of them he shows how largely the idea of God has been affected for the better by the impetus given to science by the publication of Mr. Darwin's ideas; while in the other he has attempted to point out how the Darwinian theory, instead of degrading humanity or putting it on a level with the animal world in general, shows for the first time how the creation and the perfecting of Man is the goal toward which Nature's work has all along from the very beginning been tending, how it enlarges tenfold the significance of human life, places it upon an eminence, loftier even than poets or prophets have imagined, and makes it seem more than ever the chief object of that creative activity which the physical universe everywhere reveals. These, however, are but the beginnings of what may be expected; for it is scarcely possible that a doctrine which has been so fruitful in other departments of knowledge, can prove barren in that to which all others tend, and in which they find their highest use.

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#### ART. VIII.—THE ANGLICIZING OF THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES.

IN recent discussions on the subject of University Reform in Scotland, one set of disputants seem to think they have effectually answered their opponents by saying that the latter are attempting to Germanize the Scottish Universities. The persons who make this statement are chiefly professors and those closely related to the teaching bodies, who at present hold a monopoly of teaching. It is these same persons who have, during the present century, and particularly during the last thirty years, been persistently modifying the Scottish University system in such a way as to adopt the defects, with few of the advantages of the English University system. The object of the present paper is

to justify this statement in detail, and point out in what direction a remedy is to be sought; and we may express the hope that if attention is now called to what is truly a process of degeneration, its further progress may be effectually arrested by the Commissioners who may be appointed under the Bill now before Parliament, which we expect will be passed into law within the next few months. This process, it may further be noticed, is observable not merely in general educational features, but in such small matters as academic dress and etiquette—graduates' gowns, caps, and hoods, which are really inconsistent with the Scottish practice of *capping*—and also in the matter of elaborate college buildings. All the Scottish Universities have either erected, or are projecting, ornate and imposing buildings, not absolutely necessary for their proper academic work, the cost of which is entirely out of proportion to the sums they spend on the equipment of their teaching staff. But at the same time it must be a subject of gratification to all interested in the Universities that so much money has been raised for this purpose, and we can only now hope that if the past expenditure was largely due to vanity and love of display, future generations may devote the buildings resulting from such expenditure to higher and nobler ends. We shall notice the principal points in which assimilation of Scottish practice to English has taken place in the following order. (1) The relation of the Faculties. (2) Written examinations. (3) Graduation. (4) Scholarships and Fellowships; and (5) University Extension.

I. *The Relation of the Faculties.* In their first conception the Scottish Universities are Divinity Schools. This is certainly true of the pre-Reformation corporations—St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, for though they may have taught law at an early period of their history, it was law with an ecclesiastical bent. And if Churchmen were in a majority on the bench, when the Court of Session was founded, we may rest assured that prior to that date, Churchmen would largely represent law in the Universities. Even after the Reformation the Universities continued to be Divinity schools for the large scheme of reform, with liberal provision for teaching law, in all the old Universities, sketched in the First Book of Discipline, was never realized. Until within a

year or two ago, the Principals have generally been clergymen. Glasgow has never had a layman in that office. In the Universities above named we find chapel services in winter for students of Divinity and Arts, but not in summer for students of Law and Medicine. We find in certain of the Arts classes of Glasgow and also of Aberdeen, daily devotions, the observance of which is omitted in the Legal and Medical classes, and in newer Arts classes. A generation has not passed away since the religious tests of professors were modified to the extent of allowing them to make a declaration that they would teach nothing contrary to the Confession of Faith. The 'high churchism' of Scotsmen is shown in the University curriculum, as well as in the 'use and wont' of Bible and Catechism enforced in all elementary Board Schools, and perhaps the Universities owe their liberalization to the importation of Episcopalian professors from England. It was pointed out by the last Commission that the course of study for M.A. was really suited only for Presbyterian clergymen. This was more true of the course prescribed prior to 1858, and is still more true as we go back to last century. The student on entering was understood to know Latin, and he studied Latin for a year on its literary side as Humanity, though Latin was at first introduced into the curriculum only as a concession to backward students.\* He also studied Greek; but the Greek Testament occupied a considerable place in the degree examination. His next course was Logic and Rhetoric, *i.e.*, the forms of thought, and these were treated as practical arts rather than as theoretical sciences. Then came Moral Philosophy, also a practical art, analogous to Casuistry, and closely related to Theology. And lastly, we have Natural Philosophy, intended as a substratum for Natural Theology.† Thus the whole four years' Arts course of the Scottish Universities have a continual reference to the subsequent Theological studies of

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\* Harrison's *Sketches of the College of Edinburgh*, p. 56.

† These are the gowned classes in Glasgow University. Mathematics and English Literature do not fall under that class. The three departments of the Arts course are simply the three R's in an advanced stage, and hold a similar relation to education proper. The treatment of the subjects will depend on the average age and advancement of the students.

the student, and this explains why the Free Church attempted to set up an Arts Faculty in founding the New College after the Disruption in 1843. There used to be a strong popular belief in Glasgow that the students who wore red gowns were Divinity students, and in nine cases out of ten the popular belief was not a mistake, for they were nominally students in Arts, but really in Divinity. In like manner it was the rule for students in the English Universities to go into Holy Orders, and graduates in Arts have still special facilities for securing ordination. Until the other day the English Universities were training-schools for the Church of England clergy.

The first break in this current occurred about the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Edinburgh became a Medical School. A century later Glasgow followed, and we then had examples of the phenomenon of a Theological School and a Medical School co-existing side by side. It must be borne in mind that the distinction of Faculties is quite modern. A true University may consist of only one Faculty. The Universities in Bologna (for there were several, like Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge) were all Law Schools, and when new Faculties were added it was in the form of new Colleges or Corporations or Universities—words which at first were in fact synonymous, as may be seen from the case of Aberdeen. Paris in like manner was only a Divinity School, and yet a famous University. It is a German idea to demand four Faculties, as constituting a proper University. But why should we stop at *four*? Four is just as arbitrary as one, and if an institution may be a true University with four Faculties and no more, it may equally be a true University with only one. But it is obvious that the greater the number of Faculties, the greater must be the breadth of culture among the professors and the students from the mere fact of personal contact in social intercourse. It was the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century which saw a Medical Faculty added to Glasgow and Aberdeen, similar to the one which Edinburgh had already possessed for nearly a century. In all the Universities there were isolated chairs in existence from an earlier period, but no thorough and comprehensive course of teaching. The aims of the new school were like

those of its elder sister, thoroughly practical. It was the training of medical practitioners as the Faculty of Theology had aimed at the practical training of preachers of the Gospel.

The Scottish Universities have never been Law Schools. Law is the fourth Faculty—the oldest in point of date, the second in point of dignity. Candidates for the bar were in use to receive their legal education on the Continent—chiefly in Holland, and at the present hour, a man may be called to the Scottish bar after attendance on only two courses of lectures in a Scottish University, and the remainder of his training may be taken in England or abroad. For the lower branches of the profession the enforcement of a modicum of University attendance is of recent date, and when last year the Lords of Session discovered that under the Law Agents Act they had no power to enforce a University training, and repealed the Act of Sederunt which required it, they were not making an innovation, but were merely returning to a practice from which they had only recently departed. There must be members of the legal profession still living, highly respected, and in good practice, who have never had their foot within a University class-room Scottish, English, or Foreign. This accounts for the meagre provision made for teaching Law. St. Andrews has no Law chair, Aberdeen has only one—a civilian, the Canonist having disappeared at the Reformation. Glasgow down to 1862 had only one, when a chair of conveyancing was added, indicating not increased interest in law on the part of the University, but the decay of the apprentice system, since procurators had ceased adequately to train their apprentices in conveyancing and now appointed one of their number to do it for them. But even Edinburgh, in regard to which the boast has been made that it is the greatest law school in Britain, is not much better. Compared with the Medical or even the Theological course, the Legal course is very limited.\* In quantity, the University demands from the clergyman about twice, and from the physician more than three times the class attendance it does from the advocate. One professor of 'Law' will not make a Faculty of Law any more than one professor of 'Knowledge' will make

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\* Harrison, p. 109.



a Faculty of Arts. If any one wishes to see how many chairs are wanting in Edinburgh to complete the Faculty of Law, let him compare the list of Law professors in Berlin with that of Edinburgh. One professor cannot deal with ancient Civil Law, and besides why should not we in this country study the modern developments of the Roman law in Canada, South Africa and Ceylon? Germans lecture on English and on French law, but it is only Britons who would neglect the laws of their own colonies. Scots Law is too wide a subject for one man to overtake, and might profitably be subdivided. We have no professors of Criminal Law, none of Legal procedure. Ecclesiastical law must be learned by private study; Military law by rule of thumb. English Law and Equity are perpetually referred to and quoted but no professor gives any student a warning as to how he must use English cases with intelligence. Hindu and Mohammedan Law may be passed over, though some people think we might train students for the Indian Civil Service. Jurisprudence, Public International Law, and Private International Law, should all have separate foundations. And it is very characteristic of Scottish parsimony in law, that in Edinburgh University the professor of History has had allotted to him Constitutional and Administrative Law, at least two professorships, with half the salary of one. The list of subjects now indicated might be amplified as in German Universities, by adding such subjects as Evidence, Comparative Jurisprudence, History of Law, and other abstract subjects which naturally suggest themselves as deserving methodical treatment in a University course. But such a scheme as above indicated is impossible at present; first, because law is not learned in the University, but either in the chambers of practising 'writers' and solicitors, or by attendance in the law courts, before or after being called to the bar; and secondly, because the dozen medical men, with the half dozen clergymen, and the dozen more or less cultured gentlemen who compose the Senates of the Scottish Universities, know nothing about law, or regard it with an awe begotten of ignorance.\* These Senates have lost their civil and

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\* Perhaps we ought to add the absence and the difficulty of foreign competition in teaching Scots law !

criminal jurisdictions; they are now about to lose their right to administer the University finances; and if the Universities are ever to have Faculties of Law, they must lose a large amount of their power in regulating the course of instruction. Their delinquencies in regard to law are much more flagrant than any that have even been hinted at in regard to finance. If the Scottish Universities had developed naturally, they might have had law schools to take the place of the Continental ones to which their students were in use to resort, just as they have formed Medical Schools; but the example of the English Universities was fatal to progress in this direction. These never had professional Faculties in any proper sense; they never trained men for the bar; and so Arts Professors imported from England brought with them English ignorance of, and contempt for law as a science, which actually discouraged the study, while they aped the English Universities by bestowing, to too great an extent on each other, empty legal degrees, *honoris causa TANTUM*.

The Scottish Universities may therefore be correctly described about the beginning of the present century as Theological Schools and Medical Schools with a rudimentary Legal School attached.\* What is called the Arts Faculty in its first conception merely afforded the preliminary training for the Faculty of Divinity. When the subjects of Latin, Greek, Philosophy and Science began to be studied for their own sake, we had an Arts Faculty proper. Three causes operated in this direction. First, the importation of specialists from the English Universities; secondly, the development of the scholastic profession in Scotland; and thirdly, the Disruption of the Church of Scotland. As to the first cause, its effects are obvious. In earlier times we notice not unfrequently clergymen in professorial chairs; but as learning became secularized, distinguished English scholars exiled in some cases by religious tests, were attracted to Scotland by the inducements of a comparatively large income, and an exceptionally long annual

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\* That laymen—noblemen and gentlemen—were educated at the Scottish Universities does not prove the contrary, for all learning had a theological tinge as it has in Roman Catholic countries at the present moment.

holiday. The second cause was precisely similar in its results. Whereas formerly schoolmasters were 'stickit ministers,' clergymen who, from poverty of purse or intellect, had failed to pass the necessary examinations, or from want of influence, had failed to receive a living, now men deliberately chose the profession of a teacher, and strove to qualify themselves by special scholarship. Latin, Greek, and Mathematics were no longer unimportant subjects of which a superficial knowledge was sufficient, but special subjects, which formed the aim and end of a scholar's life study. The third cause referred to was the Disruption of the Scottish Church. This set up rival Divinity Schools in opposition to the Universities. The Arts Faculty became in fact common to three or more separate Divinity Faculties, and was thus compelled to assume a neutral attitude, and this was most effectually accomplished by developing the Arts subjects as special branches of study.

The original aim of all University teaching is concrete and practical. When men come to acquire knowledge abstractly for its own sake, the Faculties are subdivided and the Arts Faculty assumes an independent position, instead of being as heretofore merely a preliminary course of the Theological Faculty. It then becomes the Faculty of Teachers as much as the Theological is the Faculty of Clergymen, the Legal of Lawyers, or the Medical of Physicians and Surgeons. Edinburgh has already recognised this, and Glasgow is now proposing to recognise it by conferring the degree of Doctor in Literature, Philology, Philosophy and in Science. In this process of development from concrete to abstract, we find Philology studied instead of Literature; Metaphysics, instead of Logic, Rhetoric, and Ethics, in their practical forms, and even the domain of practical Physics is invaded by abstract and theoretical speculations. Even the chairs of Education in Edinburgh and St. Andrews, which were originally intended to be practical, may become abstract and speculative if the subject is treated as a branch of Philosophy.

And just as the Arts Faculty has sprung from the Theological, so has a Science Faculty struggled to free itself from the Medical. The early part of a medical course—embraced in the scientific examinations—is as truly an *Arts* course for the young physician

as is the course of Logic, Rhetoric, and Ethics, for the young theologian. He has a purely medical and practical course following and founded upon it. And now where it is possible to graduate in Science alone, the formation of a Science Faculty would be merely a matter of nomenclature.

Law has been so much neglected in Scotland that it has not been able to create any accessory Faculty for itself; but if healthy, it should have had an Arts Faculty of its own, as well as the younger Faculties of Theology and Medicine. It must be borne in mind, however, that the relation of Theology and Law is so close that the necessity of a separate Arts Faculty for Law may be disputed. The University Commissioners under the Act of 1858, thought the Divinity Arts course would suffice; the Commissioners of 1876 thought otherwise, though as will be shown hereafter, they did not quite realize the proper remedy. Here it may suffice to point out that a Law course which prescribed no Political Economy, and only a share of a short course of History, could not be very satisfactory. But it is not difficult to see the same forces at work in the Edinburgh Faculty of Law as in the other Faculties. The Civil Law has become truly an Arts subject—a stage in the history of Scots Law—for owing to the growth of native authorities, it is not now so commonly referred to. The subject of International Law has become a philosophical one, in consequence of the problems raised by the practical questions discussed. The professor of Constitutional Law and History is expressly made an Arts professor, so that he is invited to treat his subject in an abstract form, rather than in a concrete and practical spirit. Four of the Chairs in Edinburgh, including Political Economy, might therefore, without impropriety, form the nucleus of a Legal Arts Faculty.

During the present century, additional chairs in various subjects have been founded, but whenever there was any doubt as to where they were to be classed, they have been placed in the Arts Faculty. This has destroyed the organic unity of the Faculty; and has assimilated the Scottish Universities to those modern English Colleges which are now being founded in great numbers, in order to spread knowledge among the masses. The pursuit of abstract knowledge without any definite end seems

to be fashionable; and so colleges are founded like picture galleries, parks and concert rooms. We are in danger of forgetting that the Scottish Universities are not intended to teach the masses directly, but their teachers,—ministers, lawyers, doctors, and schoolmasters. The point on which we would insist here is that each new chair in a new subject should be the nucleus of a new Faculty. Thus in Edinburgh we might have a Faculty of Engineering, of Fine Arts, of Music, of Agriculture. Each of these might again be split up, as we have seen the Theological Faculty was split up, into two Faculties—one preliminary—a quasi-Arts Faculty—to the main practical Faculty. And when this subsidiary Faculty becomes sufficiently strong or clearly abstract, it may be named a Science Faculty, and have special degrees for itself. If we consider the subjects prescribed in Edinburgh for a degree in Engineering or Agriculture, or in London for a degree in Music, we can hardly fail to see that a degree in any of those subjects may imply as much learning, culture and skill, as a degree in Theology or Law. But in subjects like Engineering or Agriculture it seems expedient that the University should confine itself to abstract subjects, and confer degrees in Science only, because it cannot effectually teach skill, which can be acquired only by experience and practice.

We may define a Faculty as a body of professors and students of an organised group of subjects. Whenever one professor has to be related to more than one group, there is always a danger of his neglecting one set of students or another, and perhaps both. And it may be laid down as a rule that whenever there is a sufficient number of students to support a Faculty, they should have a complete set of professors or of lectures for themselves. This can be accomplished by a reform which ought to be carried out by the next Commission, namely, the institution of open teaching. Instead of having one professor of Latin, who pretends to teach everything, and nothing in particular, we shall have separate professors, who without neglecting classical literature, will devote some attention to mediæval historical Latin, and the rich legal treasures bequeathed by Justinian. In short the Civil Law class will assume its proper place as an Arts class of Legal Latin in competition with the

present Literary Latin class. This assumes what our ancestors three centuries ago assumed, that students know Latin when they enter the University. Persons whose knowledge of Roman law and history is limited, will no doubt object to such a scheme ; but if they prefer a knowledge of the wines of Horace to an acquaintance with the Roman law of contracts, they are at liberty to exercise their choice, but they must not attempt to impose their whims on their neighbours. A legal professor of Logic in like manner would deal with that subject in such a way as to explain the processes of legislation and judicial decision, and the forms of pleading and reasoning in legal cases. The legal professor of Psychology might lecture on such topics as insanity, and the psychology of criminals. A legal professor of Ethics would also deal with jurisprudence. And again, instead of having only one professor of Chemistry, we should have one for Agriculturists, one for Manufacturers, one for Toxicologists, and so forth. Even at present, zealous professors give special courses, to meet such cases, but the present monopoly of teaching distinctly tends to discourage such specialization. The student is often left without help to specialize for himself and pick what he requires from the general course offered by the professor. The present rigid, cast-iron monopoly of teaching, which gives one man a sort of royal interest in a large domain of science, prevents the natural adaptation of the lectures to the necessities of students. He cannot by any possibility cover the whole of his territory, but he erects a strong fence and rigorously excludes any who might encroach. All sincere University reformers, all who have the interests of science and learning at heart, will rejoice that the days of this system are already numbered.

II. *The system of Written Examinations.* This system seems peculiar to England and China. In London University the system has been carried to its utmost limit, and the only safeguard against abuse there is the exceedingly high standard demanded. This, together with the fact that the students actually receive as a general rule their education at affiliated colleges, makes a London degree an object of ambition, as implying the very highest attainments in the various branches of knowledge prescribed. Nor was London University such an innovation as some would

lead us to suppose ; it was only an application to Arts of the system which had all along been in existence for admission to Holy Orders and the Bar. The bodies which licensed clergymen and barristers asked few or no questions as to where knowledge had been obtained, provided the necessary knowledge was present. Even in Oxford and Cambridge, owing to the distinction of the Colleges from the University, the same system must prevail, but the three years' residence with cultured society in the colleges is the main advantage to be reaped from becoming a member of one of these Universities. In Scotland, however, it was quite otherwise. The personal contact between students and between the student and his teacher was not so continuous, and was not so much social as intellectual. The professor was understood to be working at his subject and thinking aloud in his lectures for the benefit of the students ; the students performed exercises, wrote essays, and were subjected to daily oral examinations. In former times, no student could obtain his degree without producing the written exercises, which he had prepared in his class during the session. As in Oxford and Cambridge a degree might be given for little more than three years' *residence* ; so in St. Andrews or Glasgow, four years of *class attendance* practically sufficed ; and this was actually accepted by the Act of 1858 as qualifying for membership of the General Council, without any inquiry into scholarship. The qualifying for the Bar, by 'eating dinners' is a degeneration of the English system ; the giving of what was the privilege of a degree for four years' physical attendance was the complete degeneration of the Scottish system. The system of graduation introduced under the Act of 1858 aggravated this tendency to make class attendance mechanical, and it could not be expected that Professors educated in England and imbued with English prejudices would do anything to stem the current. Oral examinations have been gradually curtailed, and in some cases all but abandoned ; while classes have swollen to such an extent that the professor cannot prescribe more than a limited number of exercises, and even these he cannot examine very carefully. The student is thus led to cram for periodical written examinations, to his injury both intellectual and physical, His work, instead of being moderate

and regular, is spasmodic and forced. And finally he is induced to neglect the educative work of his classes and prepare for his degree. To obviate this some professors read the degree work in their classes: but where this is not done, it is very common for mediocre students, who are most in want of the training afforded by their class work, to neglect it, and devote themselves wholly to working for their degree examination.\* And it has even happened that students may attend the University lectures merely for amusement, while the whole teaching for the degree has been given by an outside coach, as generally recognised as at Oxford or Cambridge. This was simply the system of London University without its high standard of examination. And when to this abuse was added the absurd custom of reading over and over again, session after session, the same lectures, as if they were holy writ, without varying even the jokes, it was put in the power of a student, and some were not slow to take advantage of the power, to cram the lectures for the necessary examinations, without listening to them while they were being delivered.

During the controversy on University Reform, which, we may be allowed to express the hope, is now drawing to a close, the supporters of the present system oppose open teaching on the ground that it would introduce cramming for examinations. It could not do so, for cramming in its worst forms prevails in the *ancien régime*. We have got English examinations, English cramming, English 'cribs,' and English 'coaches,' with this difference, that they cram for a low instead of for a high standard. A more unfounded claim for the present system could not be put forward than that it is educative. It is every day becoming less so, and no reform will be satisfactory which does not break up huge classes for tutorial purposes, so that personal contact between teacher and student may no longer

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\* The judges of the Court of Session cannot have been aware of the extent to which purely physical or nominal attendance prevailed, when they allowed three years attendance to exempt from examination in general knowledge persons qualifying as Law agents. The ease with which students could 'pass through' a class induces some to adopt the attendance as the less of two evils. The Court should stop this abuse if the Universities cannot.



be a myth and a tradition. Of course for purposes of real lecturing—not merely reading a manuscript text book in small doses—no limit may be placed on numbers; but for purposes of University instruction a student should be encouraged to consult his professor much more than he is now accustomed to do.

But while examinations have been swelling and growing at the end of a student's course, and, where the work was delegated to assistants, as it could easily be, who were lightening the professors' work, it must be a matter of surprise that no entrance examination of an effective nature has been instituted in any of the Scottish Universities. In 1847 the Town Council of Edinburgh attempted to introduce one there, but the Senate successfully thwarted the attempt, in the interests, of course, of the higher learning!\* Glasgow has had for a year or two such an examination for students *under* 17 years of age. Every one who knows the state of matters will admit that it would have been better to have made it applicable solely to those *above* 17, and besides it is hard to see what benefit will accrue from this experiment, while the doors of three Universities are open to those who fail. The ignorance of many students entering college was remarked long ago, but instead of rigidly excluding such men, the Senates allowed professors to institute new classes to meet the demand of the ignorant intrants, till now professors have a vested interest in their fees, if not in their ignorance. In Edinburgh down to 1708 there was only a Latin tutor for students who were deficient in that language. The early Glasgow Calendars show this to be the history of the Junior Latin class there, from which the professor draws many hundreds a year in fees. This class everywhere attracts the dull and backward boys from the third and fourth forms of the secondary schools, where they would be subject to restraint and compelled in some wise to learn. And yet again not many years ago the professor of Latin in Glasgow set a simple paper on Latin Grammar to his first year's students, and instead of excluding those who failed, he formed them into a lower junior class and treated them as University students. No wonder that it is possible for a boy straight from the second

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\* Sir A. Grant's *The Story of the University of Edinburgh*, II., 50, 78.

class in the High School to take high honours in the Latin Class of the University. No wonder that graduates grumble if in a Law examination they are asked to translate a simple piece of Bartolus or Grotius.

We have borrowed then the examination system from England, but we have misapplied it. We have used it for the purpose of superseding and ruining the good old Scottish mode of *Education*, instead of applying it to exclude incompetent and illiterate aspirants to the learned professions, who have no love of learning, and whose only aim is to rise in the world—to better their social position—with the least amount of trouble to themselves. The overcrowding of all the professions is appalling, and yet no one has ever suggested that Parliament should suspend the creation of vested interests in this abuse. If our students were on an average equal even to the fourth or fifth years' boys in our secondary schools, all the objections urged against open or competitive teaching would disappear. It is true that it would be impolitic to allow competitive teaching on the present lines, for the meanest Board schools might then compete successfully in classics and mathematics with the University teachers. But a matriculation examination that will sweep away all the junior University classes, including perhaps Formal Logic, is the key to the whole position of University Reform, on its educational side.

III. *The system of Graduation.* This is closely connected with the foregoing topics, for a degree is the index of certain acquirements in a Faculty, and is conferred after certain tests. Each Faculty, as defined above, should have its own set of degrees—Bachelor, Master or Doctor. In the oldest Faculties—those of Law—we have the degrees of Doctor of Laws in the Faculty of the Civil Law, and Doctor of Decrees in the Faculty of the Canon Law. When Faculties of Theology were added, we had the Doctorate in Theology—*Sanctæ Theologiæ* Doctor; and when the Liberal Arts were formed into a separate Faculty, we had the common degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts. But the titles of Doctor, Master, and Professor, were at first absolutely interchangeable, and only recent usage has altered their associations. The Scottish Universities as Theological Schools with affiliated Arts Faculties, naturally conferred degrees in Arts and

Theology. In Medicine, the degrees have been largely determined by external authorities, for the Medical Schools were practically independent of the other Faculties, and here a degree was a recognised mode of admission to the profession. But it was not so in Theology and Law. In these branches graduation conferred no benefits, and the practice was rapidly becoming obsolete in all the Universities except Aberdeen, when the Act of 1858 revived it, by creating a General Council, composed of graduates and of persons who had attended classes for four years. It was unfortunate that the Commissioners did not revive the practice of conferring the degree for work done during the curriculum, and make the modern examination only a substitutionary and less honourable mode of obtaining the distinction. Here English practice prevailed, and a degree was conferred for a series of examinations, irrespective of the previous career of the candidate, the only redeeming feature being that the professor was an examiner, and so compelled to take account of what the student had previously done. To the six subjects formerly prescribed, the Commissioners added English Literature—another Humanity but by grouping it with Logic and Ethics, they indicated that they regarded it as taking the place of the ancient Rhetoric.

For the degree of M.A., there are thus seven subjects, or rather the student has to attend the classes of seven professors. This sacred number seemed to the Arts professors to gather round it such associations that when a demand arose for new degrees, they seemed to think that if a student attended seven classes—no matter what—he might claim a degree. They seemed to lose entirely the idea of an organized system of knowledge in a Faculty and the related degree conferred. This is particularly seen in the scheme of Science degrees conferred in Glasgow down to last year. The Arts professors seem to have got the upper hand, and they insisted on all graduates attending Latin, Greek, Logic, etc., although much of the instruction given was absolutely useless, and not even remotely connected with the main subject of study. This was done in name of culture; but in Edinburgh the Science Faculty was too strong to allow this, and the student was first subjected to a preliminary examination, to determine if he was capable of benefitting by a scientific course, and thereupon

the training became scientific, general and special. Glasgow has now followed the example of Edinburgh in this respect.

The same course was followed in Law both in Glasgow and Edinburgh, the only Universities which confer Law degrees in Scotland. In 1862 a degree was instituted (LL.B.), which implied a much wider legal culture, and a higher standard of examination than the Doctorate in any British University except London. As a preliminary the degree of M.A. was demanded, but as we have seen, there was no proper Arts Faculty corresponding to the Law Faculty, and the Theological M.A. was therefore accepted in its place. A course which demanded two years of Greek, two years of Mathematics and Physics, and omitted History, and Political Economy did not present many attractions to lawyers. The necessary reform was obvious. Abolish the necessity of M.A. and make some slight addition to the Law course proper. But the Arts professors with their English associations were again too strong. They invented a new degree, or rather they imposed on the public—for outside of Edinburgh and Glasgow B.L. and LL.B. are identical—and this new degree (B.L.) was given for an examination on *seven* subjects—some of them on the condemned London University system, without class attendance—of which subjects three were Arts and four Law. But it is possible in Glasgow to obtain the degree by attending two Law classes, Medical Jurisprudence which is not properly a Law class, and four Arts classes! After this who can complain of the Doctorate being conferred on persons whose legal attainments are excessively slender? But here the Edinburgh scheme was somewhat better, for the Arts were relegated to the first year and dealt with as purely preliminary, while the Law subjects were spread over two years of study. But the study of the Roman Law in the time of Justinian occupied four years; and the period of study in the Mediæval Universities was the same, while the Canon Law demanded five years of study. But our students, who do not know Latin so well as the students in the sixth century, are expected to learn the Civil Law and Scots Law into the bargain, all within two years. The same perverse influences are at work in the recommendations of the Commissioners in 1878, who proposed to

adopt the English method of conferring the Arts degree in a department of law and history. We should however hesitate to blame too severely the authors of these schemes. The profession from the outside exerted no influence on them; and they borrowed from England the new ideas whereby the most incongruous subjects were grouped, and one degree B.A. given for them all. It has often been remarked that an Arts degree of Oxford and Cambridge gives no information as to what branches of learning the graduate knows. Recent changes in Scotland have brought about the same result with B.L., and B.Sc. also has just narrowly escaped losing all meaning.

IV. *Scholarships and Fellowships.* These names have come from England during the present century. The only members of the University who drew a stipend in former times were Professors (Regents, etc.) and Bursars. The English scholar is always an undergraduate, but not so the Scottish, who may be a graduate. The fellow is still more unlike his English prototype, who shares in the government of his College and has great power and privileges. In former times an English fellowship implied more often than it does now a comfortable income for life. A poor man might employ it to promote his success in life in some profession. To many men a fellowship was a money prize and nothing more, and one direction in which the English Universities are turning their reforming energy is to obtain some University work from their Fellows. But the Scottish Universities are too poor to follow far in these lines. They cannot offer a fellowship for life, and so the Scottish fellowships are often used to enable Scotsmen to graduate at an English University and so obtain an English fellowship for life or some long period. It is as absurd to suppose that it is love of learning that takes every Scotsman to Oxford or Cambridge, as to suppose that it is a burning zeal for the dissemination of knowledge that brings distinguished English scholars to accept chairs in our Universities. In both cases they come or go to the market where their learning fetches the highest price. It is very much to the credit of the Senates of the Universities that they have made some attempts to get University work as some return for these foundations, for it is impossible to disguise the fact that a Scottish fellowship in

nine cases out of ten means an English scholarship, and the object of the founders is thus utterly perverted, for these foundations do not directly encourage learning in Scotland. But the attempts to enforce serious academic work on fellows have not been successful. The period of tenure is too short, and when this expires, the man is turned adrift, the more helpless in proportion to the zeal with which he has devoted himself to the work of the University. The truth is that a fellowship is completely foreign to the Scottish University system, and therefore all attempts to acclimatise it have failed. If, however, the money so mis-spent had been devoted to the foundation of new Chairs—so necessary to keep abreast of the requirements of modern science, as well as to subdivide the unwieldy classes, to which reference has been made—the Scottish Universities would not be so paralysed as we find them to-day.

And here again we must note how the Faculty of Arts in Edinburgh, and to a greater extent in Glasgow, has absorbed all the endowments. It appears from the last published Glasgow Calendar, that out of an income of upwards of £10,000, less than £1000 goes in bursaries and fellowships to encourage Theology: about £200 may be held by Law students: and about £500 is spent on the Medical Faculty, while the great bulk of the balance is awarded for examinations in the subjects of the Arts curriculum. £8000 a year is too much to pay for all the result achieved; and after all we have to import a large proportion of our Arts professors from England, without even the suggestion of reciprocity, except in Medicine and Natural Science.\* If Oxford and Cambridge are regarded by Germans as merely secondary schools, what will they say of their Scottish imitators, who have forgotten that they might be great and celebrated schools of Theology and Law, and in following degenerate models, have fallen below the standard set by the secondary schools in the very cities in which they are founded? In the last editions of their Calendars, St. Andrews and Aberdeen make an appeal to the public for money to found bursaries and fellow-

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\* It is only fair, however, to notice that Scotland supplies a fair share of Professors of Philosophy to English colleges.

ships in *Arts*. The object appears to be to attract students to those institutions by paying them to attend: but as every profession, even the scholastic, is now much over-crowded, it is hard to see why pecuniary inducements to enter them should be increased. And as to the higher learning, what we desiderate is not merely a prize payable in instalments for a few years, involving in many cases a veritable deception by the University, which induces on false pretences a young man to spend some of the best years of his life on literature or science, without offering him any subsequent career. But we should expect the Universities to secure permanently for themselves their own most brilliant students, by founding a sufficient number of professorships, and to maintain devotion to learning among their graduates by inducing clergymen, lawyers, doctors, and schoolmasters, to continue and specialize their studies, if they have the necessary leisure, and if they wish further degrees, to graduate again as Doctors in some special Faculty. And if such degrees were in addition discriminatingly conferred *honoris causa*, the high attainments of the ordinary doctors would give a meaning to the several degrees, which honorary degrees at present lack, and they would thus confer additional distinction on the recipient.

V. *University Extension.* This is the natural outcome of the process of imitation and degradation. The Universities have forgotten that they are *professional* schools, and that their *first* duty is to educate clergymen, lawyers, doctors, professors, and schoolmasters. The Arts Faculty has got power into its hands, and in the name of the University it proceeds to 'extend.' The whole sum of human knowledge is comprehended in the subjects taught by the present professors, and malicious critics may suggest that they are now acting like potentates, who embark in foreign expeditions, in order to divert attention from domestic reforms. No doubt many of them are in earnest, but their ignorance of what constitutes learning, and of the necessities of the Universities is appalling. St. Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen, have practically no Faculties of Law; all their other Faculties are insufficiently equipped; they cannot teach efficiently the ordinary scientific and literary subjects; they require additional professors of Theology and Medicine; they are not

teaching the students who present themselves; and now, like churches, which send missions to the heathen abroad, while neglecting the heathen at home, they have undertaken a special crusade among artisans, clerks, and idle women. For the English Universities there was some excuse; they were only Arts Schools; they had great superfluous energy, after satisfying their own utmost needs. But it was not so in Scotland, for, as we have seen, the Universities have left much of their own proper work undone. No complaint can be made against any well-directed effort to raise the intelligence of the people by education; but we have the same objection to the University professors neglecting their proper work and devoting themselves to this extra-mural scheme, as we have to their claiming the right to superintend and examine secondary education in the schools. They have other work to do which should engross their whole attention; and others will manage education extension schemes better than they. Again, such schemes are not 'University' extension, because they are patronised by University professors. Persons whose whole time is occupied with manual or other labour can engage in literary or scientific pursuits only as an amusement, in the original and proper sense. For such graduation is unnecessary and should be discouraged. There is no need of a person engaged in one of the so-called learned professions becoming a professional cricketer or pedestrian, though it is expedient that he should take physical exercise. Nor does the intellectual exercise of the artisan involve graduation, *i.e.*, the right to teach. But the examining, labelling, and ticketing of human beings as possessed of so much knowledge is on the face of it a process so absurd, that it should not be carried a single step further than absolutely necessary. For most men such pursuits can only be a recreation, and if the Universities train and certify the teachers, they should stop. They have no more right to deal with the examining and certifying of the persons taught by these teachers than Military academies have to attend to the drill of private soldiers. It must be evident therefore that it is a mistake for Cambridge to allow such work to count as a part of a University career, and we trust the Scottish Universi-



ties will resolutely oppose all attempts on the part of certain reformers to introduce this practice into Scotland. The only ground on which its introduction could be supported is that there is a dearth of persons aspiring to the practice of the liberal professions. But to say these professions are congested falls far short of the truth, and no one can regard even a continuance of their present condition without the very gravest apprehensions for the future. Surely the promoters of these schemes do not intend every professional man to begin life as an artisan or a clerk. Some of these may rise or change their profession, but such can never be a general rule. As we have before indicated, the present state of every one of the higher professions, and the ample material with which the Universities have to work, imperatively demand that the presently existing facilities for entering these professions should be curtailed, in the interests both of the unfortunate individuals who seek admission to them, as well as in the interests of the public at large. In this direction the public interests demand not University extension but University contraction. The area over which University education extends has never been so restricted in Scotland as in England, and the expense of residence at Oxford and Cambridge is so great as to deter an excessive number of persons from taking advantage of the increased facilities of obtaining University degrees thereat. But in Scotland the proposed change will merely add a foreign to a native abuse; or rather in transferring English University extension schemes to Scotland, we *ipso facto* change them into abuses. Opportunities of University education in the proper sense except for women entering the medical and scholastic profession, are already more than sufficiently wide-spread, and the creation of additional junior classes for boys who ought to be at school, or the adding of a veneer of culture to artisans and clerks is not the work of the Universities. Such schemes will only interfere with their proper duty of raising the standard of attainment both in intrants and graduates. This would be a higher form of University extension.

The professors have persistently opposed an increase of the professoriate, as this would increase the numbers of the Senate as an administrative body. But the Univer-

sity Reform Act will remove the administration of finance from the hands of the Senate and commit it to the University Court. All objections to an increase of the Senate will then be removed, and it is surely not an idle dream to expect that the stream of money which is now spent in useless stone and lime, or in petty bribes to induce boys to learn elementary Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, or in indirect scholarships in English Universities, will be diverted to the founding of much needed professorships. It is with much satisfaction that we observe the present University Bill permits the creation and affiliation of Colleges,\* and also that it gives to the University Court the power of making ordinances on all subjects, including graduation, and the tenure of fellowships and other foundations. If the Commissioners and the new Courts carry out the provisions of this measure in the spirit of its authors, they may at length realise the scheme long since projected by John Knox. If the University Faculties are duly increased, and each adequately equipped, to each Faculty may be committed the interests of its own department. Each Faculty might be a separate College, but the health and prosperity of each would be the health and prosperity of the University. There is no necessary antagonism, no necessary subordination of one Faculty to another, and the union of the professors in a single University Senate, would increase their efficiency, and add to the distinction of the whole University. It is the increase of the professoriate, and the subdivision and increase of the Faculties which are the true University extension.

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\* What is to prevent the Divinity Halls and the Veterinary Colleges from being affiliated to the Universities in Glasgow and Edinburgh ?

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

*Lectures on the Book of Job.* By the Very Rev. GEORGE GRANVILLE BRADLEY, Dean of Westminster. At the Clarendon Press, 1887.

This volume contains the revised version of the Book of Job, reprinted by the permission of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, together with an interpolated commentary on the text, in which the results of the best Biblical criticism of the last fifty years are represented in a clear and attractive manner. Dean Bradley, in issuing these lectures, which were delivered to afternoon audiences in Westminster Abbey, is careful to point out that he does not claim any originality for the views put forward, and that his object in giving them was to assist educated persons 'to comprehend the drift and meaning, if not of every phrase or of every line, yet at least of every successive portion and chapter.' The lectures form, in fact, a kind of expository review of one of the most interesting books of the Bible, which, according to the Dean's contention, has been for the first time rendered thoroughly intelligible to English readers by the efforts of the revisers. Prominence is given to the fact that many words occur in this book which are not to be met with in any other part of the Hebrew Scriptures, : and the revisers have been able to bring to bear on these words the results obtained by the most recent study of the kindred dialects of Arabic. The question is raised to what class of poetry the Book of Job should be assigned. As far as it unfolds the struggles and the triumph of a single hero, it is an epic, but 'an epic of the inner life.' The form of dialogue into which it is cast would seem to justify the title of drama, were it not that there is none of that movement towards a catastrophe which essentially belongs to a dramatic composition. Apart from the prologue and the epilogue, there seems no reason to object, as Dean Bradley does, to the statement that the book is a philosophical dialogue. The objection taken to this denomination is that there is no leading up to one 'single and clearly expressed lesson : ' and yet the purpose of the commentary seems to be none other than to show what this lesson is and how it is applicable to us. If the title of philosophical dialogue, prefaced and concluded by a supernatural element, is to be denied to the Book of Job, it can only be on the assumption that the author of it had no such special lesson to enforce. If this is the case, what becomes of that 'more excellent way' which Dean Bradley tells us Elihu is so anxious to point out to the patriarch? and where is the significance of Job's final trust in the wisdom and justice of God? It is true that no categorical answers are given to the questions which Job raises as to the moral government of the world ; but the book certainly does tend, through all the speeches which compose it, to that absolute faith in the justice and wisdom of an inscrutable Power in which Job is finally content to rest. This simple faith, amid all the perplexing and apparently insoluble mysteries which trouble the patriarch's mind, is surely the 'single and clearly expressed lesson' which the book is intended to convey ; and it is difficult to see what objection can be taken on that score to classifying it as a philosophical dialogue. Though the Dean of Westminster professes to keep before him the real purpose of the book and the universal problems with which it deals, it is somewhat disappointing to find that he makes no reference to another great work in the literature

of the world which treats at bottom the same grave question as is raised in the Book of Job. A reference to the fact that the opening chapters furnished its inspiration to the prologue in Heaven in Goethe's *Faust* would not have been inappropriate, and might have naturally led to a comparison of the ancient and modern views of the problem of evil. It is true that in the modern world this problem is raised under quite different conditions, but it nevertheless retains essentially the same import. Though the religious teaching of the 'Great Heathen' does not as a rule commend itself to Biblical commentators, some account might have with advantage been taken of it in Dean Bradley's instructive volume.

*The Gospel of St. John: An Exposition Exegetical and Homiletical.* By the REV. THOMAS WHITELOW, D.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1888.

Commentaries on the Gospel of St. John are not over numerous. A good practical commentary upon it in English is somewhat difficult to find. Dr. Whitelaw has here endeavoured to provide one. His work divides itself into four parts—the introduction, text, exposition, and homiletics. The introduction shows no inconsiderable amount of reading and a fair appreciation of the objections which have been urged during the present century, more especially by the members of the Tübingen school against the Johannine authorship of the Gospel. These objections Dr. Whitelaw states clearly and succinctly, and endeavours, not without success, to meet and refute them. The rest of the introduction is taken up with what we usually meet with in an introduction to the fourth Gospel, and all that need be said of it is that it is, generally speaking, well put. The text is that of the Revised Version; but why not the *Textus Receptus* or some other Greek text with the different readings? The volume is ostensibly prepared for 'the use of Clergymen, Students, and Teachers,' all of whom it may be assumed, it is to be hoped, are quite capable of construing the Greek Testament and in a position, when studying, to prefer a fairly good Greek text to the best English text that has yet appeared. Besides, the notes are based not upon the English but upon the Greek. The exposition is, as we need hardly say, orthodox, after the manner of the most recent and approved commentators of Switzerland and Germany. Lampe is about the only one of the old Catholic commentators referred to. Maldonatus and a few others might have been consulted with advantage. Generally speaking the notes are clear and concise, though here and there we come across a sentence which is scarcely so compact as it might have been; e.g., in a sentence occurring in the note to ii., 16—'He made a scourge of small cords and cast all out of the temple'—the clause 'not however by the scourge which was manifestly insufficient,' strikes us as rather superfluous and as affording an illustration of the wrong use of the preposition *by*. The note to x., 8, is confused and needs to be brought into harmony with text. That to xi., 33, is good and may be cited as a fair sample of many others; while those to i., 1, show more than ordinary care, reading, and discrimination. The homiletical notes are, generally speaking, marked by good sense and devoutness of feeling. Many of them are very suggestive, though here and there a somewhat weak one occurs. On the whole the work has been carefully done, and will doubtless prove profitable to a large number of those for whom it has been expressly prepared.

*Lectures on the History of Preaching.* By the late REV. JOHN KER, D.D. Edited by the REV. A. R. MACEWEN, M.A., etc. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1888.

These lectures were delivered some years ago to the students at the United Presbyterian Theological Hall in Edinburgh in which their author held the office of Professor of Practical Training for the Ministry. Dr. Ker, as we need hardly say, was himself a distinguished preacher, and as might be expected has not a little that is of interest to say respecting the office of preaching. Here, as the title implies, he is mainly concerned with the history of the office, but scattered throughout his pages is a number of hints and remarks which cannot fail, we should say, to be of no small value to preachers whether young or old. To the students to whom they were addressed the lectures would undoubtedly be interesting and informing, but as a history of preaching, though not without very considerable merits, the work is somewhat disappointing. For one thing it is a little too sketchy. Generally speaking, Dr. Ker's plan is to take one or two preachers of a period and to give a brief sketch of their lives and a few remarks on their style or manner. The consequence is he touches only the surface of his subject. Take, for instance, his treatment of the Preaching Orders and the preachers at whose head was Tauler. The few paragraphs in which these are disposed of, are altogether inadequate to give anything like a full or even approximate conception of the work they did, or of the stir and activity they caused in the religious world. Where the authorities are more accessible Dr. Ker is fuller. Still, for the purpose he had in hand the lectures may be said to be excellent. They have the merit also of opening up what so far as we can remember, is a new line of reading to those who are not acquainted with the works published on the same subject in France and Germany.

*Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, from the MSS. of John Ramsay, Esq., of Ochertyre.* Edited by ALEXANDER ALLARDYCE. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1888.

Mr. Ramsay of Ochertyre, in the parish of Kincardine-in-Menteith, near Stirling, the friend of Burns, Lord Kaimes, and Sir Walter Scott, left behind him a number of bulky MS. volumes with the intention that at some future date they should be published, and invoking his malediction upon any one who should venture to alter or publish them in any other form than that in which he had arranged them. Whether wisely or not, Mr. Allardyce, into whose hands the MSS. have been placed for publication, has ventured to disregard both their author's wish and malediction, and has issued what are virtually extracts from the materials entrusted to him. We have no intention of finding fault with him for doing so; but if the two bulky volumes before us are fair samples of the MSS. unused, we should have no hesitation in saying that the public would do well to welcome the issue of more. We gather, however, from Mr. Allardyce's introduction that they are not fair samples of what remain, and that to publish more would involve a considerable amount of repetition. But be that as it may, in the selections he has made he has provided a large amount of exceedingly instructive and entertaining reading.

The book professes to be a description of Scotland and Scotsmen during the eighteenth century, and answers to its title extremely well. Excepting some evident omissions, the picture it contains is almost as full and complete as could well be. Mr. Ramsay was a barrister, and being well connected, mixed in the best society both in Edinburgh and London. Much of his time he spent on his estate, and had thus abundant opportunity for making himself well acquainted with the manners and condition of the rural population. A shrewd observer and a man of more than ordinary

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the Book of Job. A reference to the fact that  
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*The Gospel of St. John: A  
cal. By the REV. J.  
James Maclellan*

Commentaries on the  
good practical comment  
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The introduction  
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...erms. With regard to Burns  
... referred to in two passages—one  
... by Mr. Allardyce, and the other in  
... second volume. The first gives a brief  
...ade to Ochtertyre in the autumn of 1787,  
... reception in Edinburgh. The talk naturally  
... Ramsay, whose tastes, as Mr. Allardyce informs  
... are plenty of indications in the volumes, had been  
... models, urged Burns to cultivate the drama on the  
... Shepherd,' and to write 'Scottish Eclogues.' What  
... his advice we do not know, but his host, though giving  
... near to have expected it would be followed. 'To have  
... plan,' he writes, 'steadiness and abstraction from company  
... To the greatness of Burns's genius, however, he seems to  
... no means insensible. 'I have been in the company of many  
...,' he says, 'some of them poets: but I never witnessed such  
... intellectual brightness as from him—the impulse of the moment,  
... celestial fire: I was never more delighted, therefore, than with  
... any, two days, tête-a-tête. In a mixed company I should have  
... little of him; for, to use a gamester's phrase, he did not always  
... when to play off and when to play on. When I asked him whether  
... Edinburgh *literati* had mended his poems by their criticisms—"See,"  
... he, "these gentlemen remind me of some spinsters in my own coun-  
... who spin their thread so fine that it is neither fit for weft nor woof."  
... the other passage Burns is said to have declared that the Ayrshire  
... ery in 1787 were in general as rank Socinians as himself. Mr. Ramsay  
... describes Burns's opinions as 'abundantly motley—he being a Jacobite,  
... an Arminian and a Socinian.'

Of Allan Ramsay, for whom the laird had a great favour both on account  
of his ability as a poet and on account of his endeavours to rescue much of  
the old poetry of Scotland from oblivion, frequent mention is made.  
There are excellent sketches also of Hamilton of Bangour, Robertson of  
Strowan, and Beattie. But it was among judges, lawyers, and preachers  
that Mr. Ramsay seems to have felt himself most at home, and with  
sketches of these that the greater part of the first volume is filled. Among  
the judges noticed are President Culloden, Dundas of Arniston, James  
Erskine, Lord Grange, Lord Tinwall, Craigie of Glenvoich, Lord Covington,  
Lord Auchinleck, and Lord Kames, with whom Mr. Ramsay was on  
intimate terms, the two being neighbours. The sketches of these bear  
evident marks of an endeavour to be impartial, and are enlivened with a  
number of anecdotes, some of which are curious. Among the preachers  
noticed, the most singular was Dr. Alexander Webster, who, in spite of  
his 'known fondness for the bottle, and for the company of people who  
assuredly were not saints,' was 'able to preserve the love and confidence  
of the strictest and most serious people in Edinburgh, who in other cases

were abundantly prone to believe bad reports of ministers on slight evidence.' By his own congregation Dr. Webster, Mr. Ramsay says, was almost idolized, and 'so various and accommodating,' he continues, 'were the talents of this extraordinary man, that he was as well qualified to shine in a drawing-room of honourable and devout ladies, or in a fellowship meeting, as in a party of boon companions.'

But for historical purposes, the second volume is, as already said, more useful than even the first. Here Mr. Ramsay has much to tell, and tells it well, about the state of religion and the Church, about the condition of the people, the state of education, the habits of the Scottish gentry, about tenants and day-labourers, the state of agriculture, the price of produce, rents, roads, and an almost endless variety of other subjects. The chapter on the Church is far from pleasant reading, and though apparently written with fairness, exhibits a state of bitterness and sectarianism which is simply deplorable. Zeal without knowledge there seems to have been in excess, while of charity or anything like enlightened zeal there was but little. In many quarters ignorance and bigotry seem to have reigned unchecked. From the chapters dealing with the Scottish gentry and agriculture, a very large amount of extremely interesting information may be gleaned. The same may be said of those dealing with the Highlanders. The chapter devoted to their superstitions will be read with more than ordinary attention—many of the superstitions being extremely curious. A good account is given of the Coronach and of the Beltane fires, though here we have the reference so common during the last century and even in the present in connection with them, to Baal and Phœnicia. But the historical student must get the book for himself. He will find it a rich mine of information respecting Scotland and Scotsmen of the eighteenth century. And even those who read with a less serious aim will not be disappointed. They will find in its pages much to entertain and much to instruct them. Mr. Allardyce has done his work with commendable skill; but the note to page 18 of the first volume might have been brought up to date.

*A Short History of the English People.* By JOHN RICHARD GREEN. New Edition, Thoroughly Revised. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1888.

Mr Green's 'Short History' has obtained so thoroughly established a position, and its merits are so highly appreciated, that any attempt at a revision of his text is sure to be very jealously scrutinized; but it is doubtful whether even the most jealous will be disposed to find much fault with the corrections and alterations this new edition presents. To all appearance they have been made with the most scrupulous care and very often in words which Mr. Green has himself employed. The plan or structure of the book has nowhere been interfered with. Many of the corrections made are chronological, and wherever any alteration has been made in the arrangement of the material or order of the narrative it has been rendered necessary by these. The main work of revision has been the correction of the mistakes of detail which could hardly help occurring in a work extending to over eight hundred pages and dealing with the history of a great country from its beginning down to the present day. That it contained many such mistakes Mr. Green was himself painfully aware, and in his later years one of the chief reasons of his desire to live was that he might correct them, and so satisfy if not the criticisms of his literary opponents, at least his own scruples, and bring the work up to his own high ideal of what a history of the English People ought to be. Mrs. Green has been faithful to the

trust committed to her. Assistance has been derived from the subsequent researches of other writers. She has to 'thank those friends of Mr. Green, the Bishop of Chester, Canon Creighton, Professor Bryce, and Mr. Lecky, who, out of their regard for his memory, have made it a pleasure to her to ask their aid and counsel.' To Professor Gardiner, she owes a 'special gratitude for a ready help which spared no trouble and counted no cost, for the rare generosity which placed at her disposal the results of his own latest and unpublished researches.' From Mr. Osmond Airy and Miss Norgate much valuable assistance is also acknowledged. But the source on which Mrs. Green has chiefly relied, has been Mr. Green's own and later works. 'I have been mainly guided throughout,' she tells us, 'by the work of revision done by Mr. Green himself in his larger *History*.' This, as is well known, he first proposed merely to make a library edition of the *Short History* revised and corrected, but it turned out in his hands a wholly different work, the chief part of it being re-written at much greater length and on a different plan. The signs of revision are numerous. Some of them are slight but important. Slips and inaccuracies have been corrected. Judgments have been modified, here and there a statement has been expanded or brought into closer agreement with the results of later researches, a number of slight omissions has been made, and the lists of authorities have received additions. In short the work of revision has been done with the greatest care and fidelity, and the volume as it now stands probably represents Mr. Green's mind as nearly as it is possible for another to make it.

*Ancient Facts and Fictions concerning Churches and Tithes.* By  
 ROUNDELL, EARL OF SELBORNE. London and New York:  
 Macmillan & Co. 1888.

This work may be regarded as a sequel to its author's *Defence of the Church of England*, inasmuch as it deals with certain points of importance, which are often made use of in the controversy to which that volume is so valuable a contribution. 'My purpose,' says Lord Selborne, 'is to examine in the following papers, more fully and critically than was possible in a former work, some historical questions, which, although they have not any real bearing upon controversies of the present day, are sometimes represented as if they had, in a way which makes it desirable that the facts concerning them should be understood.' 'In its general conception, the work,' he further observes, 'may perhaps be best described as an attempt to trace the course of those developments of early ecclesiastical institutions, which resulted in the formation of the modern parochial system, and its general endowment with tithes.' It divides itself into two parts: the first dealing with the laws and customs of Continental Churches, and the second with those of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The first are dealt with because of the light they throw upon the other. As for the origin of the present parochial system, by a careful examination of historical documents, Lord Selborne shows that the first foundations of it were laid on the Continent at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the Great Council of A. D. 816; and by a similar process, he is able to show the untenableness of the assertion so often made that the system was introduced into England a century earlier. The original type of the modern English parish Churches, he finds in the churches to which under Edgar's laws, one-third of the local tithes was allowed to be given. To these churches districts, determined generally by the extent of the neighbouring lands of the lay founder, and which were specially intended to receive the benefit from the foundation, were attached. Such districts became the 'parishes,' and the inhabitants the



parishioners. The argument respecting church property is long and elaborate, but the conclusion arrived at respecting tithes is, that they were not compulsory nor statutory, but voluntary gifts which each parish church when it was founded and consecrated, (after Edgar's time), obtained when the landowner and the bishop were agreed in desiring that such an endowment should be made. The work is valuable both for the facts it brings to light, and for the rare skill with which they are used to throw light on the somewhat obscure but highly important subject with which it deals.

*La France en Orient au XIVe Siècle.* Par J DELAVILLE LE ROULX. Paris: Ernest Thorin.

Those who have followed the progress of historical research in France during the last twelve years will be aware that, owing chiefly to the labours of the eminent scholars whom the *Société de l'Orient latin* has grouped together, a very considerable modification has taken place in the ideas which formerly passed current on the subject of the Crusades. It was long accepted as an established fact that the history of the movement which originated with Peter the Hermit did not go beyond the year 1261, and that the taking of Acre marked the final collapse of Latin influence in the East. The limit thus set was, however, purely arbitrary. As M. Delaville Le Roulx points out in the preface to his valuable and engrossing work, a movement which, for the space of two centuries sent one expedition after another to the Holy Land could not be brought to a sudden close even by such a disaster as that of Acre. The fall of this stronghold, which, indeed, had long been foreshadowed by the course of events, did not destroy every hope of restoring the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Syria, it is true, was irretrievably lost; but there still remained in the East two Christian Kingdoms—that of Cyprus and that of Armenia—possessed of sufficient power to justify faith in the efficacy of their alliance and to encourage the military leaders of the West to renewed efforts. And, in point of fact, a closer investigation shows that the Eastern question, so far from having lost its interest, bulks prominently through the whole of the fourteenth century. In proof of this it may suffice to mention the expeditions undertaken by Pierre de Lusignan, by Amadeus of Savoy, by the Duke of Bourbon, and by Marshal Boucicaut, though these are only the most important, and do not exhaust the list. Indeed, so general was the participation in these later Crusades that the history of them is practically the history of the foremost Christian states in Europe for more than a hundred years. This may give some idea of the extent and variety of M. Delaville Le Roulx's subject, whilst the proofs and illustrations with which the whole of the second volume is taken up testify to the thoroughness of his work. Patient and conscientious research is not, however, his only merit. He has succeeded in grouping his facts with such skill, with such truth to historical perspective, that the reader never finds it difficult to take in the picture which each section sets before him, and which, though at times necessarily crowded, is never confused. A clear and elegant style adds a further charm to a work which cannot be too warmly recommended to the attention of all who would complete their knowledge of one of the most interesting periods in the history of the Middle Ages.

*Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest.* By J. P. MAHAFFY. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1887.

Barring a pugnacious introduction, and just a little too much of Ireland and Irish politics, this is an exceptionally excellent book. We mention these first, because for everything else in the volume we have nothing but the warmest praise. We are not sure that the tirade it contains against 'pure scholarship' is altogether justified. Nor can we persuade ourselves that the language and literature of the Greek speaking portion of the world, during the period which is here dealt with, have been quite so neglected as Mr. Mahaffy seems to suppose. It would not be difficult to show that a very considerable number of writers have turned their attention to them, though it must be owned that so far as own country is concerned, Mr. Mahaffy is the first who has made them a special subject of study, and written a book about them. For the frequent introduction of Irish politics Mr. Mahaffy may perhaps be excused. At all events the illustrations afforded by the present social and political state of Ireland are so pat, and serve to throw so much light upon the state of social and political thought and feeling in the period with which he is dealing, that were it not that one can scarcely avoid the feeling at times that we are reading an elaborate pamphlet on Irish Home Rule, under the guise of a learned treatise on Greek life and thought, their frequency would be altogether unobjectionable. It must be admitted, too, that, notwithstanding all that may be said against them, these modern instances give a raciness and freshness, and often a pungency to Mr. Mahaffy's style, which to many readers will make his pages all the more attractive and intelligible. The subject he has taken in hand is large, interesting, and important. If Greek life previous to Alexander deserves to have its history written and studied, surely a similar honour is due to it during the era inaugurated by his conquests. It was then that it began to spread beyond the narrow geographical, and indeed municipal limits, within which it had formerly been cooped up. Then also, partly through its own inherent vitality, and partly through the development of fresh circumstances and contact with new elements, it began to bear more abundant fruit, and to become as it had never been before—the inheritance and possession of the world. Mr. Mahaffy's book, however, is in no need of justification. No one of ordinary knowledge can read it without feeling how indispensable a correct knowledge of its contents is for the right appreciation of the subsequent course of civilization, and to the various causes which afterwards led to the rapid diffusion of the Christian faith. The first chapters are very properly historical, giving a sketch of the political arrangements necessitated by the death of Alexander, and the quarrels of his generals and their successors. Though brief, they are as full as need be, and are supplemented by an elaborate and very useful chronological table, from which the reader may see at a glance the position of affairs both in Greece and the Eastern Kingdoms, and at Rome from year to year. In the main part of his book Mr. Mahaffy is a critic and an historian, exercising very considerable discrimination in the selection of his materials, and depicting the changes which came over Greek life and thought, the altered social relationships due to the diffusion of wealth, the developments of trade and commerce, of literature, of science and art, and of philosophy and religion, with a clear and brilliant pen. What will perhaps strike the reader most is the many points of similarity, and in fact of identity, between many of the social and economic ideas of the time with some maintained in the present. For our own part we could have wished that Mr. Mahaffy's book had been larger than it is; but as it is, no student of Greek history, and none who wishes to understand the society into which Christianity was first introduced, can read it without deriving from it the greatest assistance, and awarding to its author the warmest praise.

*The Makers of Venice, Doges, Conquerors, Painters, and Men of Letters.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT. Illustrated by R. R. HOLMES, F.S.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1887.

To the generality of readers the history of the city of Venice is but little known. Sufficient is known, however, to occasion the belief that if its archives were thoroughly examined, they would be found to contain an almost unequalled abundance of romantic and thrilling narratives. Whether the belief is well founded, we will not undertake to say, but we shall not be far wrong in saying, that most readers are in the habit of expecting to find in any book or article dealing with the fortunes of the great Mediæval Republic, something more or less of the solution of a mystery or some tale of human suffering or heroism more romantic or touching than anything invented by the teeming fancy of a modern novelist. That we have here, in *The Makers of Venice*, a book full of entertainment and instruction it is scarcely necessary to say. It was scarcely possible for so highly accomplished a writer as Mrs. Oliphant is, to touch so attractive a subject without filling her pages with pleasant reading. A history of Venice it can scarcely be called. In fact it does not profess to be one, in the sense, that is, of tracing the life of the city from its first beginnings down to its corruption and decay, and onward to the present. As indicated in the title-page, and following a plan similar to that adopted in her *Makers of Florence*, Mrs. Oliphant has selected the period when Venice first began to be great, and by indomitable perseverance raised herself to the zenith of her power, and has related with more or less of detail the lives of the most distinguished of the men under whose guidance this singular transformation of an obscure town into one of the greatest political powers of Mediæval Europe was carried on, together with the difficulties they had to encounter, and the measure of success that attended their often heroic endeavours. The work divides itself into four parts, dealing respectively with the most distinguished of the doges, the captains by sea and land, the great painters of Venice, and her historians and printers. The first doge Mrs. Oliphant singles out for notice is Pietro Orseolo, the successor, and, as a certain ecclesiastical historian says an instrument in the downfall, of Candiano, but as all agree the rebuilder of Venice, and the author of much of its magnificence. To him Venice owes the foundation of San Marco and the most splendid of its ornaments, the *Pala d'oro*, which he procured from Constantinople. The lower part of the present *Pala d'oro*, however, is a more modern work, having been executed for Andrea Dandolo in 1345, by Giammaria Boninsegna, when the upper part, which was brought over to Venice in 1205, after the conquest of Constantinople, was probably united to it. To the second Pietro Orseolo Venice owes her first distinct recognition as the mistress of the Adriatic, and the beginning of her possessious and troubles on its Eastern shore. Among the other doges sketched are the Michieli, Ziani, Enrico Dandolo, who led the attack on Constantinople, and found his grave there while on his way as a crusader to the Holy Land, Pietro Gradenigo, Marino Faliero, and Francesco Foscari, against whom Tommaso Mocenigo warned the republic, and the story of whose sufferings is one of the most pathetic on record. The story of travellers, soldiers, and sea captains of Venice, is even more interesting than that of her doges. Here we hear much of Marco Polo, of Andrea Contarini, and the great struggle with Genoa, of Carlo Zeno, and Carmagnola. In the third and fourth divisions of the work excellent chapters will be found on Bellini, Tintorello, and Titian, and much about

Petrarch, and his friend Andrea Dandolo, the first man of letters who occupied the doge's chair, and one of the most reliable authorities for the history of the Venetian State, and of Marino Sanudo and the great printer Aldus. But to give anything like an adequate conception of the interest attaching to the volume is, in the limits at our command, impossible. Mrs. Oliphant has gone to the original sources for her materials, and has put them together with rare skill. The volume forms an excellent companion to *The Makers of Florence*, and is a valuable contribution to a little known subject.

*Letters of General C. G. Gordon to his Sister M. A. Gordon.*  
London & New York: Macmillan & Co., 1888.

The two letters from H. M. the Queen, which Miss Gordon has here prefixed to the letters addressed by her brother to herself, have already attracted a very large amount of public attention, and have been made the subject of numerous comments and considerable political conjecture. Here we need only remark that they express the greatest sympathy for General Gordon's family, and the deepest grief at the hard fate of so heroic a servant. General Gordon's letters are for the most part religious, and contain something like his spiritual history from the year 1854, when he seems to have first begun to think seriously of religious things, down almost to his last days in Khartoum. They have every appearance of having been written on the spur of the moment, and may be taken as containing the clear and forcible expression of the thoughts and feelings which at the time of writing were uppermost in his mind. As such there is a certain freshness and charm about them. Everywhere they bear witness to that serenity of temper and profound trust in God, which the public has come to associate with the memory of their author. They will doubtless be read by many with the greatest profit. They contain much material for thought, much that will prove helpful, and much that will incite to greater devotion. By many they will in all probability be regarded as the most precious memorials which have yet been given to the public of one of the noblest lives of modern times.

*Papers, Literary, Scientific, etc.* By the late FLEEMING JENKIN, F.R.S., etc. Edited by SIDNEY COLVIN, M.A., and J. A. EWEN, F.R.S. With a Memoir by ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. 2 Vols. London and New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1887.

The greater part of these two volumes consists for the most part of the papers which the late Professor of Engineering in the University of Edinburgh contributed to various Reviews and periodicals. Whether it was wise to reprint them all may be doubted; but there can be no two opinions, at least so it seems to us, as to the value of the Memoir Mr. R. L. Stevenson has written of his teacher and friend. As a piece of literary workmanship it is excellent. It is neither too long nor too short, but hits the happy medium, and contains a charming picture of a most loveable man. Most readers, we imagine, will look upon it as the best part of the two volumes. There is something almost romantic about it. Professor Fleeming Jenkin's was no ordinary life. It was full of change, bustle and dramatic interest. He himself was restless, eager; an optimist of the purest type; versatile and inventive, and withal endowed with a nature rich in affections of the most unselfish kind. But to understand what he was, and to learn the singular vicissitudes through which he passed, readers must turn to Mr.

Stevenson's pages, where they will find not a little that is quite as entertaining as anything he has written in a different line. Among the most delightful portions of the Memoir are the extracts from Professor Fleeming Jenkin's letters. Here it is that we get closest to the inner life of the boy or man, and obtain the clearest glimpses of his bright, ardent, and affectionate nature. The earlier ones relate his experiences in Paris during the Revolution of 1848, and in Genoa, whither he and his mother had fled for refuge, together with the thoughts and political aspirations of his boyhood; while the later ones give numerous details respecting his work abroad. This was nothing more than the prosaic task of laying down submarine telegraph cables, or fishing for broken cables and picking them up; yet the letters in which he describes it possess a profoundly human interest, and are simply charming. The Papers are on all manner of subjects from Greek Tragedy and Greek Dress to the Rhythm of English Verse, Trades-Unions, Technical Education, and Telpherage. They show the extraordinary versatility of their author. Nor are they without considerable value. Professor Fleeming Jenkin was a shrewd and clever thinker, full of ideas, and always abundantly suggestive even in his ordinary conversation. One or two of the papers here reprinted have made their mark. A writer who had something to say on Lucretius, which was instructive to Mr. Munro, is not unlikely to have something worth reading on anything he handles. The essay on Darwin and Darwinism obtained the highest praise from Mr. Darwin himself. Mr. Francis Darwin has just told us that he believes that his father was in the habit of regarding the criticisms it contained on his theory of the origin of species as 'the most valuable ever made,' and that he felt it not a little remarkable that they should come not from a professed naturalist, but from a Professor of Engineering.

*The Early Life of Samuel Rogers.* By P. W. CLAYDEN. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1887.

Mr. Clayden has here restricted himself to the first forty years of Rogers' life, and has reserved the remaining fifty for treatment in a separate volume, which of the two should prove the more interesting. The present volume carries us back almost to the middle of the last century, and brings us in contact with a number of people many of whose names are almost, if not altogether, faded from the public memory. Others of them, on the contrary, are still widely remembered, and are not without their influence in the present. Among those we meet with are Drs. Johnson, Price, and Priestly; Sir Joshua Reynolds, Burke, Fox, Sheridan, and Pitt; Horne Tooke, Wordsworth, and Coleridge; and of Scotsmen, Drs. Robertson and Blair; Adam Smith, Mackenzie, and Boswell. Rogers was born July 30th, 1760. At the time Stoke Newington, where his father lived, was a suburban village, and Scotland was less frequented by Englishmen than the Continent. Pennant's first tour in Scotland was not made till 1769, and Dr. Johnson's famous *Journey* was not published until six years later. Mr. Clayden has been at considerable pains to describe the surroundings of Rogers' childhood, his education and entrance into business as a banker, his abilities as a man of business and his early efforts at literature, and may be said to have succeeded in conveying a pretty vivid impression of the society in which the author of the *Pleasures of Memory* grew up, and of the development of his character. By the time Rogers had arrived at manhood, Burt—whose *Tour* was published some six years before Rogers was born—Pennant and Johnson had succeeded in making the tour of Scotland fashionable, and in 1789 Rogers followed the stream, visiting Edinburgh and Glasgow, Stirling, Crieff, Taymouth, Inveraray, and Dumfries, though without seeing Burns, who at the time was living at Ellisland,

six miles from the last mentioned town—an opportunity which never occurred to the two poets again, for when Rogers next visited Scotland in 1803 Burns was dead. The chapter in which the narrative of this first visit to Scotland is recorded is on the whole the one to which Scotsmen will be the most drawn, being taken for the most part from Rogers' letters to his sister, and from the Journal he kept during the journey. The sketches it contains of the leading Scotsmen of the time, more especially of Drs. Blair, Robertson, and Smith, though brief, are striking. The book has also a wider interest. In 1791 Rogers visited France and Belgium, and in Paris met with some of the leaders and victims of the Revolution. Much space is naturally taken up with the political aspect of affairs at home, and still more with literary criticism. As might be expected Mr. Clayden has much to tell about the society in which Rogers mixed, and perhaps the most valuable parts of his volume are to be found here. Rogers' life was not an eventful one, either early or late; its interest is chiefly social and literary, and Mr. Clayden has evidently spared no effort to do full justice to it.

*A History of Elizabethan Literature.* By GEORGE SAINTSBURY.  
London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

Though the first issued, this is properly speaking the second of a series of four volumes on the history of English Literature. The first of the series, dealing with the earliest period, has been undertaken by Mr. Stopford Brooke, the third, on the Literature of the Eighteenth Century, is to be by Mr. Edmund Gosse, and the fourth, on Modern Literature, by Professor Dowden. These names give promise of excellent treatment. Mr. Saintsbury has done his part well. In less than five hundred pages, he has given a succinct, yet, for the majority of readers, a sufficiently elaborated account of the greatest period in English Literature. The plan he has adopted may be said to be new, though it recalls in some of its features, the *Short History of French Literature*. Criticism prevails over biography; in fact, some may complain that more space is not devoted to biography, though for our own part, we much prefer the method Mr. Saintsbury has adopted, of taking just so much of the life of the writers as is sufficient to fix their whereabouts in the great stream of English thought. There is an advantage in it which easily reconciles us to the trouble of referring to encyclopedias and other works for what Mr. Saintsbury does not tell. We learn more about the literature, which after all in a History of Literature is the main thing. One of the principal features of the volume is the space devoted to the less known writers. There are very few of these, who have done anything "worth remembering, whom Mr. Saintsbury has omitted to mention and criticise. At the same time the treatment of the better known writers has not been unduly shortened. Though objections here and there may be taken to some of Mr. Saintsbury's judgments, they are on the whole fair, and have the merit besides of being independent. Those on Spenser, Bacon, and Shakespeare, may be referred to as excellent. The same may be said of those on Marlowe, Chapman, and Drayton. Massinger we are disposed to rate somewhat higher than Mr. Saintsbury does. Donne, perhaps, receives more than his meed of praise, though it cannot be denied that his poems contain many golden veins, and many thoughts of exquisite beauty, as

' Her pure and eloquent blood  
Spoke in her cheeks, and so distinctly wrought  
That one might almost say, her body thought.'

The illustrative passages are mostly taken from the minor writers, those belonging to such writers as Spenser, Milton, and Shakspeare, being

simply referred to. Another excellent feature in the volume is the brevity of the analyses. The book, in fact, is full of critical thought, and is occupied throughout by far the larger part in describing the characteristic features of the various writers, and in estimating the worth of their work. As a help to the appreciation of the literature of the period it is invaluable, and so far as we know, unrivalled.

*Biographies of Words and the Home of the Aryas.* By F. Max MÜLLER. Longmans, Green & Co., 1888.

It is almost superfluous to remark on the charm of style and resource of illustration which Professor Max Müller has brought to bear on every subject in the sphere, to a great extent determined and mapped out by himself, of Comparative Philology, Mythology, and Religion. The topics of which he treats are, no doubt, of engrossing interest to the world of scholars alone; but he has always, and particularly of late, endeavoured to show that the results of the work in which he is engaged are such as will considerably modify the current opinions on many matters of interest to every educated person. This is to a remarkable extent true of the field of labour in which he has been for the last few years at work. His latest volume presents in a collected form the biographies of words which recently appeared from his pen in a popular magazine, together with one or two additional chapters and several letters on the controversy, raised afresh by Professor Sayce at the meeting of the British Association last year, as to whether the original home of the Aryas was in Asia or in Europe. To these chapters is, however, prefixed a brief introduction on the importance of philological science as applied to the history of civilization and the development of thought, in which occasion is taken to point to the as yet ungathered harvest of the science of language. The purport of the volume lies here, if anywhere: and the introduction or preface must by no means be looked at, like the beard of an oyster, as a very necessary appendage, but one to be disregarded in the eating.

Professor Max Müller has latterly travelled far beyond the bounds of linguistic science; or to speak more correctly, he has been striving and is still striving to extend the sphere which has been until now assigned to that science. 'If thought,' as he declares, 'is impossible without language, as language is without thought, many things will follow not dreamt of yet in our philosophy.' In his *Science of Thought*, he has recently applied the lessons taught by the study of words to tracing the development of that of which words themselves are evidence. This attempt is not only thoroughly in accordance with the efforts, for which our own day is so conspicuous, to explore the dark tracts lying at the beginnings of civilization and of human life itself: it raises the study of language at one bound to a position little below, if not on a level with, the study of thought itself. Henceforth, according to Professor Max Müller, philosophy must proceed on the lines laid down by philology; and great are the revelations which here await it. Twenty years ago when the theory of evolution, as stated by Darwin, was not so commonly received as it is now, Professor Max Müller advanced the arguments which were supplied by the science of language against its acceptance, at any rate in the extreme form in which it was held by some who called themselves followers of Darwin: and to-day he is as strong as ever in asserting the generic difference between man and animal, and in pouring a philosophic ridicule on the idea that the language of man can have been developed from the chattering of an ape. Now, however, he seems inclined to side with Darwin, against the extreme Darwinians, in holding that it is worse than useless to try and go behind three or four great genera from which all living things have descended and

in which they may, in their origins, be classed. As regards language as a distinctive attribute of one of those genera, his position is this : if percepts are impossible without a conceptual interpretation, and concepts are impossible without names, then in language man has something which he could never have received from an animal. Professor Max Müller's rank as a philologist is assured ; his position as a philosopher is still being weighed in the balance.

But apart from the grave issues involved in etymology, these biographies of words are very pleasant reading. They might have been called the romance of philology, were such a title not too suggestive of an unscientific process. The life and adventures of one or two well known words, such as *fortune*, *person*, are described in delightful detail, and abundant examples given of the varying meanings they assumed at different periods of their history. Some idea is thus afforded of the marvels which await the earnest student of words, and of the light which his studies can throw on the development of thought in language. Comparative philology thus becomes one of the safest guides to the history of civilization and the march of intellect. As the Professor strikingly observes, 'the numerals from one to ten tell us more of forgotten intellectual labour than all the pyramids of Egypt.' The chapter which is devoted to an examination of the original home of those who, unlike in race and blood, had the common birthright of the Aryan language, contains many telling arguments for placing them in Asia, and not, as Professor Sayce and others have attempted to show, in Scandinavia or in Germany. We are reminded of the conflict about beech and birch, and of the evidence pointing to an Asian home of our Aryan ancestors. The two streams of language to India and to Europe naturally intersect in, and so probably came from, some point in the centre of the Asian continent. The East is the cradle of civilization, and from Central Asia came, in later times, the Huns and Mongols who overwhelmed Europe. As far as certainty can be reached in such matters, the absence of a common name for sea or for fish in the Indian and European branches of those who spoke Aryan would seem to be conclusive against the possibility of their having come from a country with so much seaboard as Scandinavia.

Beside what there is of general interest in this volume, specialists will presumably welcome the attempt Professor Max Müller makes towards the close of it to reconstruct the primitive Aryan dictionary, and to show the development of the leading Aryan words in the various dialects through which they passed.

*Ulysses, or Scenes and Studies in many Lands.* By W. GIFFORD PALGRAVE. Macmillan & Co. London and New York.

The title of this volume is very happily chosen. Mr. Palgrave, H.M. Representative in Uruguay, is a kind of modern Ulysses, who seems to be equally at home, or not at home, in every quarter of the globe, and his book is full of sketches and stories taken or gleaned in countries as far as possible apart. Most of the papers in the volume have been printed before, but they are worth printing again and in a collected form both on account of their style and contents. They are entertaining as well as instructive. One of them deals with Malay life in the Philippine Islands, another with Kioto, another with Canton, and a fourth gives an account of a visit to Upper Egypt and Thebes. Turkey in Asia receives, perhaps, the largest share of attention, and the papers devoted to it show in the clearest way the effects of the government, or mis-government, of the Turk as well as the resources and capabilities of the countries and peoples he is rapidly bringing to ruin. Among the best papers in the volume are one on Ana-



tolian spectre stories, and another entitled 'Alkamah's Cave.' For such stories as are contained in the first Mr. Palgrave does not appear to have much regard. All we can say for them is that we wish Mr. Palgrave would give us more of the same kind. To Folklorists they would be extremely acceptable. The story of Alkamah comes from the heart of Arabia, and is a genuine piece of romance, all the more valuable as differing in tone and character from any we remember to have met with in *The Thousand and One Nights*.

*The New Judgment of Paris.* By PHILIP LAFARGUE. London: Macmillan & Co., 1888.

This is a clear, well written story, rendered very effective by frequent touches of telling sarcasm, or quiet humour; though the design seems a little large for the canvass. There is hardly space enough for the full development of the three suitors who simultaneously present themselves for judgment, and, in fact, only one is developed; the one who, to his own infinite cost, secures the favour of the very common clay idol which it pleases the whole three to covet inordinately. But would a man of Ambrose Trevor's stamp have been so absolutely enslaved by a handsome girl with not an idea in the world beyond marrying a rich man? We doubt it. At any rate he was cruelly punished for his strange infatuation. The letter in which she casts him off, the moment she finds he will be poor if he marries her, is, in its way, a masterpiece. We doubt if ever so much bare-faced mendacity and cold-blooded selfishness were compressed into so few lines of impudent assumption of lofty sentiment. Even the sunstroke was hardly too heavy a price to pay for his escape. Sister Irene is a very life-like sketch, though surely not even an infatuated lover could have gone the length of pleading her 'scrupulous sense of honour' to a man who had been present on the occasion of the card trick! Unhappily, as we suspect Mr. Lafargue knows, that sort of proceeding is only too common among women of her class. The story is a curious medley, half idyl, half society sketch, but written in a manly, straight forward style, and with a healthy buoyancy of tone which make it very pleasant reading.

*The Second Son.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT. London: Macmillan & Co., 1888.

Mrs. Oliphant has few, if any rivals in her power of almost compelling interest in novels—the actors and scenes in which, if briefly described, would seem very commonplace and uninteresting; but she beats out her stories very thin now, and in *The Second Son* she comes very near being tedious sometimes. It is hard to feel interested in any of the characters; and the devotion of a whole chapter of seventeen pages to the feelings of a girl who finds herself alone at night on the streets of London, is rather a heavy demand on a reader's patience. Moreover, with that licence which we have commented upon above, in reviewing *Richard Cable*, Mrs. Oliphant ignores probabilities, even possibilities, with amazing coolness. That an imperious tempered man like Squire Mitford should, with perfect cognizance of what was going on, allow the Fords to remain in his service, is sacrificing a good deal of probability, in order to provide the only real incident of the story; and the third volume is an impossibility, because the death of Roger Mitford must inevitably have been followed by a coroner's inquest, which would have brought the whole truth respecting Lily Ford to light. So long as there is a public which will accept blindly whatever appears in the way of novels with certain names on the title page, we suppose it is vain to hope that able writers will resist the temptation to

take it at its own valuation. But it is impossible not to regret that a genuine love for their art does not lift them above the inclination to do what is equivalent to an artist drawing so carelessly that his perspective is false, and his figures grotesque.

*Richard Cable, the Lightshipman.* By the Author of *Mehalah, John Herring*, etc. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1888.

Mr. Baring Gould is always clever, original, and very entertaining, but a constant tendency to slide into the grotesque, and a habit of indulging in a good deal of cheap cynicism, tend much to diminish the literary merit of his stories. The main theme of *Richard Cable* is boldly sketched, and ably filled in, but the characters are not after nature, they are grotesque, and act grotesquely, not invariably but often. In the present story, Mr. Baring Gould has also availed himself of a licence of which, it appears to us, some of the best known novelists of the day are inclined to make use to an extent indicative of a somewhat contemptuous estimate of their readers—that of introducing absolute impossibilities as leading incidents in their plots. What can be more absurd than to represent Bessie Cable as having eloped with young Gotham from Hanford Hall, and returned three years afterwards with a child, and brought him up in the immediate neighbourhood without any one suspecting whose son he is? This is only one of many incidents and scenes in the book, the impossibility of which increases the impression of the whole story being cast in the mould of the grotesque. Not even Mr. Baring Gould's brilliant abilities can prevent this flaw seriously detracting from the merits of the story, any more than they can prevent those dreadful seven little girls with fair hair being intolerably tiresome. *Richard Cable* is a powerful story, far above the average in point of ability, but very suggestive of that careless disinclination for really painstaking workmanship which is only too common an accompaniment of brilliant powers.

*Robert Elsmere.* By Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD, author of *Miss Bretherton*. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1888.

*Robert Elsmere* is a story of remarkable power. The keenness and delicacy of Mrs. Ward's insight into character are exceptional, and throughout the book that same patient careful workmanship is evident which gives such a charm to her translation of *Henri Amiel's Journal*. As a study of character, therefore, *Robert Elsmere* is admirable. As a novel, it is much injured by the fact that its main theme is theological controversy, a fatal defect artistically. Elsmere, gifted with a lovable, sympathetic nature, and overflowing with an almost passionate 'enthusiasm of humanity,' possesses all that power for good which springs from the strong personal devotion that is aroused by such qualities; but he is a very weak character, always needing something to lean against. This need, after he leaves his Oxford props, Langham and Grey, behind him, is first supplied by his wife, one of the best studies in the book: saintly, but puritanical, adorable by the sick bed of suffering poverty, admirable, but a trifle oppressive, as saints are apt to be, in the home circle, in society, angular, and a little prickly. The next prop is Squire Wendover, a man of great ability and extensive learning, but of repulsive character, and morally callous to a degree which can only be called brutal. Elsmere's weakness is strongly marked in the fact of such a man gaining an influence over him. Himself a scholar, he must necessarily respect the squire's abilities and attainments, but only a fatal want of moral robustness could allow a man of his disposition to fall under the personal influence of so repellent a nature.

The weakness of the special line of argument whereby his rupture with the Church is brought about, would seem to have been designedly intended to mark how strongly he was swayed by the squire's personal influence. He is greatly impressed by Mr. Wendover's arguments on the intellectual development of man, and the necessity of bringing to bear on all ancient records that magnificent instrument for the detection of truth and error, Modern Critical Science, the nineteenth century result of that development; and the assignment of the Book of Daniel to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes seems to be the special instance of the work of that instrument which impresses him. Yet surely it would, in the first instance, have struck a scholar that a mere endorsement of the opinion of a Pagan writer of the third century was a rather insignificant result of sixteen centuries of intellectual development? Is it *only* records which support 'orthodox' Christianity that are the products of half childish minds, in an imperfect state of mental development?

Elsmere did not attempt 'any systematic study of Christian evidence.' In a state of feverish excitement he takes up test cases here and there, and after three months of restless wretchedness, with all the precipitancy of a weak but honest nature, throws up his living, renounces the Church, and shortly begins work in the east end of London, in company with a Unitarian minister. The rest of his brief career is very depressing. His wife's misery, and, apart from all question of truth, the utter dreariness of religion, divorced from a living Christ, render the shadows very deep. Elsmere's one year of work is described with great power, and should bring to the mind of every reader the lesson early taught to the infant Church, but all too soon forgotten: 'In every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him.'

Her hero being a somewhat unsophisticated young enthusiast, we cannot but think Mrs. Ward has made a great mistake in introducing a scene in which he is brought within measurable distance of that rock on which, as old Dr. Bower quaintly remarks, 'so many of the saints have split,' and called upon suddenly to play the part of a Nineteenth Century Joseph. The peril of an unsophisticated girl is never difficult to render tragical, but reverse the positions, and the comic side of the scene will force itself on all save most matter of fact readers. Mrs. Ward evidently means to be tragical, but the episode provokes irrepressible laughter, which seems wholly out of place in connection with so sad a picture of two wrecked human lives.

The other characters in the book, notably the beautiful but wayward Rose, are drawn with much skill and care, and Mrs. Ward shows accurate knowledge of many and varied phases of life. But though there is no trace of the 'odium theologicum,' she either purposely writes from a very narrow point of view, or her acquaintance with the Church of England is a very restricted one.

The thirteen discourses contained in the Rev. Allan Menzies' *Natural Religion* (Alex. Gardner) are based upon the Ten Commandments. Mr. Menzies does not hold the generally received opinion that the Ten Words or Ten Commandments, as we now have them in Exodus xx., were written by Moses, but holds, or is inclined to hold, the opinion now in vogue among a certain school of Theologians that, though none of the versions of them given in the Pentateuch may exactly reproduce the words of the great Lawgiver, that which we have in Exodus xx. certainly represents his mind and spirit. Mr. Menzies, however, does not spend much time on questions of criticism. His first point is that the Ten Words, whether they were written as we have them by Moses or another, are divine, and possess an authority therefore greater than that which any human name

can confer upon them. His second point is that the Ten Words or Commandments are imbedded in the very constitution of the human mind, and form the foundations of society and the rules of all noble living and true religion. These points are brought out with singular simplicity and power. The discourses show largeness of grasp, breadth of culture, and fertility of illustration. They contain many valuable practical lessons.

The two volumes of sermons, *Parochial and University Sermons*, by the late Dr. Fraser, Bishop of Manchester, will be received by many as very precious memorials of one whom they have learnt to esteem as one of the most active and zealous Anglican Bishops of modern times. In *Parochial Sermons* we have thirty-three discourses delivered by Dr. Fraser chiefly during his ministry at Cholderton. Most of them seem to have been favourites with him, as they were more or less frequently repeated by him either at Cholderton or elsewhere. They are all simple, straightforward statements of Gospel truths, and eminently practical. The *University Sermons* occupy a somewhat higher platform of thought, though they are characterised by the same directness, simplicity and earnestness of spirit. As might be expected they exhibit more learning, and here and there one comes across a quotation which in a parochial sermon would be out of place, but in the audience before which they were used would not fail to be appreciated.

Dr. Binnie's *Sermons* (Macmillan) are good specimens of Scottish preaching. They are calm, thoughtful, simple, direct. There is no attempt at eloquence or rhetorical effect in them. The preacher's aim throughout seems to have been to convey wise counsel and instruction, and to minister to the edification of his hearers in Christian truth. Dr. Binnie is always thoroughly master of his subject, and fully alive to its practical bearings.

In some respects Mr. Harwood's *From Within* (Macmillan) may be regarded as a connected series of meditations on certain of the deeper problems of religion. His object is to ascertain by starting from the consideration of the fundamental facts of man's being and experience, what must be his chief religious expectations and beliefs. The conclusion he arrives at is that these expectations and beliefs on such as are inculcated by the Christian Faith. Mr. Harwood's style is clear and vigorous, and owing to the point from which he starts, and the almost studied avoidance of technical theological language, his thoughts wear an air of freshness which often makes them striking.

The anonymous author of *The Sinclairs of England* (Trübner), has written a very painstaking and singularly interesting and instructive volume. The amount of historical research it indicates is something remarkable. In order to write his varied and picturesque story he must have searched far and wide, and made use of books and documents which, to the majority of readers, are altogether unknown or inaccessible. To the Sinclairs themselves, at least to the greater part of them, his book will come as a surprise. Few of them, we imagine, have ever supposed that their family is so old, so great, or so widely spread. They are known in France, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Russia, and Germany. Those of England seem to have come over with the Conqueror, though there would appear to be some rather doubtful signs of their presence in the country before then. Their original habitat in the country appears to have been Kent, from whence they spread North, East, and West to the farthest corners of Great Britain. Of their prowess and masterfulness there is abundant evidence. The work is written with great vigour and clearness, with here and there a vividness that reminds us of Carlyle.

BOOKS RECEIVED.—Our acknowledgments are due for among others—*Christianity versus Ecclesiasticus* (Williams & Norgate); *Theories of Anarchy and Law*, by H. B. Brewster (Williams & Norgate); *The Psalms in English Verse*, by A. Coles (Appleton, New York); *Addresses*, by E. Thring (Fisher Unwin); *Ethics and Theology*, by H. Footman (F. Norgate); *The Ethics of Free Thought*, by Karl Pearson (Fisher Unwin); *Faith and Conduct* (Macmillan); *Isaiah*, by Rev. Canon Driver (Nisbet); *Holy in Christ*, by Rev. Andrew Murray (Nisbet); *Outlines of Jurisprudence*, translated and edited by W. Hastie (T. & T. Clark); *Relation of Ethics to Religion*, by R. Potter (Macmillan); *Des définitions géométriques*, par L. Liard, (Alcan); *The Church and the Puritans*, by H. O. Wakeman (Longman's 'Epochs of the Church' Series); *Industrial Peace*, by L. L. F. R. Price (Macmillan); *Claverhouse*, by Mowbray Morris (Longmans); *From West to East*, by Henry Rose (D. Stott); *Raygarth's Gladys*, by James Saunders (T. Laurie); *Poems and Translations*, by Mary Morgan (Robinson, Montreal); *A Romance of Criminal Administration in Bengal* (F. Unwin); *Propsy*, by J. B. Douglas (London Literary Society); the Second Edition of Mr. Crozier's *Civilization and Progress* (Longmans), and Fourth Edition of Lord Selborne's *Defence of the Church of England*.

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## SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

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DE GRIS (Jan. and Feb.).—Under the title of 'Sea Studies from the Seventeenth Century,' A. W. Buning gives (Dec. and Jan.) graphic sketches of life on board a Dutch war-ship of the period. The various grades from admiral to cook are admirably delineated, and especially the chaplain, whose duty, while the ship is in action, is to sit beside the powder magazine and guard it from sparks. A vivid picture is given of the ship and its crew in a stormy night, the shoals of the Dutch coast on the one side, the British fleet on the other; also the ensuing battle is described. These sketches take the form of letters, and the whole is based on the romantic tale of a village maiden who, in a moment of peril, saves the life of her high-born lover serving aboard the warship. There is included a vivid picture of a Dutch country house or castle, and of the relations of its lord, father to the hero, with the villagers and parson.—As might be expected, the recent reform of the constitution gives occasion to several political articles. Mr. De Beaufort has a politico-historical review of the three-quarters of a century that have elapsed since Holland regained its independence. The present time is regarded as an epoch likely to be fruitful of good if the people are not misled into seeking in political nostrums the prosperity that can come only through their own energy and enterprise. It is pointed out how, in contrast to other nations, the Dutch are particularly law-abiding and remarkably tolerant of each others religious and political diversities in opinion, as well as that they possess a strong national feeling, shown in the universal loyalty to the House of Orange. Trusting to these qualities, and to more self-confidence than has marked the past, the writer looks forward hopefully.—Another political article, by Prof. Buys, 'Disappointments and Hopes,' also finds its motive in the recent extension of the franchise. To him the past since 1848, and especially the later years of it, is full of disappointments, the long reign of a Liberal ministry having been almost perfectly barren as regards useful legislation. Latterly, the school question and sectarian animosities account for this, but the real want has been of firmly organised parties. There are many rocks ahead, such as the said school question, the social question, the re-organization of the army after the German model, which, it is hoped, may intensify patriotism, and the incidence of taxes, which at present fall too lightly on the non-productive classes. He hopes for a strong Government, dreading much a coalition of anti-revolutionaries and cleri-

cal, and calls for greater self-confidence than the nation has lately shown.—Another paper discusses the question, Limited or universal military service? strongly advocating the latter, and offering a plan for carrying it into effect, hoping that the new electorate may favour it.—In a review of an able book on the theory of taxation, lately published by Cort v. d. Linden, Mr. N. G. Pierson, after pointing out how much the author owes to the Germans, discusses at great length the subject of progressive income tax advocated in the book, its desirability, and the mathematical and other difficulties in the way of its practical application.—C. B. Spruyt reviews Vol. I. of De la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, written not in his native Dutch, but in German. This subject, now so much and so ably studied in Holland, is treated under four heads—general, phenomenological, ethnographic and (still unpublished) historic. It is an elaborate and exhaustive work so far as it goes.—Under the title, 'Mainz or Haarlem?' the old question is discussed, who invented printing? Much of interest regarding Coster has lately come to light, shewing that he was not a sexton, but a respectable burgher, dealer in oil and candles, and afterwards innkeeper. The story of his invention being carried to Mainz by an unfaithful servant is more than doubtful, and if to Coster is due the priority of invention, the new art seems to have died out quickly at Haarlem, at least no books can be authentically claimed as Coster's handiwork. It was from Mainz that the invention spread to the world, and Gutenberg may quite possibly have made the invention nearly simultaneously with Coster. The art of block printing being known, it was but one obvious step forward to printing with types. The question of priority will probably never be settled, but Coster must now be allowed to have existed, and it is almost impossible to account for the traditions attached to his name if he had not had some connection with the earliest printing press.—Winkel's *History of Literature in the Netherlands*, Vol. I. (Mediæval Literature), is favourably noticed; it is, however, incomplete in respect of not sufficiently tracing the connection between the popular life and the literature of the time, nor does the author in his literary judgments give sufficient weight to local influences and the current ideas of his period.—'Our Consuls,' by V. N. Müller, recommends an extension of the Dutch consular system to all places with which the Dutch have commercial relations, also a thorough reform of consular functions in harmony with the conditions of the modern world.—Darwin's *Life and Letters* are appreciatively summarised.—Attention is claimed for the extensive poetical works of the German Count v. Schack as being worthy of study in spite of some manifest defects. He has a wide range of subjects, being a great traveller, especially in the East. His religious and philological position is rather difficult to define. Optimist and Pantheist, he is a distinct antagonist of Churches and Creeds (also of the French nation), yet findair of um of all his aspirations in something very like Christian love.—The *Ma* begins with a charming story of a woman's life, by Hooijer, much above age merit of stories in *De Gids*.—Loman discusses the origin of belie. (Trübner) arrection of Jesus from the rationalistic point of view. He begins with a 'ntension of Renan's and Keim's theories, to both of which he has serious objections, and thinks that the true solution of the question is yet to be sought in a critical comparison of the various accounts of the resurrection and of the way in which these came to be written. Into this task he plunges, but the article is left unfinished.—In 'Bacteriology in the Netherlands' Hugo de Vries gives an account of what has been done in this branch in connection with spirit and yeast factories and breweries. His aim is very practical in pointing out the importance of this study both in these factories and in agriculture and horticulture.—A short sketch is given of the life and work of Anton Mauve, an artist, whose tender silvery toned pictures, and whose gentle life, equally merit attention.—A short notice is given of 'History of My Youth,' by Hendrik Conscience, in which he recounts in the simplest way all his early struggles and hardships, his life as a militiaman and usher. Here, as in his other works, the charm of *naïveté* and amiability is felt. The book does not extend to the years in which he devoted himself to the Flemish movement with which his name is so honourably and inalienably associated.

**THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT** (January).—Professor Kuenen has fifty pages on the most recent phase of the criticism of the Hexateuch. He deals first with Vatke's Introduction to the Old Testament, in which that pioneer of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis rises from his grave (the work is published posthumously) to rebut the theory he was the first to suggest.—Dillmann's Commentary on Numbers, Deuteronomy and Joshua then receives attention, no detailed criticism of course being possible; and then a French work by M. Vernes, unfavourable to the new development theory.—Mr. Boekenoogen writes on the narratives of the Resurrection. He holds that in 1 Corinthians to be interpolated, and that of Matthew to be the completest and the nearest to the facts. His main point is that the phrase 'risen from the dead' does not amount to reappearance in this world, but only implies an escape from Hades, the realm of the dead, and a continued existence elsewhere. The original fact then was the belief of the disciples that their Master had made good His escape from the underworld, which had been unable to hold Him, and was living with God. The stories of His earthly appearances were an afterthought.

**DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU** (Jan. Feb. March).—At a time when the recent publication of 'La Terre' has revived the old controversy as to the merits and demerits of Emile Zola, more than usual interest attaches to the article which Herr Georg Brandes devotes to an examination of the French novelist's works. The critic opens his essay with a parallel between Taine and Zola, and shows to what extent the apostle of naturalism is indebted to the earlier writer not only for his theory of art but also for some of his favourite catch-words, such as for example 'documents humains,' which is only a loose and incorrect version of the earlier 'documents sur la nature humaine' applied by Taine to Balzac's works. In further illustration of Zola's method Herr Brandes contrasts it with that of Murger and Musset, and characterizes the author of 'Nana' and 'Pot-Bouille' as 'the poet of the reverse side'—'der Dichter der Zehrseite.'—A more important as well as more wholesome subject is incidentally treated in the conclusion of Dr. Rudolf Marloth's 'Travels in German Africa.' After completing his description of Hereroland and Walfischbay the writer is led to consider the question: 'What will Germany do with her possessions in south-western Africa?' The commercial importance of these colonies he represents as so slight that it would not justify the expenses entailed by the three indispensable officials. As to the mineral treasures with which they are credited he expresses himself rather sceptical. In his opinion the prosperity of the African settlements will depend on the extent to which their resources are developed in the direction of agriculture and cattle-breeding.—In the continuation of his delightful sketch 'Unter der Linden' Herr Julius Rodenberg gives us the history of some of the houses in this well-known locality. No. 23 recalls Goethe and Schiller. In the Taubenstrasse, close by, Voltaire lodged for a while, when his quarrel with his royal patron obliged him to 'flit' from his rooms in the royal palace. Another side street, the Friederichstrasse, is associated with Ludwig Börne, and in later times with Bismarck and his fellow-lodger Motley. To what use the materials which these names indicate have been turned no reader of the articles in which Herr Rodenberg has pictured Berlin life will require to be told.—Lovers of music will find interesting and congenial matter in the papers entitled respectively 'Beethoveniana,' and 'Zwei Jugendbriefe Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's.'—In the February number, after glancing through a capital little story by Herr Hans Hoffmann and passing over some specimens of a new translation of Dante, we come to a very readable and very instructive paper which deals with the present state of the art of engraving. It is interesting to note the appreciative, almost enthusiastic manner in which the anonymous writer refers to the English etchers, notably Herkomer, Slocombe, Macbeth, and Strang.—The 'Reminiscences of General Ernst von Pfuel' are well written and not without interest, but a long article of some thirty pages about a man who, though he served in turns in Prussia, Austria, and Russia, played no very conspicuous part anywhere, is rather more than the patience of English readers will bear.—Another biographical sketch brings before us the chief events in the career of the famous scientist, Gustave Robert Kirchhoff.—A political

article from the pen of Dr. A. Neményi, a member of the Hungarian Parliament, describes in very glowing terms the advantages which home-rule has conferred on both Austria and Hungary.—This number also contains the first instalment of an excellent translation of Mr. Bret Hart's 'Argonauts of North Liberty.'—Amongst the most important contributions to the third of the quarter's numbers we have to indicate a biographical sketch of Antonio Rosmini, founder of the Institute of Charity, the details of whose career have already been given to the English public in a work published two years ago by Father William Lockhart, Rector of the Rosminian College of St. Etheldreda, in London. Father Franz Xaver Kraus, the author of the present article, begins with a lament over the dearth of great men in the Catholic Church at the present time. According to him, there is but one left, Cardinal Newman.—Of the remaining contributions that most deserving of notice is the continuation of 'Unter der Linden.' There are also two readable sketches, the one of the Balearic Isles, the other of Attica.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. 1888, Drittes Heft.—Herr Pfarrer P. Grünberg, of Alteckendorf, gives us here an elaborate, we might say an exhaustive, exposition of the views entertained by the two great reformers, Luther and Zwingli, as to the value and importance of public worship, and an account of their efforts to effect the changes they deemed necessary in the forms and institutions connected with it.—Count Baudissin furnishes a short but scholarly exegesis of Isaiah xv. and xvi.—the oracle as to Moab.—Herr Ferdinand Graefe, of Perleberg, enters into a minute examination of the various 'Itala' and other MSS. of the New Testament, to determine the external evidence for the Ascension clause in Luke xxiv. 51, and compares the narrative of the Ascension given in the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles with it, in order to bring out its claims to be an authentic part of the original Gospel.—The other papers are Herr Koldewey's 'Die angebliche Verstümmelung des apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses in der Kirchenordnung des Herzogs Julius von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel,' and two brief postscripts to a study which appeared in last year's *S. u. K.*, titled 'Astarte-Maria.' The books reviewed are Hupfield's *Die Psalmen*, Bernhard Riggenbach's *Johann Tobias Beck*, and Dr. Paul Wigand's *Heinrich W. J. Thierschs Leben*.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (January, February, March).—The first of the three numbers before us scarcely comes up to the usual standard of the *Hefte*. Fiction is perhaps its best feature, for, besides a capital little story by Herr Otto Roquette, there is the first instalment of another of Salvatore Farini's pleasant and life-like sketches, its German title is, 'Um den Glanz des Ruhmes.'—The continuation of Herr Julius Lessing's paper on remarkable drinking vessels is chiefly remarkable for the quaint illustrations which accompany it. If the text has failed to interest us it is possibly because we have not been able to realise the force of the writer's aphorisms that 'there is scarcely any surer sign of the degree of civilisation which a nation has reached than the shape of its drinking-vessels.'—An article headed 'Späte Liebe' contains a number of love-letters from Heinrich Marschners to Therese Janda. They are probably intended to interest somebody, but it would puzzle us to say whom.—We get more readable matter in the description which Herr Zabel gives us of St. Petersburg.—By far the most remarkable contribution, however, is the essay which Herr Ferdinand Gross devotes to the examination of the works of Ferdinand Fabre, a novelist whom Sainte-Beuve characterized as the Balzac of the Clergy.—In the February number we notice a sketch of the life and writings of Pietro Aretino, the 'Divine' and the 'Scourge of Princes' as the Italians call him. We question whether Herr Schulteis has been well inspired in bringing before the public the author of writings which, however classical in form, bear the sad reputation of being the most obscene ever written.—A very readable article by Herr Paul Lindenberg contains a description of the most important objects preserved in the Hohenzollern Museum, in Berlin.—Though marred by a good deal of 'fine' writing, Herr Siegmund Feldmann's paper on the canal which is to unite the North Sea and the Baltic is full of very interesting details. Some good illustrations and a map of the district add considerably to its value. The latter par-



ticularly enables us to realise the commercial importance of the undertaking.—Though there is nothing absolutely new in the 'Sketches of Constantinople,' a light and pleasant style will enable most readers to get through them without any great effort.—A short but interesting paper entitled 'An Adventure in Edsu,' and narrating the danger to which a lady-tourist was exposed during a visit to the ruins of Apollinopolis, closes the number.—The last of the three parts contains the conclusion of Farina's 'Um den Glanz des Ruhmes,' as well as of another story, 'Verfehltes Leben.' The latter is worked up with great skill to a highly dramatic dénouement.—Herr H. W. Vogel, who went to Jurgewetz, in Russia, for the purpose of observing the total eclipse of the sun, last August, has put together his 'impressions de voyage' in an exceedingly well-written paper. His descriptions both of the country and the inhabitants are elucidated by a number of excellent engravings from photographs taken by himself.—Another pleasant sketch of men and manners is that in which Herr Paieken gives an account of an excursion up the Orinoco, from its mouth to Ciudad Bolivar. This also is profusely illustrated.—Herr Wechsler brings an important contribution to the history of contemporary literature in Germany, in the shape of a critical study of the works of Herr Ernst von Wildenbruch. Both as a dramatist and a novelist Wildenbruch has attained a very high position. It is not without interest to the English reader that his first important literary production was the tragedy of 'Harold.' Amongst his dramatic works we also notice 'Christopher Marlowe,' which Herr Wechsler indicates as the highest effort of the writer's genius.—The remaining items in the table of contents are, 'Sommerfrische im Himalaya,' 'Die Gemeinnützige Thätigkeit der Frauen,' and 'Walter Besant und der Volkspalast in London.' The last of these is particularly interesting. It sketches the origin of the 'People's Palace,' and shows in what manner it is connected with the well known novel 'All Sorts and Conditions of Men.'

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (January, February, March).—The first item in the January part bears the strange title, 'Derselbe.' On closer examination it is seen to be a protest against the wholesale use or abuse of the word 'derselbe' in contemporary literature. Otto Schroeder is very earnest about the matter, and his researches in the history of the obnoxious word bring some interesting philological details to light. But in spite of some attempts, more or less successful, to lighten the subject by an occasional joke, the paper is tolerably heavy reading.—The latest edition of Goethe's works, for which the very apt name of 'Sophienaufgabe' is suggested, has been made the subject of a not altogether favourable review by Herr Constantin Rössler. The critic takes exception to some of the 'readings' given by the editors. And we must admit that the quotations which he gives show that an 'édition définitive' will still be a desideratum even after the appearance of the Sophienaufgabe.—Captain Tanera sets himself the task of proving to China that her interest lies in an alliance with Germany. Germany, he says, is the only nation which can give China and Japan European culture, without at the same time imposing European dominion on them.—A lengthy and very solid article contributed by Herr Alexander von Oettingen, examines the influence of Johann Heinrich Wichern on the 'social movement of our time.'—For general interest, as well as literary excellence, there is nothing this quarter to come up to the essay on Victor von Scheffel. Nominally it is a review of Proelss's life of the poet. In point of fact it is a masterly sketch of the career, as well as an appreciative examination, of the works of one of the most conspicuous figures in the literature of contemporary Germany.—Dr. Charpentier has brought together some very interesting and instructive details in the article which he devotes to the history of the tobacco monopoly in Prussia. We find that the first attempt to cultivate tobacco in Brandenburg was made in 1676 by two Jews. The venture did not prove a financial success, and they retained the monopoly which had been granted them, or rather, which they had bought, only five years. In 1719 the monopoly was again bought by two Jews at the price of two thousand thalers yearly and—a tall grandier by way of erles! It is not without interest to note that if the practice of smoking has not diminished during the last century, it

can scarcely have increased, for, in 1787, we find an 'officious' writer stating that tobacco was as much amongst the necessities of life as either beer or white bread.—Both in the February and March parts there are articles dealing with the existing system of legal studies and legal examinations.—In addition to this the third part contains other two articles which have but little interest for any but German readers. The former deals with the policy of Wurtemberg during the last forty years. The latter is entitled, 'Die Bauernbefreiung und die Gutsherrlichkeit in Preussen.'

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (February).—In No. 5, which is the first of the February parts, there is a communication from M. Pasteur with regard to the destruction of rabbits by means of chicken-cholera. The result, as stated by him, of an experiment carried on at Reims, seems to justify the view which he has taken of the possibility of freeing Australia and New Zealand from the plague of rodents.—A very readable paper by M. Th. Piderit examines 'The physiology of the mouth,' that is, the expression of various feelings and sentiments by means of the buccal and labial muscles.—The third and last of the original contributions is entitled 'Le travail physiologique et son equivalence.'—In the next number the first item is the conclusion of the article in which M. Fouqué indicates the experiments by means of which he has endeavoured to calculate the speed at which vibrations are propagated at the surface of the earth.—This is followed by a military paper in which Prince von Hohenlohe's remarks on the latest regulations for French field-artillery are summarised and explained.—The 18th of February brings an exceedingly instructive lecture entitled 'Histoire d'un tableau statistique,' in which M. F. Cheysson indicates the various phases of the investigation necessary for drawing up statistical tables.—A short paper by M. Carnevin shows the relation between zootechny, that is, the scientific rearing of cattle and the science of anthropology.—M. Fernand Lagrange devotes a lengthy and minute study to the physiology of 'stiffness,' that is of the feeling of weariness which follows violent and continuous muscular exercise in subjects not prepared for it by previous training. The conclusion at which he arrives is that the 'stiffness' is a kind of auto-intoxication of the organism, due to the presence of certain elements produced by the process of dissimilation.—One of the most important contributions in all the numbers before us is that in which M. Verneuil sets forth his views with regard to the nature and origin of tetanus or, as it is commonly called locked-jaw. He looks upon it as contagious, and, in support of this opinion, adduces a long series of facts which, to say the least, give it a strong appearance of plausibility. As a consequence of this, he rejects what is known as idiopathic tetanus. Finally, he looks upon it as originating with the horse and communicated by it to human beings. In this disease, too, a microbe is supposed to be at the bottom of the mischief.—In continuation of a series of articles on 'The Mussulmans in the 19th century,' M. A. Le Chatelier brings a third instalment dealing more particularly with 'Modern Islamism.'—The artesian well lately completed in Paris is described by M. Thomas. We learn from his account that it has taken twenty-two years to finish the works in connection with it, that it has cost about £100,000, that it penetrates to a depth of 719 metres, or roughly 2,400 feet below the surface, or 669 metres below the level of the sea, and that it will increase the daily water-supply of Paris by 340,000 cubic metres, thus raising it to 850,000 cubic metres, that is 380 litres, or about 95 gallons per head of the population.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (January, February, March).—Considerable attention has been given, of late years, to the study of the criminal from the point of view of the naturalist. He has been brought before us as a type, as a variety of the *genus homo*, and described both anthropologically and psychologically. But, when the attempt was made to determine in what manner this theory was to be applied to legislation, grave difficulties arose. The legal delinquent was not always found to coincide with the 'criminal man' of the theorists. This M. R. Garofalo attributes to the fact that the latter, whilst dealing with the criminal had neglected to come to an agreement as to how crime itself was to be defined. The study of which a first instalment is here given and which is entitled 'le Délit naturel' is intended to supply this deficiency. The writer here gets the

length of setting forth his definition of crime. According to him, it consists in 'a harmful action which violates the average feeling of pity or of probity.'—M. Victor Brochard, the writer of the next article, has set himself the task of showing that it is not accurate to state that the 'experimental method' was unknown to the ancients. He points out that amongst the empiric physicians, who at the same time belonged to the sceptic school of philosophy there existed ideas very analogous to those which have existed amongst us for two centuries. He summarises their doctrine such as it presents itself in its most perfect form about the second century of the Christian era. Retracing his steps, from this point he endeavours to ascertain when and by whom an attempt was made to supersede the *à priori* method by a more accurate process. Finally, he claims for Menodotes a place beside Bacon as having been amongst the first to understand and apply the system of inductive reasoning.—The third and last of the 'articles de fonds' is an abstruse examination of the doctrine of probabilities.—To the February number M. Th. Ribot contributes a paper at once valuable and interesting on the morbid states of attention. It is a supplement to articles which have already appeared dealing with the phenomena of attention, both spontaneous and voluntary. The section which deals with ecstasy and is illustrated by a reference to St. Theresa's description of this state is particularly striking and instructive.—M. Charles Dunan gives us the first part of a study in which he examines the difference between 'visual space' and 'tactile space.' So far as he has yet gone, his object seems to be to establish that the perceptions of sight, very far from depending in any way on the perceptions of touch or of the muscular sense, as regard the representation of space, are of themselves fully sufficient.—A third article, bearing the signature of M. E. Beaussire, is entitled 'Questions de droit des gens.'—In an exceedingly instructive article to be found in the March part M. B. Perez considers art in the child. The first part examines how a child interprets images, how he understands 'the language of drawing.' From this he passes on to consider how children proceed in their first attempts at reproducing the objects about them. The paper testifies to a great deal of close and shrewd observation. Besides being valuable from a philosophical point of view, it will interest even those who, without being philosophers, find it no waste of time to watch the ways of young children.—In addition to this, there are two other articles, one by M. P. Janet, 'Unconscious Actions, and Memory during Sombulism,' and another on 'Psychic Reflexes,' by M. Ch. Richet.

L'ART (January, February, March).—In addition to the excellent and profusely illustrated reviews of recent works, there are but two items in the table of contents of the opening number. The first of these is a warmly appreciative sketch of the late Gustave Guillaumet, the painter *par excellence* of Algerian life and scenery. It is accompanied by several excellent sketches.—A slight sketch, which M. Frédéric Henriet calls 'Petite question d'Esthétique,' and which considers what should be the qualities of the names given to works of art, is particularly 'small,' and that, not only as regards the space which this first instalment occupies.—To make up for any short-comings of the letter-press, there is a splendid etching, 'A Clinical Lecture at the Salpêtrière,' It is by A. Lurat, after a painting by A. Brouillet, in last year's 'Salon.'—The 15th of January brings us the conclusion of the 'Petite Question,' and a continuation of the sketch of Gustave Guillaumet. Here, the painter appears as a writer, for we have extracts from the papers, also descriptive of Algeria, which he contributed to the *Nouvelle Revue* in 1879 and 1882. These very striking specimens are the more acceptable, that the contributions from which they are taken never appeared in book-form.—M. F. Lefranc devotes a fairly lengthy paper to a critical examination of the works of Victorien Sardou. Providing the writer does not insist on our adopting his estimate of the dramatist, we need have no objection to his putting forth his views, even though it be done in a spirit of which this is a fair specimen :—'M. Sardou is not an artist; he is at most only a skilful craftsman. He knows his trade; he has a marvellous acquaintance with all its secrets, except one, which, indeed is not to be learnt, and without which all art is weak, high thoughts and inspiration.' We now know exactly what to think of M. Lefranc.—The number bearing the date of the 18th of February, opens with the conclusion of M. Adolphe Badin's sketch of his friend

Guillaumet.—Next to this we have a third instalment of M. Emile Molinier's 'La Faience à Venise.'—A readable paper by M. de Chennevières contains some extracts from the correspondence of Michel Hennin, an artistic politician of the eighteenth century.—In the mid-monthly part, M. Lefranc continues his studies of the dramatists, taking Alexandre Dumas, the elder as his subject. His judgments are, on the whole, sound enough, though it seems that even Dumas is too much of a 'craftsman' to please him altogether.—M. Venturi in continuation of his studies 'Les Arts à la Cour de Ferrare,' contributes a valuable sketch of Francesco del Cossa, a painter, about whom even the most complete histories of painting furnish but the scantiest details.—The etching by Daniel Mordant, 'M. le Baron James de Rothschild,' is as fine a specimen of the art as the *Revue* has ever given us.—As a further addition to the 'Lettres d'Artistes et d'Amateurs' which he supplies from time to time, M. Ludovic Lalanne communicates a letter of Nicolas Mignard, who would probably have made himself a name if he had not had the misfortune of having an artist for his brother.—The paper on Francesco del Cossa is concluded, as is also that on Venitian ceramic art.—The last of the six numbers before us is chiefly taken up with an account of the tenth French exhibition of water-colours.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (February, March).—Readers who have not already exhausted their curiosity respecting Kout-Houmi and the marvellous brotherhood of Mahatmas in the northern solitudes of Thibet, will turn with interest to 'La Société théosophique et le monde occulte,' by M. Aug. Glardon. The pretensions of the theosophists are dealt with in a temperate spirit and with an evident desire to do them all justice, but in the result there is little to be said either for the 'new philosophic religion' or for the value of the testimony of its chief exponents. On p. 494 of the March number, Mr. Glardon cites an instance of hallucination by suggestion in a nervous subject, which goes far to illustrate the manner in which believers in astral bodies may come by their belief.—M. V. de Floriant's account of Morocco from the religious side contains much that is new and striking. The self-estimate of the Sultan, Muley-Hassan, is amusing. *He* is the Khalif, the true father of the faithful, the real leader of Islam. The 'Sick Man' at Constantinople is a shadowy imposter. The royal globes *ad usum Delphini* represent Morocco, Fez and Talifet as occupying four-fifths of the planet. Why not? Kings of infinite space may live in a nutshell.—'Poètes modernes de l'Angleterre—Alfred Tennyson,' by M. Henri Jacottet, will in a measure serve as a response to our national prayer that we may see ourselves as others see us. The most noticeable thing about M. Jacottet's estimate of the Laureate is the excellence of his translations, particularly of the song in the 'Lotus Eaters.' On the whole his views do not differ widely from those popularly held among ourselves. He is warmly appreciative throughout; but for our own part we attach more value than he evidently does to the Greek poems and to 'The Princess,' and a good deal less to the 'Garden of Girls and the 'May Queen.' We do not remember to have seen before that Tennyson owes 'la faveur de la souveraine et la couronne de lauréat' to 'The Miller's Daughter.'—The fiction for the two months is abundant, varied, and of excellent quality, and besides the usual 'chroniques' there are several articles which will repay perusal.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (January, February, March).—One of the most noticeable contributions to the first of the six numbers now before us is the essay which M. Gaston Boissier, continuing his 'Studies in Religious History,' devotes to St. Augustine. For many of his facts he is of course indebted to the well-known 'Confessions.' But, the special merit of the article consists in this, that the writer not only supplements the confessions by the aid of the information which St. Augustine himself supplies in his other works, but also indicates the points of involuntary divergence between the several documents, and is thus able to throw some light upon the various phases of mental development which led to the ultimate adoption of a precise and definite doctrine.—The same number contains a further instalment of Count d'Haussonville's 'Le Combat contre le Vice.' The present section deals with departmental prisons. As the result of a very minute enquiry the writer arrives at the conclusion that the system which

obtains in these prisons is immoral, insufficient, and incoherent, 'absolutely and radically vicious.'—Of the other contributions it will suffice to mention a further instalment of M. Rothan's 'Souvenirs diplomatiques,' and a very readable sketch of Salonica.—In the mid-monthly part M. Maxime Du Camp completes the series of papers in which he has sketched the various charitable institutions of the French capital by an article dealing with 'False Indigence.' He exposes with all his usual verve all the tricks of begging-letter and other impostors, and also gives an account of an association which has been formed with a view to systematizing public charity.—In continuation of his series of sketches of 'Modern Oceana,' M. C. de Varigny describes the Philippine Archipelago, the Caroline and Marshall Islands. The paper is ably written, the historical summaries being, in particular, full of interesting information. An absence of local colouring in some of the descriptions suggests that the author is not always writing from personal experience.—Algeria which almost seems to be an indispensable item in the table of contents of the *Revue* claims an article from the pen of M. Camille Rousset. The administration of General Bugeaud is the period under consideration. In the second and third of the quarter's numbers M. Taine contributes an important study 'Passage de la République à l'Empire.' The writer's object is to sketch the utter confusion which prevailed throughout every branch of French administration during this period of transition. Even those who may take exception to some of the views expressed and the conclusions deduced will scarcely withhold their praise as regards the literary excellence of the work.—An essay which we cannot praise too highly is that in which M. Monceaux sketches the career of Apuleius and indicates the various phases of the legend which has grown about his name.—The paper in which M. Jules Rochard examines and criticises the present system of female education is one which our own educationists might read with profit. The writer demands the exclusion of a number of superfluous subjects, amongst which he makes special mention of physiology, though a physiologist himself. Further he shows the necessity for more out-door exercise than there is at present time for. Finally he protests against the tyranny of certificates.—A few months ago M. Camille Bellaigue had a very elaborate study on the subject of 'God in Music.' As a supplement to this he now brings an equally able paper, in which he analyses the 'sentiment of nature' in the great composers.—In this number we have further to indicate a biographical sketch of Léon Faucher, a politician who played a part of some importance in the period immediately proceeding the second empire, and also a charming and *spirituel* review of a recent 'concordance' to the metaphors of Victor Hugo.—The most important article in the number published on the 15th February is that which deals with the present state of Europe. On the whole, the writer's view seems to be that there is at least no immediate danger of war.—The 1st of March brings a critical study on Mr. Lecky. It is from the pen of M. Filon, who, a few months ago, opened a series of articles on 'English Historians,' with a paper on Mr. Froude. The French essayist writes appreciatively of the author of the 'History of the Rise and Influence of Rationalism,' the chief ground for his admiration, which, however, is not unqualified, being Lecky's sympathy with French ideas.—The conclusion of the historical study which M. Emile Gebhart has devoted to the Borgias closes with a parallel between Alexander and Cæsar, which indicates the general lines of his work. The political immorality of the father, he says, was exceeded tenfold by the ferocious ambition of the son. After 1497, the pope became the docile instrument of Cæsar. The Duke was the principal actor; the pope, cowed by the fear of his son, who hesitated at no crime, followed him, step by step, in all the windings of his blood-stained course. He is deserving of some pity. The Duke is the evil genius of the family. He must bear the heaviest share of the accursed glory of the Borgias.—The last article to which we have to call attention is M. Emile Montégut's essay on Pope. It necessarily contains nothing new as regards facts. But the well-known story is pleasantly re-told. Moreover, M. Montégut does not invariably follow the beaten track in his literary appreciations, so that his article is not a mere *rechauffé*.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS. No. 1, 1888.—M. L. Horst continues in this number his 'Etudes sur le Deutéronome,' begun in No. 4 of last year's

issue. Here he deals first with the work of redaction, showing how, in his opinion, the various parts of the work, as noted in his previous paper, were combined so as ultimately to form the text as it now is. He then takes up the question of the date of the Book, and enters into a minute examination of the statements in 2 Kings, xxii.-xxiii., and 2 Chron., xxxiv.-xxxv., regarding the discovery of the Book of the Law and the reforms carried out by Josiah, to test their historic value. He sees reason for discrediting those statements, and regards the whole story as a later invention. It can give therefore no certain data to determine the date of redaction of even the legislative kernel of the Book.—M. E. Monseur, under 'La légende d'Achille,' gives a summary of E. Meyer's recently published volume (Vol. II.) on *Indogermanic Myths*, and which is devoted to the legend of Achilles. He examines Herr Meyer's opinions with minuteness, and corrects some mistakes into which he regards him to have fallen.—M. Paul Regnaud reviews Professor Max Müller's work, *The Science of Thought*, in so far as that work bears on the genesis of mythology, and calls in question the learned author's conclusions and the whole basis, in fact, of his system.—M. J. A. Decourdemanche continues and concludes his translation of Mehemet Said Effendi's *Akhlagi-Hamide*. The shorter reviews of books include a notice of the anonymous work recently issued by Trübner & Co., *Antiqua Mater; a Study of Christian Origins*.—The 'Chronique' and 'Bibliographie' as usual are comprehensive and extremely valuable.

REVUE DES ETUDES JUIVE (October and December, 1887).—Professor J. Halévy has been contributing to this *Revue* a series of exegetical studies on obscure or disputed passages of the Old Testament under the title of 'Recherches Bibliques.' In this number he continues them, and first takes up Genesis xiv. He notes the few verbal alterations that require to be made in it, and defends both its historic veracity, and its claims to belong to the original text of the Jehovistic narrative. He explains its peculiarities by admitting that it was derived by the narrator, whom he places in the time of Solomon, from a Phœnician source. Next he subjects the phrase in Genesis xvii. 5, 'father of many nations,' to a minute critical examination, and shows that the reading should be 'chief' or 'prince' of many nations. A copyist, he thinks, has allowed the *resh* of ab(r)hamon-gojim to drop out of his text, and thus has arisen the mistake. In this way he restores the parallelism between the change of the name of Sarai and Abram into Sarah and Abraham. Another emendation in the same chapter for which he pleads is in verse 16, where he would read zakar'ti instead of berak'ti, *I will remember* instead of *I will bless her*—a phrase he reminds us which is constantly used in regard to women who have been long sterile, and whose sterility God is to remove. M. Halévy maintains that this chapter likewise belonged to the original Jehovistic text, and stands in its true place where it is. Lastly, he furnishes a study on 'The Language of the Hittites.' He has been a steadfast adherent to the belief that that language was of a Semitic character. He here defends that opinion, and appeals to the Assyrian forms of Hittite names of towns, rivers, etc. in support of his plea. He takes no notice of Captain Conder's recent attempt to prove the Hittite tongue to have been of Altaic origin.—M. Isidore Loeb takes occasion from the publication of Vol. VII. of Senor Tita's *Estudios Historicos*—a volume which contains all the existing documents bearing on a *procès* before the Holy Inquisition at Seville in 1490-91, in regard to the murder of a Christian child by Jews and Jewish Christians, *le saint enfant de La Guardia*,—to examine critically those documents. By showing the glaring inconsistencies and contradictions with which the printed evidence abounds, he seeks to establish it as a fact that no such child was ever murdered or existed.—In another paper he examines the correspondence said to have passed in 1492 between the Jews in Spain and those of Constantinople, and decides against its authenticity. The proofs he adduces are conclusive.—M. L. Lazard has an article, 'Les revenus tirés des Juifs de France dans le domaine royal (xiii. siècle).' He does not deal at all in it with the various illegal means used at that as at other periods for extorting money from Jews, but with the purely legal taxes laid on those then residing within *le domaine royal*. He shows from the State accounts of that period how numerous and flourishing the Jewish communities there then must have been.

—M. W. Bacher gives us the first part of an exhaustive article on 'Le commentaire de Samuel ibn Hofni sur le Pentateuque.' Interesting fragments of it were discovered recently by Harkavy, and they have been published in full by M. I. Israelsohn. M. Bacher here compares them with the translation and commentary of Saaida, and points out their features of similarity and difference.—The other papers in this number are M. Halévy's 'Petits problèmes' (2<sup>e</sup> série), M. Moïse Schwab's 'Trois inscriptions hébraïques de Mantes,' and M. Loeb's 'Expulsion des Juifs de Salins et Bracon en 1374.—M. T. Reinach reviews M. Renan's *Histoire du peuple d'Israel*, Vol. I.—An appreciative review appears also by A. N. of Dr. Wickes' recent work, *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the Twenty-one so-called Prose Books of the Old Testament*, &c., published by the Clarendon Press.

REVUE DU MONDE LATIN (February).—The first—and for many readers it will also be the most interesting—article in this number, is a biographical sketch of General Le Flô. It is written by one who was personally acquainted with him, and who is able to give many details not generally known concerning the career of the man whom Lamoricière once characterized in an official note, as 'able to make wooden soldiers march.'—Another excellent contribution is the conclusion of the sketch of Bussy d'Amboise. It is a stirring story, and is ably told. If we cannot altogether sympathise with the 'beau chercheur de noise' we cannot help admiring the courage of the 'brave Bussy.' It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that the Seigneur d'Amboise is the hero of one of Dumas's best novels. It is possibly less well-known that he has supplied materials for an English tragedy also. The writer of this sketch, at least, although he mentions other works founded on the adventures which he here records, omits Chapman's play, published in 1607.—A more serious, but eminently readable paper gives an account of Italian society at the period of the Renaissance.—In 'Hypnotism and Suggestions' M. Paul Even briefly summarises the result of recent experiments in connection with hypnotism. The paper is ably written, but scarcely long enough to do justice to the subject.—Finally, M. Franklin-Doria records in a few pages the history of the War of Independence in Brazil.

RIVISTA CONTEMPORANEA (February).—B. Brunamonti writes about Pietro Perugino and Umbrian art.—Marco Yar on popular Serbian poetry and the poet Karadzic.—E. Teya gives some inedited fragments of Goethe's Roman elegies.—The editor of the review, Signor de Gubernatis, contributes an ode to the author of *Il Bacio nella Luna*.—The story of Canossa is concluded.—The review of English literature notices the *Life of Leo XIII.*, by Bernard O'Reilly, and that by John Oldcastle, also J. A. Symond's *Life of Benvenuto Cellini*, with great praise; and Edwin Arnold's *Lotus and Jewel*.

RIVISTA CONTEMPORANEA (March).—The author of the first article in this number writes briefly on the autobiographic memoirs of Garibaldi, calling it a badly put together book, both in language and substance, but still a book that ought to be read by everyone.—P. Papa communicates a paper on Giuseppina Guacci-Nobile an Italian poetess.—'Jonathan Swift, the English pessimist,' is the subject of a leading article.—'A garland of original Sonnets' is contributed by F. Livati.—Professor Zuccaro writes briefly on the antiquity of Salamina.—In English literature are noticed 'The Life of Giordana Bruno,' by J. Frith, and the 'Heroic Enthusiasts,' translated from Bruno by L. Williams, whom the critic blames for giving as her own a sentence of D. Levis', in his book on Giordano Bruno, and spoiling it by mutilation, There are also noticed 'The Commedia and Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri' by E. H. Plumtre; 'Life and Labour' by Samuel Smiles; and 'American literature' by C. F. Richardson.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (Feb. 1st).—F. Martini writes on Dumas's 'Francillon.'—Follows a lecture by Bonghi on 'Spiritual and Temporal Authority.'—The sketches from life in Assab, the first part of which appeared in the preceding number are concluded.—E. Mancini writes on the physiology of taste.—M. Ferrari discusses the proposed laws on banking houses brought before the Italian Parliament last November.—(Feb. 16th.) L. Morandi writes a poetical article

on 'Lucrezia Romana in Arcadia.'—G. Boglietti continues his account of Bismarck's policy, describing the confederation of the North, and the treaties for territorial recompense.—P. Livy next describes the grottoes of Italy.—D. Compares gives a long description of recent archaeological discoveries in Crete.—An ex-diplomatist describes the political condition of Europe since Bismarck's declaration, taking a moderate view of the situation, and expressing his delight that Bismarck has once again succeeded in intervening between France and Russia, and prevented, or at least retarded the forming of an alliance, which would so greatly menace the peace of the world.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (March 1st.).—E. Panzacchi writes an article on Paul Bourger, the French romancist, who, at thirty-four years of age, has acquired considerable renown. He adopted from the English a psychological and analytical method, and the taint of pessimism, which he shows is not enough to frighten his readers.—G. Boglietti concludes his papers on Bismarck's military policy with a brief sketch of the Franco-German war.—T. Massarani, an Italian senator, contributes some chapters on modern and ancient Cyprus, which form part of a book he is writing.—G. Lampugnani writes on the railway question in Italy.—R. de Zerbi, writing on the possibility of war with France, discusses at length the necessity of preparation, the organisation of the Italian fleet, and the better defence of the coasts.—A short paper on Garibaldi's memoirs follows. According to the writer, Garibaldi's noble affectionateness of character, revealed in his memoirs, was what contributed to make him the popular hero of modern Italy. His policy was simple and frank, like all the rest of his life. He was a republican more in theory than in practice, but, before all, he was Italian.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (February 1st.).—The continuation of the work on 'Italy on the Red Sea,' by L. Chiala, gives an account of the situation in Massowa after the decision of the English to withdraw their troops from the Soudan (April to June, 1885).—A Rossi concludes his article on 'Socialism and Fraternity.'—(February, 16th).—Contains a description of Berlin and its court in the year 1696, taken from the papers of Alexander Bechi, with a short account of his life. He was a Knight of Malta, and made many campaigns and voyages.—V. Pernice writes on 'State and Church,' and V. Sartini on 'The Home and the School.'—G. Zanella writes on Giuseppe Barbieri, who lectured from the professor's chair towards the middle of this century.—R. Mazzei writes on Freemasonry.

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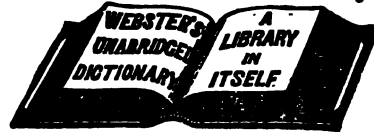
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